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WORLD UNION

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setback for world peace. The efforts of the various littoral states in the area to keep out the super-powers from this zone have not been successful. Developments such as these will have served a purpose if some international understanding could be arrived at in the near future for an open policing of the ocean highways by an accepted supra-national authority.

Things in India have both improved and deteriorated in different directions. The repeated crises on the economic front, fall in production, failure of the distribution system etc. have caused some heart-searching in the proper quarters. Ideological considerations, calculations of prestige, political factors, have not been allowed to stand in the way of a revision of policies. Politically, however, things have been allowed to drift too long with the result that today the situation is so confused and complicated that strange bedfellows like communalists and Marxists are hobnobbing with each other for the ouster of the only stabilising force in the country. There are, indeed, signs that people have begun to see behind the slogans, sense evil presences under the facade of respectable elements and if fresh elections are held today, they will certainly vote on the right side. The Indian voter may be uneducated in the Western sense. But his judgment is always shrewd and we can depend upon him to give the lie direct to the vociferous claims made by the mushroom parties on the political scene.

OURSELVES

As announced earlier, from this issue the World Union becomes a monthly. This change has been done — though it is hardly economic in the present state with increased paper prices—with a view to meeting the demand of the growing circle of our readers and friends for a more sustained effort in the propagation of our thought. We have decided to introduce more variety in our pages than has been possible hitherto and we invite our friends to send us contributions on any subject of their choice. The only requirement is that they must promote faith in the values of harmony, unity and love. They must point to the upward direction of the course of human evolution. Stories, anecdotes, poems, translations, review articles etc. are welcome. Quotations on the theme of the Oneness of Humanity are particularly looked for also. We request that the contributions may be short enough to be presented in a single issue.

M. P. P.

ONE WORLD AND HUMAN UNITY: Tomorrow's GOAL is Today's SPIRITUAL REALITY

David Davies

Preamble: Life, both for the individual and for the community, is a continuum of learning situations, in which we are all involved; we learn and we influence others and by doing so we teach and train them informally by example and by precept. Those of us who engage in the more formal work of teaching and training, whether it be within a statutory system or even in *ad hoc* training for specific commercial or political manoeuvres, must accept a heavier burden of responsibility, for if our teaching is based upon a divisive philosophy of life we shall be promoting a policy which will be at variance with the utopian aspirations of mankind and the deeper insights of mystics and other spiritual seers throughout the ages. Yet this *unity* expresses itself in and through *diversity*; herein lies the paradox which is the key-note of LIFE.

The educator who is dedicated to the promotion of world peace and human unity must identify himself with the ONE-WORLD, in which we all live and of which all nations are integral parts. In doing so he is merely being truly realistic, for unclouded, unbiased perception reveals to the beholder the world community as a large loosely-knit family, and the separate States as sectors or neighbourhood-cells, different in many ways but yet inter-dependent. Because they concentrate on differences, politicians and others who are primarily concerned with national defence and international problems are aware mainly of lines of demarcation. They are therefore partly, if not wholly, insensitive to man's deeper aspirations, which are overlaid with our current social, political and religious behaviour, which is itself conditioned by our sacrosanct fundamental assumptions to be obsessively involved in the increasingly-complicated mechanics of a secret, defensive diplomacy that stems from out-dated life-attitudes.

According to this restrictive philosophy of life we live in an alien, competitive world; we must therefore at all cost protect

- (a) our *national sovereignty* with its particular institutions, which have remained almost static, though the *One World* in which we all live has imposed its basic unity upon the separate national States in spite of their militant policies;

- (b) **our *national boundaries*, which have become menacingly important in a world where the nations are primarily motivated by political strategies that concentrate on the increase of defensive power to counter the notional pressures developing in the outside world;**
- (c) **our *national prestige*, which can be either**
 - (i) **a lingering, shadowy image of a political greatness that in the re-alignment of power is no longer valid, as it does not reflect the present status of the country in relation to other independent communities; or**
 - (ii) **an attempt by a Third-World country to impose upon the rest of the world a highly inflated image of its particular political or psychological role in solving world problems, often assumed in order to hide its own internal turmoil or to mask its sense of inadequacy in a world dominated by the established *Great Powers*;**
- (d) **our country's *natural resources* of valuable raw materials, which in the past have been exploited by the military giants of the technological revolution, but which today enable the producing countries to bring increasing pressure to bear upon the consumer countries by manipulating production and cost, without having to maintain and use expensive military forces with their sophisticated nuclear weapons.**

In such a world, divided and torn by powerful, out-dated institutions which cling desperately to their suicidally-expensive policies of self-defence, there is an urgent need for a total re-assessment of human relationships based upon a deeper, more realistic perception and clearer, less inhibited thinking. However, we are moving rapidly, technologically and psychologically, towards the realisation of the *ONE-WORLD* concept, which most, if not all, our major religions have been proclaiming through the centuries as being both today's *reality* and tomorrow's *goal*. However paradoxical this idea of a distant goal which is nevertheless a present existential fact may be, we know that, though national communities think and behave as disparate units, every challenging predicament in any one unit inevitably, directly or indirectly, affects the other communities immediately or eventually, through the impact may be doubly cushioned by distance and the lapse of time.

The major obstacle in the way of establishing a World Authority is therefore the refusal of national governments to work together for the benefit of mankind and of all individuals, wherever they may live. We cannot regard the United Nations Organisation in its present form as a World Authority, even though it was formed with that object in mind. What the founders did not fully realise was the effect of established systems of thought upon the attitudes, and therefore upon the political and other decisions, of the United Nations, whose members are there as guardians of the commercial and political interests of the countries which they represent.

The genuine idealists are therefore the true realists, as far as depth and clarity of perception are concerned. They acknowledge the impact of significant local conditions and events upon the lives of people all over the world; politicians ignore this fundamental factor at their peril. The French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, the industrial revolution in Britain, are all examples of local events that have changed the course of world history; the famine and the poverty in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in a mass emigration of Irish people to America, where their descendants today exert a marked influence upon events within and outside the boundaries of the U.S.A. The influence of even one individual can in certain circumstances become a significant factor in international affairs, especially when it leads to concerted action by two or more nations, which for political or other reasons had previously been unable or unwilling to work together to bring about what they could not achieve separately. This sequence of cause and effect is so very significant because it helps to fashion the all-important conformation of attitudes that largely determines the quality of human relationships.

We are prone to believe that formal education can eventually create or bring about the Utopia that politicians envisage as the end-result of legislative procedure at governmental level. Both theories have been totally discredited by the course of events. Nevertheless, it would appear that they are both major factors in promoting the systemic discontent and militancy which disturb the uneasy peace of the whole world both within sovereign states and also on the international scene. The vandals at home and the terrorists abroad carry out their acts of deliberate sabotage and destruction and even defy the most powerful forces of law and order by putting into operation in an extreme fashion what is forcibly expressed within the community by protesting demonstrators and by militant trade unionists for whom confrontation has become both a legitimate, pragmatic way of life and also the prime weapon which enables the motivated minority to rally, if not to coerce, the malleable majority within their own ranks to fight against those in authority who are invariably charged with being guilty of upholding a system which is held to be both corrupt and socially unjust.

Since the industrial revolution education in Western countries has increasingly evaluated human beings in terms of their capacity to increase the wealth and power of the more fortunate members of their affluent societies. It has therefore put a premium on *ambition* rather than on *service*. By doing so, it has inevitably shifted the education-and-training criteria from character to personality, from integrity to conformity, and from cooperation to competition. It is therefore not surprising that the theoretical concept of equality has not been substantiated in practice, whilst the growth of industrial and commercial enterprises has divided the work-force into 'management' and 'labour'; the latter have in the past have been regarded, as far as employment was concerned, as expendable units within a system which was ruthlessly geared to gain the maximum advantage in an expanding world market.

The dual role of education was therefore determined mainly by the increasing need for an educated managerial elite and a more or less literate mass of workers from which employees could be drawn according to job requirements. Inevitably as the scientific and technological developments proceeded, the educational criteria have changed until the general standard of vocational education has been very considerably raised.

It was also inevitable that the more educated members of the working class would take a prominent part in trade union affairs, and that those who opposed the traditional capitalist system would use the trade unions as the front line of the workers' attack upon the privileged classes. The consequent struggle for power within the national community introduced *confrontation* as the trade unions' militant response to managerial authority as well as to the government's legislative control. This conflict within the community, however, was not confined to the management-labour relationships, as it became the accepted, and by implication normal, kind of corporate action to draw public attention to any real or putative injustice or to an acute sense of frustration, which may or may not have been inspired and fomented by compulsive agitators. In the sphere of international relations the home-based trade union experience soon developed into politically-inspired militant demonstrations on a global scale against foreign embassies to protest against events or non-events in the respective countries; similar, often violent, demonstrations expressed the ambivalent attitudes of the less developed countries towards those which are more affluent.

The key to the upsurge of violence that marks human relationships at all levels lies in the projection of the personal responses to the subconscious doubts and fears that manifest the ignorance that haunts the darkness beneath and beyond the threshold of mental awareness. Most people, however, are able to dismiss the hidden dangers by channelling the powers of the mind into socially-approved attitudes towards life and death and towards man and society. They applaud the comforting gospel of man as the lord of creation, whilst those who believe in a Spiritual Reality beyond matter and beyond mind declare their faith in a salvation which offers more than adequate compensations, now or hereafter, for all present deprivations and tribulations. Many who in the deep recesses of their being feel weak and defenceless either become members of a gang and resort to vandalism and violence or in utter despair swell the ranks of the drug-addicts and the opters-out; others, who put their faith in scientific, philosophical or religious creeds and dogmas, are prone to express their *righteous indignation* by attempting to enforce discipline at home and political sanctions abroad in a vain effort to contain violence and to establish a state of neutrality which we euphemistically call *peace*.

The history-book method of resolving international conflict on the field of battle is no longer ethically valid, for the simple issues that in the past have led to war are now seen to be far more complex, as nations have formed power-blocs and especially as the use of modern nuclear weapons would cause indescribable devastation, so that both victors and vanquished would become victims of their own rigid policies. So we have variations on the

global-confrontation theme, e.g., cold war, sanctions, psychological warfare, etc., supported by a sinister system of espionage, military, political and industrial, that has today become an invisible time-bomb that is liable to explode without warning, and so to disrupt, if not to utterly destroy, the fragile peace within a world in which each country is so afraid of the future and so uncertain about the present that it is prepared at least in principle to support the United Nations Organisation, even though the latter is itself a threat to the sovereignty of each constituent member.

It is not formal education that initiates and determines the course of events, though it plays many significant roles according to the aims and objects of the educating society and the often equally-limited and restrictive charters of the various educational bodies, concerned primarily about the perpetuation and development of their own organisations, even when the achievement of their pre-determined objectives would be highly detrimental to the welfare of the larger world-community. What we loosely call 'education' can be, and in fact often is, a highly dangerous campaign to exploit the blind loyalty of subject citizens or to manipulate the behavioural responses of members of sectional bodies. As in the case of unadulterated propaganda it succeeds by exploiting situations to create conditions favourable to that particular state or body; its standards of truth and integrity would not stand up to scrutiny of a World Parliament, which must be given the power to enable it to investigate suspect policies and actions without fear or favour.

So, education can be, and is being, used as an attitude-forming process, as a kind of conditioning that is seen at its worst in brain-washing and in mass-hypnosis that leads to a degree of mass-hysteria that can result in death and destruction without counting, even without the urge to consider, the cost either in the loss of innocent lives or in senseless destruction. Yet it is possible for the educator, if he so wishes, to function fully within the respective official education system and at the same time deliberately to step out of the programmed, automated machine in order to maintain his own integrity and so to carry out his own personal campaign on behalf of humanity, i.e., on behalf of the citizens of the *One World*, within which, though life expresses itself in and through diversity, militant conflict is evidence of a lack of mutual understanding and respect, a failure to deal effectively with the basic problems of life and the consequent refusal to regard individual and group autonomy ("I am an island.") as a complete denial of the only freedom that is possible within any community, whether it be the family, the nation or the One-World, viz., *freedom within the law* ("No man is an island.").

In all the communities to which we belong, whether we realise it or not, we are involved in informal training and teaching, as experience is a continuous process of learning, in which one strand in the pattern is example, which is often re-inforced by instruction or friendly advice.

The truly enlightened educator for world peace must function deliberately and

unremittingly to fulfil his abnormally complex role, for he must be seen by his fellowmen to be standing four-square within the world as it is, and yet he himself must be aware that he is already a citizen of the world community, which for the vast majority of people is but a shadowy ideal, a distant goal that one day humanity may be destined to achieve. He must at one and the same time live fully at two levels, and be aware also of the many implications of his personal mission, e.g.,

- (1) he must be empathically one with all other members of the world community, individually and collectively.
- (2) he must realise that the truth of experience and not his acquired 'body of knowledge', however extensive this may be, is the *KEY* that will unlock *the doors of integral perception*, i.e., the ability to see and understand the problem (whatever its nature) as a whole, the true relationships between the separate parts, and the context within which the problem exists.
- (3) he must be able to ask the right questions by virtue of his dispassionate commitment to the quest for ultimate truth, i.e., the realisation of the relationship between a specific and therefore limited aspect of truth and its context as part of a larger Truth, in order to formulate the pattern of relationships underlying the specific problem within its overshadowing context.
- (4) he must be fully aware of the relationship between *knowledge* and *one's level of understanding* or the point on the vertical Consciousness Continuum* attained by an individual.
- (5) he must be willing and indeed dedicated to cooperate creatively with other enlightened educators and also as far as possible with official and voluntary bodies; cooperation with the latter will enable him to influence the development of the established system, at least some of his colleagues and more especially those who are ready to respond to the integral nature and quality of his instruction.
- (6) he must be personally aware of life with its problems as experienced at first hand so that he is able to assess the value of the investigations, conclusions

***Note:** What is generally described as 'expansion of consciousness' would be more accurately expressed as the extension of personal awareness into Consciousness, which is the living, pattern-determining force underlying the whole of existence, animate and inanimate. The quality of one's personal awareness will give meaning and purpose to personal development through the experience of service according to one's perception, understanding and ability.

and recommendations offered by politicians, sociologists, theologians and others. The former is, however, the basic, essential requirement, for an empathic, dispassionate involvement will enable the educator to understand and to discuss any problem in a realistic, practical way with people of all persuasions without any restrictive commitment to a particular group or body with its inevitable emotional bias. For example, when I wrote the poem, "The Refugees", I was empathically one with the refugees, and so felt and wrote *about* the refugees as a refugee, i.e., as an expression of personal experience and not as a literary exercise or an academic thesis, based upon a systematic study, which would no doubt have yielded a fund of objective *knowledge-about-the-refugee-problem*, however valuable the latter may be once the empathic orientation has been established. This need for realism through personal experience, direct or empathic, explains why the depth of one's perception of human unity and of world union depends upon the degree of one's empathic realisation of the organic unity of our One World as an actual spiritual *fact*, of which 'organisation man' must become fully aware, if he is to avoid having to learn all his lessons the hard way.

(7) he must be ready to prepare himself

(a) for even more demanding service

- i. by becoming more sensitive to life at all levels and in all its aspects;
- ii. by improving his technical abilities to be better equipped for his mission of service to mankind, e.g. clarity of language, the precise use of words, the ability to speak boldly yet humbly—without attempting to convince others by force of argument;

(b) to accept the challenge to undertake really difficult tasks which will stem from his aspirations, knowing that the perception of truth is more valuable than the possession of acquired knowledge, provided that the perception of truth involves understanding as well as seeing or beholding;

(c) to pursue the path of meditative, contemplative detachment that helps to cancel out the conditioning, brain-washing, mind-bending side-effects of formal and informal education, reading, listening to lectures, watching television, taking part in discussions, etc. All these activities are useful, indeed valuable, provided that we are guided by our total commitment to the intuitive truth of experience rather than by the mathematical logic of argument, the value of which depends largely upon our initial assumptions, which are generally held to be so universally true that they are beyond critical examination.

- (8) he must discard false and outworn knowledge, e.g., the bias and the untruth of national records; false information about peoples of other lands, accumulated as a result of one's education, or gleaned from books, magazines, newspapers, television, radio, conferences, lectures, discussions and the many other ways in which people communicate. In an attempt to understand the spiritual nature of man one could begin by studying comparative religion, but it is generally accepted that the best approach to the deeper meaning of a religion is to sit at the feet of a committed devotee who speaks from personal experience with the authority of conviction and understanding, but a true assessment of such a confession of faith requires in addition a standard of dispassionate wisdom that can relate that particular religion to the totality of man's spiritual evolution. In the same way the full consideration of a political problem demands the same degree of universal wisdom, i.e., the ability to relate the central issue with all its peripheral implications to the serial, expanding context within which the problem has developed, e.g., the immediate context, which is often the only one considered; the national context; the global context; the evolutionary context.
- (9) he must be prepared to cross all barriers, i.e., defensive boundaries erected by wrong thinking, ignorance, fear, prejudice, pride, conflicting ideologies, exclusive ethnic and religious attitudes, etc., in order to communicate with other people, whatever their colour, creed, language, status, condition or attitudes, and to deal directly with them on the horizontal plane of human-brotherhood experience. This inclusive quality of human relationships, which overshadows the secular ideals of scientific humanists and which leavens the sacred rituals of temple and church, belongs to the kind of personal experience which is derived from what Dr. Shafica Karagulla in her book, *Breakthrough to Creativity*, has described as "the 'inner' and 'outer' spaces of the superconscious state". It is this quality of experience and of life that man needs in order to enable him to achieve that which through the ages has eluded him — *world peace*.
- (10) he must be free from the pressures of emotional involvement, which, if present, would indicate that the educator is concerned about his own personal image and so feels compelled to defend his argument or *his* version of truth as an extension of his personal ego against the possibility of defeat or apparent devaluation in the eyes of his fellows within the community. However, truth is its own defence, and emotion in a dispassionate commitment to truth would be the motive power in the process of perceiving, comprehending, speaking, writing, behaving; it is the ingredient that is essential to create and so to radiate warmth, friendship, understanding, joy and compassion.

CONCLUSION: Even knowing the various steps towards world peace as a result of applying the right principles and asking the right questions will be of little use, if we do not decide to begin the journey along the Path, however many obstacles there may be and however difficult the travelling.

SUNSET AS DAWN

Five Poems

*When twilight finds the perfect meeting
Of day's brilliance and the texture of night,
Its evening softness accentuates the primal
Tones and places them before wonder's eye.*

*

*Indigo shades precede the night
As they do the sun and soften
The mid-grounds of first yearning
And absorption, the early passages.*

*

*Impressed with streaks of visible joy,
The whole sky becomes the evening's
Promise of dawn and the reason for sunset.*

*

*Reabsorbing itself, the solar light at dusk
Strikes a diaphanous cloud and showers bronze
To supplant the dim, as one indrawing may,
Penetrating the cave, be drenched by flaming rain.*

*

*White love through a golden filter
Falls and turns the eve to another dawn.*

Tatsat

IN SEARCH OF THE SOURCE: The Goal of a True University*

Howard John Zitko

Every year when I appear before this distinguished audience on the occasion of an Annual Conference, I am inclined to ask myself, "What am I doing here that is so all important to this institution, or to the future of mankind? What do I have to say that is of any consequence whatever to that new world, the building of which is our only basic and relevant goal? What is the degree of my commitment and the depth of my devotion that I can even presume what lies ahead for anyone of us?"

Of the writing of books and the making of speeches, there seems to be no end. For after we have read and heard, we often wonder whether we are any closer to the Source—to the will of God—than we were before we came and listened.

Perhaps it is in listening that we perceive—in learning to be quiet that we find revelation in silence. All I can do once each year, with the cherished opportunity that is afforded me, is to attempt the explanation of the goal of a true university in the hope that these ideals will light the pathway of our progress toward that ultimate accomplishment, which must inevitably be hidden in the depths of our own being.

I have no doubt that each of us here

must, by our very presence, hold to two great visions: our own final individualized completion as a perfected soul with all problems solved, and our total absorption into a totally integral society which reflects man's highest ideals of Divine Order. One would be hardpressed to discover any goals higher than the perfection of man and his civilization. We may differ on how these goals may be interpreted, and some concepts may fall far short of others, but no one would probably deny that life on Earth would reach some ultimate state of fulfillment, if we all knew more about what constitutes the common good, as well as the purest expression of the kind of selfless love that has universal dimension.

Since this is my twenty-sixth annual consecutive keynote address, in which I shall attempt to keep alive the long-range projection of this University's objectives, I shall necessarily reflect my own evolving insights into the nature of education for the New Age. At the same time, it is my hope that I shall also give voice to the attitudes and concerns of those who comprise the core leadership responsible for imparting drive and substance to the University's program. I wish also to express both the

*Keynote Address to the 26th Annual Conference of The World University by the President and Chairman of the Board.

philosophy of the Higher Guidance whose inspiration underlies this humble effort, and the aspirations of all those who have proved by their own sacrifice that they are serious about the results they hope to achieve.

In all these years, I have dreamed great dreams of a University of Man so daring as to pursue truth from the inner recesses of the atom to the outermost periphery of space. For such is the nature of human life, in part or sum totality. Man is all the universe is. He *is* the universe; and the World University is for world-minded men and women who are beyond the temptation to confuse the part with the whole.

In the same sense, I have visioned great visions of a University of God in which all life, from the very least to the very greatest, is held sacred and in the highest reverence. For all life is God, everywhere existent and everywhere caring. The World University is such a cosmic institution, a living symbol to growing numbers of compassionate souls who are beyond the temptation to sacrifice their own precious inner peace to engage in outer conflict of dubious value.

Somewhere, as French priest-archaeologist Teilhard de Chardin puts it, there is an omega point where man reaches the end of his universalization. Sri Aurobindo, the sage of Pondicherry, calls this end product "Gnostic being," where man's total knowledge about himself enables him to embrace totality. Charles Morris, another of the more modern American philosophers, describes this new creature as "Maitreyan man," the final product of an all-inclusive synthesis. Dane Rudhyar, one of the world's great astrologers and a true planetary disciple of the New Age, describes his version of the "man of Plenitude" as a being capable of "living the life of the Spirit, by the Spirit as

Spirit."

Yet, we are living in a world today where nationalism is rampant and sectarian divisiveness has never been more disconcerting. Officials of government in high places, not all but some, forgetting that they are the servants of the people, treat their constituents as if they were a nuisance, expendable, without natural or divine rights, indeed a threat to their pursuit of power and greed. Churchmen, on the other hand, again some but not all, quibble about when, where, and how the world will end, while their converts die on foreign battlefields and their economic existence is eroded by the very corruption of the civilization which they should be pledged to perfect. We find a curious contrast in the prevalence of deception, hypocrisy and greed in the very midst of honesty, integrity, and compassion. These extremes are possible only because one set of human beings are fighting a last ditch struggle to survive the disintegration of their own error, while at the same time, indeed at the very same moment, another group of advancing humanity are striving to achieve the truth which will set them free—free of their dependence upon the old outmoded forms that have spelled disaster for as long as man can remember.

These are times of great upheaval, times that demand of man courage of heroic proportions. We are moving through a period of history so beautifully, and yet so tragically, symbolized by the Watergate affair wherein the question is not of legality, but of right; not of blind allegiance to a team effort that is cloaked in secrecy and subterfuge, but of enlightened devotion to a society that needs the very best of whatever we are. Our country, all nations, the world are today in a crises of conscience; and unless we

understand why we tend to compromise our highest principles in favor of some temporary expediency, which may or may not contribute to personal advantage, the continued existence of our society must stand in doubt; and the very foundations of our boasted civilization, rotting from lack of spiritual nourishment, will inevitably disintegrate and crumble into dust.

Our colleges and universities have had for their goal for the past several centuries the education of potential intellectual giants. The mark of the educated man was his ability to enter the professions, to succeed with his career, and to become influential in shaping his country and the world in terms of the ideals and principles he was educated to accept as being proper to his own security and well-being. Seldom was anything said about the education of cultural giants, and still less about moral giants. For the university to produce the incorruptible man was a goal hardly to be countenanced, and certainly not to be encouraged. Does this statement sound odd, inaccurate, or facetious? Do you know what would happen if the universities turned loose a wave of educated youth who could not be bought, who could not be propagandized, who could not and would not tolerate corruption and that host of evils that stem from man's inhumanity to man? They would, if they had the power, put an end to the misinformation which has enslaved man to a neurosis of frustration engendered by a well conceived indoctrination of futility—the futility of trying to change a system that feeds upon pain, suffering and death. Of course, the traditional universities cannot disturb the system by which they are supported and prospered. But that is the test. Can they ultimately survive in their present form, when the very society they sustain and

from which they derive their existence is disintegrating from a misuse, disuse or abuse of the knowledge that is in their keeping?

The incorruptible man is indeed suspect in any society that fails to honor the life, liberty and security of the individual citizen. Our forefathers knew that the one institution that must be free to pursue truth wherever it may lead and to explore, and indeed to encourage, the more perfect union, is the school, and not the church or the state. Can the school be truly free where the state dictates its policies and controls its economy and the church circumscribes its teaching and dogmatizes its philosophy?

We have reached a crisis in our civilization because the school, no longer a free agent in educating citizens to make a virtue of moral judgment, has succumbed to the pressures of a decaying order by largely ignoring the necessity for placing the common good above personal advantage. Watergate has now become the classic symbol of the breakdown of moral decision, because it is evidence of the widespread deception and spiritual deterioration which exists in all institutions of our society that place the fortunes and the power of a few above the needs and the aspirations of the many.

We are on the threshold of a New Age because the Old has run its course. Many challenge such a statement because this age seems to have no more crises than any previous age which might be mentioned. They also contend that the situation can't be so bad as to wipe out all corruption. After all, what is so bad about a little corruption? It's better than too much.

What many people do not understand (and they embrace large numbers of intellectuals) is that no crisis occurs until

there are enough good men to challenge the right of the Old to survive. But there is more than right to consider. There is purpose. What purpose can there be to continue the hypocrisy of pretending that we are a moral order, when the very continuity of the human race is considered in jeopardy by the overwhelming evidence of modern science?

Not only is a new start indicated by every revelation of deceit that is uncovered, but we may need to evolve a whole new concept of the relationship between the school and the state, if we are to revise our estimate of who is fit to teach and who is fit to rule.

I have already said that some of our most prestigious philosophers have expressed their views on man's coming universalization. This is all well and good. However, I must augment their appeal for a human being who can touch heights of moral and spiritual excellence as well. It is not simply in achieving the world view or the universal outlook that must concern us, but in evolving the type of human soul who knows how to love and to be just. When we get into the area of moral evolution, not just intellectual development, we cross the chasm between education as we know it today and education as it must be practiced in the future, if we are to arrive at any kind of culture that can rightly be termed civilization.

It is this transition from the Old form to the new life style, to use a familiar expression, that concerns me. There is no question in my mind that the Old forms are outmoded and obsolete. But this shift in emphasis from an intellectually indoctrinated society to a morally oriented order, in which people are advanced, not by what they know, but by what they are, may well be coming too late to avoid the mass destruction which is

already upon us. Nature, which is reacting to man's desecration of the planet, is presently taking a toll in life and property beyond anything known in human memory; while man himself, not loathe to vent his hostility upon his own kind, is toying with the idea that total war is still an acceptable alternative to peaceful coexistence.

There is even the question whether we have gone so far as to endorse the necessity for this movement toward moral justification. We are still a society of laws, and laws are not always moral or right. Much of the civil disturbance in this country and abroad is caused by people who refuse to live under a judicial order that is in many respects morally reprehensible.

If there was ever a need to search for the Source of the truth of man's destiny, this is it. If there is any area in which the university has almost totally failed, this is where it's at. I never ceased to be amazed that students can go through two, four, six or eight years of college, get degrees at all levels of academic attainment, and still not know who they are, where they came from, why they are here, and where they are going. Yes, of course, in a superficial way, they know what these questions imply. But in no significant sense can they state with any spiritual certainty that they know what is meant by the ultimate man.

It is easy to say that the educated man serves the common good. But how can he serve the common good when, at any time, he may be forced by prejudice, or fanaticism, or patriotic pride to take sides against that part of the human race which he is compelled to oppose? When will he be forced to succumb to the state in a conflict against another state? When will he oppose a church or a religion because it teaches a doctrine

towards which he has been trained to have no sympathy? When will he justify the overriding of the rights of others, when they infringe upon his own advancement or security? If his idea of the ultimate man is a being of superior force and ability, he will have no qualms about destroying anyone and everyone who gets in his way, rationalizing that to the swift and the crafty go the spoils.

This is the kind of world we have today, a world in which conquest of some kind is considered the keynote of success. If this were the conquest of self and selfish desire, it would be one thing. But the conquest, which implies infringement on the rights of others, is quite another thing. If man has no higher aspiration than to add to the sum total of human distress, pain, and suffering, then he is not only uneducated, but may well be implacably evil.

The question is: is man evil because that is his nature? Is he evil because of some genetic pattern over which he has no control? Or does man tend to become evil because the system under which he lives and moves and is educated encourages him to tolerate evil as a way of life? Is he perhaps being trained to become part of a social order that rewards moral misbehavior, because as part of the intellectual elite he can then insure the perpetuation of the power which he finds it so easy to inherit?

I do not wish to indicate a skepticism toward man's capability of transcending this syndrome. It is just that the university must shift sooner or later from an intellectual to a moral base, from the development of mind to the cultivation of the soul. It stands to reason that unless the university can turn out men and women of greater moral integrity, as its major thrust, our civilization is

not only dead, it will have no possible replacement.

When we survey all the evidence of human occupation of this planet, we are virtually stunned by the fact, if we can accept it, that present day humanity is a relative latecomer to the Earth and that this segment of humanity, with whom we are associated, has probably made the worse showing of any people who ever occupied our sphere. I have long been a student of the prehistoric world and have marvelled at the great monuments of the past and the evidence of interplanetary visitation as recorded by the very early philosophers and perpetuated in the sacred books of all religions. There has never been any question in my mind that life is everywhere and that advanced life exist far beyond anything conceivable by the human intellect.

I need not go over the evidence at this point which suggests that in some remote period human civilization had attained heights still unmatched by today's rather primitive accomplishments. The sacred Scriptures tell of the "Fall of Man," implying that there was a decline of culture, as well as technology, in some distant period of human history. In the light of new scientific discoveries, concerning the probable development and use of atomic energy, space travel, electronics and cybernetics during a past age, it becomes even more understandable why there is a tradition about the "Sons of God" coming from outer space in strange vehicles and intermarrying with the "daughters of men" who were the native inhabitants of the planet.

A World University, if it is to interpret the future adequately in the light of the past, must of necessity research and publicize the continuity of an advanced humanity who

migrated to this planet in the very dawn of history and who have appeared in physical bodies from time to time in order to return to the Earth and its civilization the science and the philosophy of the Cosmic. I call this knowledge "Cosmic" because it is derived from sources beyond man, and what man so far understands of this advanced technology and social organization is only but the barest introduction to the higher wisdom.

The World University exists because this advanced humanity exists; and the World University grows and gathers strength because the people who have come out of the ancient world are demanding institutions that reflect their state of evolution. Many will participate in the building of the New World which is rising from these concepts of what constitutes the universal good, but only a few will have achieved such elevations of consciousness as to formulate the necessary guidelines, leading man into the New Age.

If we are truly to be in search of the Source, we as students and members of the World University must understand that we, who are living today, were not the first to think in terms of interplanetary organization. It is possible that we may be astute enough to recognize the recovery of our own initial research begun so many centuries, yes, millenniums ago. If this be the fact (and there are many who share this view), then it is our highest calling to "save and restore that which was lost," to use a favorite Scriptural phrase, and thereby return to physical life an order of society that is based upon the incorruptibility of the perfected soul. "Be ye perfect" is still the most challenging of all counsel ever imparted to imperfect and mortal men.

This concept of a university, which

universalizes one's understanding of life and restores to man his initial sense of divinity, is a far cry from the vocational and professional institutions of education which only teach their students how to get and hold a job. The new humanity, coming into physical embodiment, demand more than a job with which to make a living. *They want to serve in the building of the kind of world from which they came.* They reject any suggestion of conformity to the extant chaos, which characterizes the state of the world at the present time. What they want and need is the challenge "to make all things new," the very heart of the new invocation to Deity.

It is this demand on the part of every aspiring student of the higher wisdom which is at the heart and core of the educational revolution. Perhaps it may seem a presumption to say that our present traditional academic institutions are obsolete, but so they are against the background of what we already know about the immediate future of mankind. I do not say that we shall not continue to have vocational instruction, but it will be so vastly altered as to be unrecognizable by current standards. Just as science is moving from the technology of substance to that of energy, so also is man's society moving from a materialistic orientation to a universalized spiritual expression. The University of the future will leave the job instruction to the professional or vocational colleges, while the universalization of the incorruptible man will proceed in that institution which has the perception to reveal the route of his spiritual integration.

I cannot in this Keynote explain in any detail what that route is. It involves telepathic rapport with the immortals of the Earth, and it involves intuitional insight into the Source of all knowledge. That there is a way to

discover the truths upon which man can build the integrity of his body, mind and soul, is more than a hope. It is a science of long duration. Not everyone will seek this science, because it means the overthrow of all those cherished errors with which we have been enamored for so long, errors which express as pain and suffering, tragedy and death. You might think that everyone would willingly avoid these unpleasant consequences of mistaken direction. But this is not the way of the world. It is easier to cling to an outworn error, no matter how devastating its effects, than to adhere to an untried truth, no matter how inviting its rewards.

The World University has many and varied adherents who span all branches of knowledge and who extend into all nations and cultures. There is no spokesman who can say with any authority that he speaks for all the men and women who comprise this institution, much less perhaps for the movement as a whole which ramifies beyond this particular effort. This is what makes the World University such a grand concept. By definition, it cannot be narrowed down to a specific area of education which precludes study or research into the unknown, even into that aspect of the unknown requiring for its cognition levels of consciousness beyond the normal state of awareness.

The unique distinction which has been imparted to the World University movement by this spokesman has always been the openmindedness with which this institution has approached subjects hitherto considered unacceptable knowledge, or at least knowledge of dubious value in a scientifically trained society. But scientists themselves are often widely divided on issues with which they are concerned, and few are sufficiently objective to pursue truth without resisting

implications that do not fit into the preconceived pattern of what they want to believe.

Most science today is not fact, but theory. Often the layman does not differentiate between what the scientist thinks he knows about a certain phenomenon or piece of evidence, and what he knows for sure. Often theories stand for generations and are taken to be correct, later to be modified or even rejected when evidence to the contrary becomes a part of that established knowledge which is truly called science.

In that regard two items of conjecture (to some) come to mind. One is the theory that space travelers of advanced intelligence colonized this planet at an early age and built great cities, many of which lie buried under water and earth where only future generations will uncover the evidence of their existence. The importance of this concept is that the solar system is inhabited by beings of higher intelligence than we are accustomed to deal with in everyday life. At the same time it indicates that some of these early "men of renown" as described in the Book of Genesis may still be with us today and, in fact may be responsible for the greater part of the scientific and technological renaissance which we are enjoying in this particular century.

The second theory that comes to mind is the concept of a new influx of planetary colonizers who will take our present civilization, imperfect and destructive as it is, and transmute it into a Divine Order which will take control of the Earth for the millennium ahead. Wild as this may seem at first glance, all church philosophy in the Western World is literally based upon this assumption, and all that we need now is some proof that the men and women, who will be coming into control of the governments of the world, are

conscious of their association with intelligences at the highest levels of the human life wave — and beyond.

The philosophy of the Church has always revolved about certain suppositions, such as the conquest of death, the second coming of an interplanetary ruler called Christ, and the establishment of a Perfect Government that would bring peace to the Earth for a thousand years. All that science needs to do is to prove that man is potentially immortal (that is now taken for granted by medical scientists), that Christ (known by other names in other religions) is in fact a being from outside this planet and represents a Group Intelligence far beyond the human life wave, and that the Perfect Government, written in Scripture, is a form of organized society whose antecedents go far back into the prehistoric age. None of this should appear impossible, even to the scientist, and it may well prove to be one of the greatest truths of all time. And proof is on its way.

I am reminded of the classic remark once made by the great scientist Niels Bohr to another scientist at a convention in New York. Said he: "We all agree that your theory is mad. The problem which divides us is this — is it sufficiently crazy to be right?"

I have no doubt that some people over the years have thought me a little odd because I advanced certain concepts about a prehistoric world which could boast of a civilization far beyond anything extant on the Earth today. More than thirty-five years ago I said that California would someday become the east coast of a new continent to the West, and only recently have scientists confirmed their own suspicion that the Earth's surface is formed of a series of continental and oceanic plates, causing the

process known as "continental drift." Geophysicists now believe that someday the oceanic plate, in a relentless northwest movement, will rip itself from the North American continent to the east of the San Andreas fault and form a new continent which will stretch westward with California as its east coast. The theory of a "New Earth" in the Pacific is no longer fantasy, and scientists, taking the long view, can say with some certainty that the surmise of the spiritual seers, who have predicted this development for thousands of years, is substantially correct.

But what about the future of man on this planet? Will man cooperate with Nature in fashioning a new and more wholesome environment, not only for himself, but for all life with which he is associated? After all, man does share the planet with many forms of life which are essential to his own well-being. He must be just as concerned about conserving life at the lower levels of being as he is about preserving his own existence. He can survive only if the planet survives, and at this stage this means a total dedication to the purification of the soil, the water, and the air.

It is this contemplation of the source of the problem that shows up the inadequacy of the university as it is constituted today. If the matter of human survival is so crucial as to cast doubt about the continuity of life on our planet beyond the next century, then the university has the responsibility to refuse cooperation with any policy that has for its object the contamination of the body, the mind, and the environment. To the degree that the university is unable to influence the trend of affairs, resulting in the corruption of the human person and the pollution of his environment, to that extent is it subservient

to the will of the corruptors and the polluters.

Perhaps this is one of those crazy theories that might just turn out to be right. Perhaps we ought to reconceive the university as a temple of sacred wisdom, leading to the metamorphosis of man as a world citizen and a world server, rather than as an impersonal knowledge factory where intellectual materialism is made to smother the normal aspirations of inherently good people. The revolt of youth, as we understand it in scholastic terms, is the dissent against conformity to a way of life that has brought human ity into perpetual crisis with no foreseeable conclusion other than complete and total disaster. If the university does not become the ultimate refuge of a new kind of human being, who is willing to become both universalized and morally integrated, beyond corruptibility, I for one see no reasonable hope that society can survive the incompetence of those who presently rule the world.

I ask that you do not take this statement out of context, as I have only the highest respect for the many self-sacrificing individuals of high nobility who are doing everything possible to hold the existing social structure together. And when I speak of those who rule the world, I do not simultaneously refer to our elected officials who usually serve conscientiously as they are given to see the Light. My reference is to those who are not always so visible or accountable, but who wield the power that "makes countless thousands mourn." They are the ones who use the power of money, propaganda, and the sword to stir conflict and beat down the hopes of those who "hunger for justice and righteousness."

And all this suffering and tragedy and catastrophe will continue unless an advanced humanity, using advanced concepts of

education and working through an advanced type of university, such as I am here suggesting, will reinforce the efforts of inherently good people with a tidal wave of energy, inspiration, and talent, all directed to the construction of a totally new world.

The first thing that must be recognized is that it can be done. The only question that may divide us, as Neils Bohr might point out, is: will we have the determination to do it? Is such a hope sufficiently crazy to be right?

I know that my voice is not strong among the babble of tongues that we hear on every side. I can only hope and pray that the spiritual matrix which we weave by our thoughts and our expectations may form an ever greater source of moral strength upon which we can build for the ages.

The torchbearers of civilization have come down through an all but forgotten past to illuminate the darkness of the present. What might they not show us in the future?

The world is in crisis: a money crisis, an energy crisis, a population crisis, a food crisis. You name it—we've got it. But the greatest crisis of all is in the human mind and heart—the crisis of conscience.

I say the answer is in a new science of character integration—the alignment of body, emotion, mind, and soul—the antakarana as it is called in the Eastern wisdom. Total integrity has to be the goal. And when the new man and the new woman rise from the ashes of their own dead selves and lift their eyes to the stars, mankind will be on the move once again. The university will become what I once called "a flame of freedom in a brighter torch." The world will throw off the burden of its ignorance and its prejudice to face the planets—and whatever may be found out there in the way of personalized intelligence—with genuine joy over the

discovery of its own oneness, its own unity, its own identity with the universe.

Maybe I am just a dreamer, an incurable idealist visionary. Yet again I might have seen a future age in which another human race has made a better showing, with all its creativity, than present day humanity.

I know that my voice reaches many who are trying. I know that many are sacrificing their lives, like the disciples of old, to keep alive the hope that the Kingdom of God is not a dream. Surely, the Divine Order of which I speak is not of this world as we know it. But it could be a New Order for all the Ages (Novus Ordo Seclorum), as our American forefathers must have seen it through tearfilled eyes.

I dare to believe that man is capable of transforming this Earth into a paradise of health, prosperity, and happiness for every human being who is native to this planet. I know enough of the science of human

perfection to know that it is possible for every person, who draws the breath of life, to touch Divinity right where he is. There is no reason known to science or religion why man, imperfect as he may now know himself to be, cannot integrate his very being into an immortal Soul capable of transcending every human limitation and surmounting every human weakness.

This is the essence of the New Education, and this is the objective of the World University. Anything less than this is a travesty on the divine potentiality that lies at the core of every human being.

To probe the depths of human capability will take centuries, perhaps thousands of years. But to take that first step toward total integration will require only a moment in time. Let it be said that the World University foresaw the future and laid down the challenge by which man could once again lift his face toward God.

THE STATE OF UNITY

J. Sig Paulson

A new state is being born in the hearts and minds of humanity. There is as yet no thought of taking this state into the United Nations, and that is just as well, because it will absorb the United Nations. This state is greater than any nation or group of nations, but it will include some of the elements of each one.

This state is greater than any religion. It is greater than Christianity; it is greater than Hinduism or Mohammedanism; it is greater than Judaism or Protestantism or Catholicism or metaphysics, though it will include some of the elements of each. It is greater than democracy or communism; it is greater than capitalism, either private or state; it is greater than socialism, either voluntary or involuntary, although it may well include some of the elements of each.

This state is the state of unity—the state of oneness with God, and through that oneness with our Creator, unity with our fellowmen. This new state is being born not of flesh and blood, not of the mind and will of man, but of the will of God, of Spirit, *within* man.

It is as though our Creator has decided that his universe and family have been divided long enough. His Spirit is seeking out open minds and hearts, guiding them into his new state, the state of unity.

Those who are entering this state come from every nation, every race, every religion. They are drawn from every walk of life, science, politics, business, labor, education, from every human endeavor.

Those who enter this state are giving up old concepts of superiority and inferiority, releasing old habits of division, dissolving old practices that erect barriers between themselves and their fellowmen.

This new state probably already has more citizens than we realize. There are business leaders who are not too occupied with pursuing the almighty dollar or with protecting vested interests or trying to overcome competition to take the time to be quiet, to listen to the inner Spirit, and to recognize the reality of their unity with all.

There are political leaders who are not too engrossed in mending political fences, or trying to win the next election, or trying to serve pressure groups, who also listen and feel and see the unity of all.

There are leaders in education and religion who are taking time from outworn dogmas and doctrines of the past, outer building programs, fighting cults or organisations that seem to be opposed to their particular philosophy and creed in order to be quiet, to listen to and to feel the spirit of unity working within them.

From all the areas of human endeavour, people are taking time from the mechanics of living to be quiet, to listen to and to feel the spirit of unity that is flowing into human consciousness.

A new pattern of life is being born on the Earth, even among all the outer turmoil and seeming conflict, a pattern outlined by Paul in his word to the Colossians: "Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old nature with its practices and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its Creator, here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, Divine Genius is all, and in all."

The first step into the state of Unity takes place when we stop lying to one another and to ourselves "and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its Creator." Scriptures point out succinctly that man was created in the image of God. God did not create Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindus, Whites, Blacks, Yellows, hippies, capitalists, laborers, insiders or outsiders. These are all secondary labels, and when we attempt to pigeonhole ourselves and others in them, we are lying.

Living this lie produces the state of disunity that plagues the world today. Disunity will disappear when we discard the lie that gives it life and get back to the pattern in which we were originally created. The simple truths that lead into the state of unity are that each man is created in the image of God and has within him as his real identity the Divinity, and that the "Divine is all, and in all."

The first place to establish the original pattern of creation is in our own consciousness about ourselves. For a little practice as a citizen in the state of unity, we may wish to enter the course of mental action described in the following words:

"Before I am Catholic, Protestant, Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, Hindu, Greek, Democrat, Republican, capitalist, communist, or any other secondary label, I am a human being, a divine original created in the image of God. The truth of my being is the Divine Genius."

We may work with these ideas until they become a permanent part of our inner makeup; and if we do, we will soon note a wonderful change in our own attitudes — toward ourselves and toward others. We will no longer be quite so touchy or defensive about ourselves or our "group". We will spend less time trying to herd people into our way of thought and action, and more time developing and expressing our divine potential. Our recognition of our true identity will cause it to grow and flower, and we will be born again, becoming a new creature.

As our consciousness of our real identity or self grows, we will voluntarily extend this recognition to others. Citizenship in the state of unity is voluntary—it cannot be legislated or enforced by outer government. We will extend this recognition to others because we want to and our growing awareness moves us to do it...

Our recognition of the truth that all people in our world are members of one family, the human family of God, will have a radiating influence that reaches around the globe. We are with the leaders of a world of thought and feeling and action that impinges upon and penetrates into all of human consciousness. We are helping to establish a new tone that will one day ring clearly through the corridors of all human thought and feeling.

A few years back, leaders of powerful nations threatened to bury other nations. But as the tone of unity strengthens, a leader of a powerful nation is going to stand up and say something to this effect: "You are not going to bury us, and we are not going to bury you. From our viewpoint, there will be no more war. We intend to stop fighting, militarily, economically, and politically, because we are going to stop lying to ourselves and to you. We are going to recognize the truth that you have within you the Divine Genius, the spirit of God, as we do; and we are going to commit the resources of this nation to the state of unity. We invite you to work with us to bring this state of unity into being as a reality in the experience of mankind."

That inspired and courageous leader could well be the leader of a democracy or the leader of a country behind the Iron Curtain. Truth is no respecter of persons, and it operates through all open minds and hearts.

The state of unity is the nation of humanity, and every human being is destined to become a citizen much sooner than appears possible right now. Let's voluntarily speed the process with growing confidence, joy and enthusiasm.

NOW

Eugene Fynn

It should be obvious to most people by now that the many problems facing and threatening the very existence of mankind cannot and will not be solved by government action.

We are faced with: first, destruction of our ecological systems by pollution and massive technological disruption; second, global conflict and nuclear war; third, shortages of food causing famine and death in many parts of the world. It seems that the same people who engineer war are more firmly in control of government than ever before while internal problems are everywhere getting more out of control with each passing day. These men in control want to blame others, be it the oil producing nations, the Communists, the radical left, the extreme Right or outside influence for their country's political, economic and social ills when they themselves set the policy. Millions of people are dying while others are threatened with death by starvation if some relief does not come very soon. The rising price of food is even threatening the security and stability of the highly developed industrial nations.

In theory, government should be concentrating all of its energy towards the resolution of these most crucial problems. It is evident, though, that most of the men in the highest political offices are preoccupied with retaining their positions, consolidating their power, or trying to gain more.

So it should be clear that if man is going to survive or if this world is going to be worth surviving on it is up to the people of the world. Each one of us has the responsibility to begin solving these problems without the aid of government for, at least, the foreseeable future.

To all appearances this seems like a very dim and foreboding picture, but in reality, if we take a broader view of the situation, it can become the greatest opportunity ever given to man. We are being forcibly made aware that it is only the people en masse who can solve these problems by a unified and unifying action. Truly benevolent government may set guidelines, great and enlightened leaders may inspire, but it is only the conscious effort and determination of all people of goodwill, who aspire to a nobler life on earth, that can effectively lift us out of the chaos into which we are rapidly sinking.

Looked at in these terms, it is a time of great hope. A new consciousness is expressing itself in man. Never before were so many enlightened people in our midst. Young people are more intellectually developed and children are more brilliant. They almost exude the new Light. People were never so sensitive and compassionate as they are now. Witness the protests against war, and the growing disgust and revulsion against inequality, hunger and oppression. These

are the ways that the new Consciousness is expressing itself so far— in knowledge and feeling. Now it is time to express this new knowledge and compassion in Action, and that is why it is a time of great hope. We are on the edge of a New Creation, if we but realize that we as people, not governments, must solve our problems.

The first major problem that people as individuals can effectively help solve, or at least make a significant contribution towards resolving, is the ever growing problem of food shortages. Shortages are causing hunger, death by famine and assorted evils attributable to malnutrition such as stunted growth, a short life span, underdeveloped minds and bodies, disease, and degrading life styles.

It is hard to get specific figures as to what percentage of total grain production goes into the making of alcoholic beverages, though we know it is staggering. Hundreds of millions of gallons of alcoholic beverages are consumed annually in America. The amount of grain misused in this most expensive and wasteful use of food is significant enough to resolve the food shortages, at least in the most acute areas. It might also have the effect of lowering food prices to lower-income groups since there would be much more food available. Restricting the sale or the consumption of alcoholic beverages by government action is no way to resolve this waste of nutrition in a starving world. This has been tried before. It could only lead to more corruption in a society already too corrupt. The only solution to this problem is for individuals, on a mass action basis, to decide not to drink alcoholic beverages. Millions of tons of rice, barley, wheat, rye, hops, and grapes would then be converted to nutritional purposes. Such a

resistance to the consumption of alcoholic beverages by large segments of the people will be more effective in bringing about social change than any ballot or vote.

We cannot expect a political messiah to lead us out of the complex difficulties with which we are now struggling. The most powerful, dedicated leaders get assassinated while the less powerful get rendered impotent by an unyielding and unfeeling political, social machinery.

It is very easy and expedient to blame the government or the corporate structure for being callous and insensitive to the poor and minority groups. But, are we less insensitive and callous when we drink alcoholic beverages, knowing that by our action we are depriving hungry people of food that is necessary for their survival?

Let us try to summarize the situation in the most specific way possible that we have space for in this article.

We are facing unprecedented food shortages here in America while countries less fortunate are confronting famine. The main preoccupation in the White House at this crucial time seems to be justifying to Congress and the American people the pardoning of Richard Nixon, etc.

The corporate structure is spending millions of dollars trying to tell us how they are beautifying America, while they continue to rape the Earth, pollute the waters, and poison the air, making tremendous profits, with the acquiescence and sometimes collusion of government officials.

We could go on and on with the abuses of the military, business and government everywhere, but most people are aware of these abuses and it is not necessary to elaborate any further.

However, in all fairness, we would like to

state that even if we had good government and good government officials, they could do nothing to solve this complex problem without the cooperation of the masses of the people. It is also obvious that people can, without the aid of the government, move toward a resolution of this problem by a boycott of alcoholic beverages.

What can people do when their main concern is, and correctly so, the maintenance, enhancement, and continuity of life on this planet?

We can start to act positively and powerfully; if we so choose, ultimately the power will be in the hands of the people, if we will only unite and shake ourselves to use it. The question that all disturbed, concerned people are asking themselves and each other is: what can I (we) do?

An alternative to doing nothing is to boycott alcoholic beverages. Not on moral grounds or as a blow against any particular industry, but as a first positive step towards relieving starvation in the world and stabilizing food distribution.

This is a move in which all can participate.

All groups can be joined in a common cause. We can all take this first step, which may take much sacrifice on the part of some, but which can be part of the beginning of a new life on earth. It is ridiculous to think that conditions can change unless life styles change.

In the final analysis, there is this question: are we going to leave our fate and the future of mankind in the hands of discredited politicians or we going to take the future in our own hands? We have the power. This alcohol boycott could lift the threat of massive famine, and it might only be the beginning of the resolution which is desperately needed by our struggling humanity.

If you see any truth and hope in this, you have the opportunity to inform others. Only a united people can prevent mass starvation, not any action on the part of our governments. That is our choice to make. By our own personal actions we can make this the greatest and most exciting period in man's history or the darkest and most chaotic. Let the Sun shine through.

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY—I

Pratibha

Of the many people whose lives have touched mine, the one I know least about is my mother's. In photographs I have seen that she was very tall and beautiful until she became ill; she died of a heart attack when I was three. I imagine she must have had a vague thirst for spirituality because she became a follower of a new religion known as Christian Science. Nearly thirty years after her passing, my father still only said of her that she was a very good woman, an expert cook, and was never angry. On more than one occasion over the recent years, I have had the impression that Anna, my mother, was not far away.

In photographs of myself and my brother Junior, three years older than I, it appears that we were sad or crying from a tender age. I have the remote memory of having once asked my mother why she washed the dishes as I was sitting on the floor with my toy sink and dishes. I can't imagine her answer, but to this day I like very much washing dishes. Junior and I were raised on a farm in Newburgh, New York, which my father ran during the years of the Second World War. My mother's family had migrated from a province north of Naples, Italy, and my father went to America on his own at sixteen. I've never known any members of my mother's numerous family, though I more than compensated in knowing about my father's background.

My father, Alfonso, went first to Mexico and worked in the biggest dairy farm in the capital, belonging to his brother's father-in-law. This dairy farm owner was one of the last typical characters of his times — the times of upheaval and bloody revolution in the 1920's — with his whip, which was used on men, and his two guns. He told me, when I met him in his old age, how they took herds of cattle all the way to the Chicago slaughter-houses; and from him I heard the authentic cowboy humor in all its crude rusticity.

My father's brother, Uncle Luis, went to Mexico when he was fourteen with my grandfather who owned a pastry store in a town of northern Spain and, I have gathered, was among the most elegant men in his place and had an extensive stamp collection. My father then went to California, and from there to New York; he and his friends were the second group to drive a car from coast to coast. He was mostly engaged in the refrigeration and restaurant business for nearly fifty years until his recent death. My uncle returned to Spain; after seeing life, he chose to pursue academic studies. Luis became a teacher, was

director of an orphanage, and was in the midst of studying medicine when the Civil War broke out in 1936.

In 1947, after being badly cared for at the farms of some of my father's friends, I was sent by airplane at the age of four to Mexico City, the home of my uncle and aunt who now lived there exiled and who had no children. I arrived with my suitcase and my new doll. I had had the idea that Mexico was much closer to my father's house, and had great difficulty bearing the fact that I could not return. My uncle had lived for a short while in New York after the war and spoke a bit of English. I had bright red cheeks which became pale and thin in the new climate, and in the next few years spent a great deal of time in bed with tonsillitis. Aunt Benita and Uncle Luis found it deplorable that I was lefthanded and systematically slapped my hand each time I used it. They also felt a child should learn to eat all kinds of food, and eating fish was a frequent occasion for tears. I was sent to an English-medium school in order not to forget my native tongue, which I inevitably did, and shortly afterwards I was sent to the "Sacred Heart", the most prestigious school in Mexico. There, I've been told, on the first day of school, as I was already a veteran of sorts, I stood beneath the massive gates and ushered into our kindergarten class all those girls who were weeping with fear.

My aunt and uncle and their friends, the exiled intelligentsia, held regular social gatherings in which the primary subject of conversation was, naturally, the war. Most of them had no children and I was their mascot, always awake though the parties often lasted till dawn. I had a very early instruction in terms of ideologies and the effects of war, but also I learned to love the joy of life. Each of these dear friends, who have always showered me with gifts and unending affection, had narrowly escaped from the destruction they so vividly described.

Uncle Luis owned a textile store but his talents were not those of a businessman; he was therefore moderately wealthy, though he held a position of prestige in society. His house evoked the air of a museum, since often he brought home antiques and innumerable silver and gold objects; but above all, he cultivated his stamp and coin collections. In his mind he dwelled primarily on the pre-Columbian history of the South Americans, and in his heart there was a large place for the many dogs he also frequently brought home. My aunt concerned herself with social visits.

In my kindergarten class they may have been talking about the Spanish Conquest when suddenly I rose to the top of my desk and shouted: "Long live Spain!" And my best friend Marta, who belonged to a prominent political Mexican family, rose to her desk and cried: "Long live Monterey!" We were both duly punished by being made to face the classroom wall. To my first kindergarten teacher I used to sing songs in the Galician language of northwestern Spain. These songs, and the entire Galician culture, were infused in me from the wells of my aunt and uncle's deep love for their land. Marta and I were so young that

we were required to attend kindergarten the following year also, and my second teacher didn't like me very much. I recall having amassed a huge chain of curious key-holders which she took as I was playing with them in class; and I waited all year till the last day of school when such things were returned, only to learn she didn't have them.

After returning home in the school bus, I used to play alone on the top terrace with my dog. During those years Mexico had not plunged into popular economic affluence, and from my high vantage point I contemplated sympathizingly the poor children, who were the only ones to play in the streets. At night I was always afraid to go to sleep but especially at the times I had begged our servant, who was dear to me, to tell me frightening ghost and devil stories. My aunt would then tell me to pray, and I would fall asleep.

Marta was the best behaved in the school of five thousand girls; she won every award from her first to her last year. I only stayed till the third grade and never won any awards. Yet we were inseparable. Her apron was the most starched; at play I usually tore mine at the waist somehow. Her hair was ever perfectly neat; I always had at least one of my golden braids dishevelled by the end of day. Just when I was beginning to have some notion of the elaborate discipline—walking silently and in place in lines, eating properly the unique-smelling institution food, sitting immobile with hands folded—there came an unexpected letter from my father. It said that he and his new wife and my brother wanted me to live with them and learn the history of my country. I felt patriotic about Spain and Mexico, but I wasn't certain whether I was American or not. At any rate, the United States was the land of Santa Claus and snow, and as the ultimate decision was in a sense left to me, I asked to go. My aunt and uncle, who loved me as their own daughter, were anguished to the extent that she became weak and ill and was even hospitalized.

Again I was sent by airplane; this time I had a gigantic basket with eleven new dolls when I arrived at my father's house. After lunch the first day, somewhat to my amusement, my brother without a word began to wash the dishes. I had hardly known men to even touch a dish except at meals. That simple act was my first encounter with what was to become a most painful series of episodes. My father's young wife Maria, herself an orphan, had been forced to iron nine shirts for her nine brothers every day as well as do other household duties as payment, and she was determined to impart this heritage to my brother and me. Junior scrubbed and waxed the floors, carried all the week's food supply of ten to twenty large, heavy bags, did numberless other chores to keep the house impeccable, and received daily ferocious beatings from her for a period of approximately five years. For the two years or so that I was under Maria's influence, I was obliged to wash diapers and bathe and feed my step-sister, who was born when I was eleven, some time after my coming. My father had a way of ignoring it all in spite of Maria's continuous complaints and incessant screaming, but he had so many stomach ulcers that he was required to eat mainly puddings with milk for many years. Throughout his life he kept to his daily work routine in spite of every vicissitude.

Even though I knew no English at first, I was placed in the fifth grade as the Sisters in my new school thought I was quite advanced. This local parochial school was co-educational, and my brother was in the eighth grade. Junior had been sent to Mexico for a brief period, but as he was an extremely over-active child, my aunt couldn't handle him and he was returned to my father. He was seemingly accustomed to our step-mother's way of life; not only was he obedient to all her commands, but his school grades were excellent, and he was an altar-boy in church. Yet we were made to feel alone as on a deserted island by Maria, who alienated us from humanity with her every word and act. I knew that Junior did a great deal that would be considered objectionable behavior: from something relatively innocuous like secretly opening all the Christmas gifts before the time, to introducing me to the grosser expressions of the language. My favorite games were playing house with dolls and making elaborate altar arrangements with the many pictures of saints and the religious objects I had. But at the same time I was progressively becoming aware, through my brother and our school friends, of the realm of sexual concepts and activities. I couldn't confide anything to anyone, especially Maria since she would fly into a rage if either of us so much as lost a woolen mitten.

One day the children told me that Junior had been expelled for bringing an obscene object to the class, and that was the end of my brother's formal education, for he never again attended school. Some time later, when he was becoming very large and strong, Maria provoked him to deal her a single powerful blow on the face, after which she finally left us to live with her little daughter elsewhere.

Junior and I were like two rubber-bands let loose after being taut. I followed and imitated him even though he now passed on the daily beatings to me. We were alone in a large new house my father had recently bought, and it was becoming the neighborhood club for our friends. From over-size clothes and shoes that Maria habitually made me use, I began to wear very close-fitting skirts and blouses, makeup like a movie star, and began as well my long career of chain-smoking at thirteen. I was amongst the outcasts in my new Junior High School, rock and roll music was the air I breathed, and I was confusedly exploring new spheres of sexuality. Junior wore hats with feathers and joined the Navy at seventeen.

Within the period of the following year, however, I was able to see that my rebellion merely provided the teachers with an excuse for being obnoxious. And when I was beginning my second year of High School, I decided to conduct myself more appropriately. My friends became more acceptable, I attended teenage dancing parties, went to the movies, and the like.

I returned to Mexico during the summer vacations every year beginning from this time onwards. It created the effect which my aunt so desired, to balance what might have otherwise been an ordinary American culture with her select traditions. But destiny desired

to balance also what might have otherwise been the usual parasitical life of the proper well-to-do socialite. Once, as I stood before the local candy store with my friends, I looked up to the evening sky and the stars, and I thought: "I am ignorant, and I want to know everything!" At about this time, my father surprised me with the news that he was sending me to a boarding school near the Canadian border.

(To be continued)

*This too must now be overpassed and left,
As all must be until the Highest is gained
In whom the world and self grow true and one:
Till that is reached our journeying cannot cease.*

*--Sri Aurobindo
Savitri*

IN AUROVILLE

THE ASPIRATION "SCHOOLS": I, INTERLUDE

Ronald Jorgensen

The view from Sanscrit Bhavan is one of the most splendid sights in Auroville. From the last crest of the long plain which began at the city's inland edge one looks over a gentle descend that finds—in a little over one kilometer of red earth to coconut palms to sand—the horizon curve of the sea: the great and placid embracing anchor to this scape of land, holding all from below in a deep turquoise of glittering sun. Looking landward one can see the nearby mother community, Aspiration, which is too big and varied to be described in one article.

But Sanscrit Bhavan, an active center of Auroville education, is also part of another community within that of Aspiration: a literal community of learning which has recently formed some years after the now dying school style began.

The idea of de-schooling is receiving much attention in the progressive mind of the West. De-schooling, or letting education break the bounds of school buildings and come into the wider richer play of the city and the countryside where things can be learned in their genuine setting, is seen by an increasing number of thinkers as a pivotal solution to the epidemic problems of education everywhere. But these thinkers agree that a new kind of society must be there to provide the sustenance for such an environment, and that is just the problem: there seems to be no community which can environ this education.

The school at Aspiration started in what appeared to be much the same way, but with two catalytic differences: teachers and parents were steeped in the ideal of Auroville and their children, many born in the new city's freedom from the past, simply would not accept anything that was uninteresting to them. The process that brought Auroville education from a converted workshop school house on 15 December 1970 to a cluster of many centres where, in some, the line between living and learning fell into disuse in later 1974—that process would make a book. [A short and perceptive historical sketch does appear in the recent brochure, *Auroville, The First Six Years: 1968-1974*]

Anyway that is all only history now. And now the teachers are meeting, repairs are being made, new supplies and even new construction are moving in preparation for the

next year with the children beginning 15 December 1974. It is an abundant interlude; one who visits and sits in the educators' meetings can feel the new shoots of experiment, adjustment and innovation finding their way through reflections on last year's experiences.

There are sixty-eight children from about seven to seventeen years old gathered from several states of the world and several states of India, each with a unique turn of curiosity. One girl, who has a marked and expansive capacity, wants to study history, cooking, painting, French, mathematics, human biology and English this year. Another child wants to concentrate completely on music and musicianship. The educators know this because they have asked each one, even the youngest, to choose what they want to learn in the coming year and who they want to learn it from and how much of their time they want to spend on each choice. There are about twenty-five teachers, many of these part-time who, like the children, made a declaration—declared what they want to teach: one the history of religion, another construction trades, others some three or four subjects which may include certain aspects of physical education, applied sciences, even banking or baking. Besides the three main school buildings, some are studied in huts, some in the canyon (like geology) and some by individuals in the different working areas of Aspiration or other communities where Aurovilians are baking bread and banking, constructing and repairing, farming, painting and making films.

And if a child wants to master something no one has volunteered to teach, a field of work or study not yet developed in the six year old city, what will be done? "Well, we told them they could learn anything they want. We would just have to find a person and milieu to provide it. There have been some requests beyond our means, but the means have come by the waves of the request."

Another question that occurs is how completely educated some children become by studying only what they choose. "There are two strong necessities: languages [which include reading, writing and talking] and mathematics. Physical education is also extremely important. But so far no child has wanted to be excluded from the program of gymnastics, athletics and games in the afternoon. Only four or five out of sixty-eight have not listed any language or mathematics in their choices; for them we have to find some way they can discover these in the modes of their choices." Communication and calculation being so ubiquitous in daily activities, this shouldn't be much more difficult for the educator than alert observation. Besides, most instances of children disregarding certain key subjects in one year sees them come, the next season or later, in a fury of thirst which rapidly propels them through all they have neglected—and sometimes more—in a sweep of assimilation.

One young fellow has chosen to spend two days of the week with his educators and the other five days on his own. "We have to provide a creative enough setting to attract him here for more than two days." And then, too, when he has considerable inner

discipline, the child's rhythm of learning may need more freedom and solitude at certain stages.

The history of this "school" has been checkered by too much then too little discipline, too mental then too vital a setting, too unplanned then too planned a program—and much of the time the wrong or external kind of discipline, of mental or vital setting, the wrong or old kind of planning. It had to be, that process of feeling the way to the possibilities that have become visible in 1974; possibilities that can be concretely worked with in 1975 and, as the educators there have written in a document entitled *Possible Steps in the Near Future*,

"We may then glimpse in our own working what
the Mother has seen as 'No School'."

In the next issue we will complete our exploration with II, THE YEAR OPENS.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jogensen

The Human Body

This past fall, a report was carried in *The Hindu* of a major breakthrough at Madras in treating insomnia and epilepsy, two diseases which have been undeniably successful in thwarting cures. Even more startling, these strategies of treatment offer no medicines or surgery. They simply bring two normally disassociated parts of the human system into conscious communication with each other through what is called biofeedback. The kinds of brain waves produced in various ill conditions differ from normal brain waves, and by using electronic equipment to visually present his own brain waves to a patient, his awareness of such activity results in a restoration to health.

Although biofeedback is no longer a new technique, such profound applications range beyond its early fame which enabled experimental subjects, for example, to change their pulse rate. Now the clear suggestion is that illness is but a form of division, of disharmony in the body which cannot endure when a person's awareness of himself is expanded and integrated on new levels. That is, a confluence or unity of awareness brings a harmony or unity of being which is popularly called health.

This is possible because the body is ultimately one and its parts will unstintingly serve each other for the flourishing of its well-being. An insight on how this common-law miracle slowly evolved was reported by *The Reader's Digest* in July 1974—about the same time as the news on the Madras breakthrough. The article is a kind of interview with Dr. Hans Selye, who is described as a world-renowned authority on stress.

Gazing back on the first appearances of life, Dr. Selye says that the most primitive organism

had to compete with others for food, for space, for all the necessities of its tiny, primitive existence. But then a remarkable thing happened. Somehow some of these warring, selfish entities learned that if they combined to form a more complex organism, they were better off. Somehow they worked out mutually supportive roles. One group of cells might take over nourishment, another locomotion, another defence, and so on. Each cell was

serving its own purpose—to keep on existing; but each was also serving the purpose of the others.

Of course one could dismiss imaginative comparisons as having no point, but it is interesting and suggestive that such biofeedback breakthroughs and interviews about the body come out at a time when similar solutions are emerging in the world body.

The World Body

In the past couple of years, which is an infinitesimally small historical period of time, almost every so-called insoluble problem between antagonistic nations has begun to be untied, it seems.

Following more than ten years of USSR-Chinese hostility Peking has, for the first time, spoken of the desire to normalize relations.

A similarly positive change has radically occurred between China-US and US-USSR.

Another seemingly insuperable restoration is maturing in the relaxed pace of the India-Pakistan talks, in which there has now been an agreement on trade resumption after a 10 year lapse.

Japan-China have established diplomatic and trade relations, moving away from a hostility that has frozen their relations at least since World War II, almost 30 years ago.

Recent discussion has even touched the 1960 diplomatic rupture of Cuba-US, and indications are for re-establishment of friendly relations.

The lid has finally flown off the simmering Cyprus-Greece-Turkey situation in order, one may suppose, to once for all resolve it.

Similarly with the Arab-Israel 26-year crossfire, where the Palestinian problem must and can now be solved at its roots which have been so dramatically exposed in the UN.

The racial bastions of South Africa and Rhodesia are openly being reconsidered by those governments for the first time in approximately 20 years.

And we cannot forget that the US-Vietnam campaign, begun in 1954, ended in 1972 and with it one of the most devastating wars in history.

The thorny Kashmir-India confrontation seems to have gone to flowers, and a full settlement is spoken of in negotiations with Sheik Abdullah.

In 1974 a small but very unusual gesture was made by China, to the Dalai Lama and Tibet—saying it might now be possible for him to return—which may signal a gradual ending of the 1959 disaster.

The Jewish-USSR impasse seems to have been loosened by US trade pressure; it is notable this is the first time Russian domestic policies have accepted leverage from outside.

And the old extreme autocracies of Portugal and Ethiopia have completely gone while Spain's is beginning to yield.

The only area of conflict not so far apparently affected by this global movement is North Ireland. But I would not be mildly surprised if, even while *World Union Journal* is going to the printer, a turn takes place there too.

The Global Mind

Against the backdrop of global conglomerations these are all local movements of the world body; but they are decisive local movements to enable freed energies to be collectively spent on the well-timed debut of world-shakers like planetary inflation and food and resources impasses. These have already proven intractable to national and continental efforts. Economists are even worried about the world's capacity to deal with a phenomenon they have never seen before. It is truly the problem for the hour—driving us to a destiny of global harmony in order to find its key. C. P. Snow, the highly respected and avowedly original thinker from Great Britain, voices the puzzle in a recent interview:

I think we may be at a genuine historical discontinuity. I don't think anyone understands why it has happened. No one would have expected both the financial and economic structure to be so fragile. The trouble is no one seems to understand it. We talk with great confidence about economics but no one seems to know the answers. [*Newsweek*, 25 November 1974]

Nature has even closed off an out for any of those large nations who still believe they can go it alone, saving themselves in isolation from others. It is concisely summed up in

one sentence by Professor Mihajlo Mesarovic, author of the Club of Rome's *Mankind at the Turning Point*. The 21 October 1974 *Newsweek* quotes him:

If the US tries to develop a completely independent and isolated economy, standards of living in other parts of the world will become much higher than ours.

The food and resources quandries, in spite of a few non-binding cosmetic resolutions agreed on by the World Food Conference at Rome, appear to be gaining ground on nations if anything. The significance, especially of food, is unique: it is at once untimate and vast in a way that touches currents of events profoundly, and will be explored in some depth in the next issue.

Mr. M'Bow

On the 14th of November Mr. Amadou Moktar M'Bow became the new Directtor General of UNESCO and almost immediately made some interesting statements. He said that the major task and first priority of UNESCO is education; the development and application of science to the economy is only second. For,

An economy cannot be developed without...qualified workers and above all without a nation's people realising that they are able to change their condition. [*The Hindu*, 18 November 1974]

In accordance with his emphasis on education, Mr. M'Bow announced the intention of setting up a United Nations University which would meet specific problems like that of energy from the point of view of all humanity.

The third major motif in his press conference was safeguarding the world's multifarious cultural heritage. He says this heritage is now threatened and asks if it is necessary to arrive at uniform life-styles in the development of international contacts.

A man who is determined to have such a university and who feels the undeniable truths of unity and diversity are necessary to each other is one who can be watched with interest and sponsored in one's consciousness.

REVIEW

Epictetus by John Bonforte. Philosophical Library, New York, 1974.

The book opens with the great saying of Epictetus :

A ship should not be held by a single anchor, neither should life depend upon a single hope.

Epictetus, the Greek Stoic philosopher of the first century A.D , was a slave in his boyhood. And it was during this period that he came under the influence of Rufus, a member of that school of thought. Even as a slave, Epictetus behaved as a stoic of the highest calibre. Once when his master tortured him and broke his leg, he endured the excruciating pain with calm indifference.

John Bonforte has presented the intensely ideal and practical philosophy of Epictetus in the form of discourses. The book's seventy-six brief chapters each deal with a particular subject. The author has adapted the utterances of the philosopher to the language and understanding of the present age. The gap of time and culture has been successfully bridged.

Going through the pages, one is charmed by the lucidity of the entries. On every subject discussed, Epictetus has reasoned so forcibly that the truth of his words becomes evident and appreciable by all thinking men. In fact, he has expressed truths which can be regarded as perennial. With the author we can say, "It fills the void in one's life."

Epictetus delivered his lectures nine hundred years ago, yet his words—like those of all great thinkers or seers—retain the power of their truth:

God is the source of all goodness. A portion of God exists within all men. It is not suffering or death that should be dreaded, but the fear of suffering and death. Be courageous against the inevitable. A true philosopher looks for good or evil only within himself, and never in externals. He keeps watch over himself as he would over an enemy. Let the events occur as they will and make the best of whatever happens. There is no time in our lives when care should not be taken. Nothing may happen to you which you do not wish to happen. Know thyself and seek good within yourself. If you wish to break a habit, do not practice it. A person who joins himself to God shall go through life safely.

Epictetus did not claim to have the rod of Hermes that could convert all to gold, but he said that he could change any circumstance into something happy and fortunate. He did not think that our nature could be transformed but wanted everyone to follow his own Nature—which he asserted was one and the same as God's. But he admitted that everyone's life was warfare, and often long and arduous warfare.

A humanitarian, Epictetus was at peace with all mankind, however they might act towards him or others. He wished to die while doing something beneficent, something noble and of service. And yet according to his viewpoint, no one either hurts or benefits another actually; it is only our judgment of things that hurts and distresses. He encouraged his scholars to have confidence in their own strength and not in riches or glory. He regarded each man as being of primary import to God.

A dialectician comparable to Socrates, whom he accepted as his teacher, there is too an indefinable sense of mystery about Epictetus. It is quite evident that he was an original and profound thinker, yet his humility surpassed that of any orthodox devotee. His surrender to God's Will was genuine and aspired to be entire.

Sailen Roy

WORLD UNION FOCUS 1/75

EARTH IS AN EVOLUTIONARY PLANET

If man is intended to survive and carry forward the evolution of which he is at present the head and, to some extent a half—conscious leader of its march, he must come out of his present chaotic international life and arrive at a beginning of organised, united action; some kind of World-State, unitary or federal, or a confederacy or a coalition he must arrive at in the end; no smaller or looser expedient would adequately serve the purpose.

Sri Aurobindo

Postscript Chapter,
The Ideal of Human Unity

To our Members and Friends:

We are living in an ever changing world. Individuals, groups and institutions either continue to evolve or begin to decay; they cannot stand still. The tempo of change in human affairs is at present unprecedented and revolutionary. Any attempt to maintain a *status quo* in the life of societies or nations is bound to fail miserably. Wisdom lies in remaining receptive to new ideas, new ideals and new truths which constantly dawn on us. Appropriate new forms have to be consciously evolved, for the manifestation of these new ideals and truths. If we see below the superficial events in national and international spheres, we find all conflicts, discords and disharmonies are the result of a clash between evolutionary forces for a new creation and old established forces which have become out-of-date and want to persist.

As World Union aspires to serve the cause of human unity and world peace it must constantly remain alert to grow and expand the scope of its work. To make our bi-monthly World Union journal into a monthly from January, 1975 is a constructive and necessary step. With the present cost of paper and printing the expenses of World Union will obviously increase. We have every hope that the World Union members and friends will, whenever possible, lend their support to us by introducing their friends as members and by obtaining advertisements for the journal. The year 1975 will no doubt witness the continued growth of the World Union movement. The First National Convention of World

Union Centres of India to be held at Bangalore in June 1975 will provide a necessary impetus.

The First National Convention of World Union Centres of India:

World Union Bangalore Centre is busy organising the First National Convention of World Union Centres of India to be held at Bangalore on 8th, 9th and 10th June, 1975. Already the necessary spade-work has been done, and we are confident that the Bangalore Centre will make it a success. Dr. T. Prasannasimha Row, the Convener, wishes to renew his appeal to all World Union Centres in India and abroad and to all members of World Union to extend their full support and cooperation, and invites them to participate in full strength. Sri B. D. Jatti, the Vice-President of India, has been requested to inaugurate the convention. An application has been made to the Railway Board for grant of rail concession to all participants. The registration fee for a delegate is Rs. 10/-. All the delegates will be guests of the World Union Bangalore Centre during the sessions of the convention.

A draft constitution of the proposed Indian National Centre of World Union will be presented for consideration by the delegates and suggestions in this regard are invited. The Convention Committee will be grateful to World Union centres for enrolling Reception Committee members (fee for each member Rs. 100/- only) who will *ipso facto* become delegates. Early action is necessary in this regard, because it is intended to print the names of Reception Committee members in the Souvenir that will be released at the time of the Convention. All concerned are requested to send their suggestions and a list of eminent persons in their area who could be invited for participation. The convention Committee is fully aware that the Convention can become a success only if whole-hearted cooperation is received from all the centres and members of World Union.

The aim and purpose of the Convention is to focus attention on the contemporary world problems and situation in relation to the progress of the World Union movement, at the Seminar on the theme: "World Union Aim—Human Unity—Aids Best National Integration." The seminar will study the main theme under four sections: (i) Education and World Citizenship (ii) Culture and Society (iii) Politics and Economics (iv) Science and Spirituality.

A Working Paper on the subjects will be prepared and circulated. Papers pertaining to any of the subjects are invited from participants. All World Union Centres and members are requested to contribute their papers before the 1st April, 1975 to enable the Convention Committee to circulate them well in time to all delegates and participants for their study so that the deliberations at the seminar may be fruitful.

New World Union Centre:

World Union Bhandcrhati Centre has been formed with Dr. Sankar Chawdhury as Secretary. Its address is Sri Purna Chandra Auddy, P.O. and Vill. Bhandcrhati, Dist. Hooghly, W. Bengal.

Activities of World Union Centres:

Bangalore World Union Centre held its monthly meeting on Sunday the 3rd November, 1974, at the premises of Community Project High School, Jayanagar. The discussion on the theme "Chitt and Manas" was initiated by Prof. Ram Krishna. An illuminating talk on the subject was given by Sri P. V. Rajgopal and Sri K. Ramaswamy and Dr. Prasannasimha Row participated. Prof. B. Kuppaswamy presided and summed up the discussions.

World Union Chakradharpur Centre, in collaboration with Sri Aurobindo Society, observed 24th Nov. 1974. There was a ceremony in the morning at 7.15. a.m., a meeting in the evening at 6.30 p.m. with a devotional song sung by Sri M. G. Chakraborty and Prasanta Chakraborty and a group meditation for three minutes. Sri Samar Basu spoke on the meaning and significance of Maha Siddhi Divas and Content of World Unity. Devotional songs were also sung by young children. Sri A. K. Sen spoke on the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo. Prizes were distributed to students of different schools, who took part in the hand-writing competition in different languages conducted by Sri Aurobindo Society and World Union Centre. Sri Ashok Patel read out from Prayers and Meditations. It was a well attended meeting.

World Union North Calcutta Centre held its 8th monthly meeting on 20th November, 1974 at 7 p.m. at 18A Ramdhone Mitra Lane, residence of Sri Susanto Mitra, Sri Samar Basu presiding. The meeting commenced with five minutes of group concentration and an offering of flowers to The Mother. Smt. Anita Bose sang a devotional song and Kumari Krishna Sinha read her own poem 'Kabi'. Sri Tripti Kumar Sinha announced that the members of the Centre had paid their homage to the Mother on 17th, 18th and 19th November, 1974 by offering flowers and holding group concentration. He then referred to the publication of Bengali Focus of World Union and the copies of its first publication were distributed. He also announced that in the study class Dr. Makhan Lal Dhar would speak on the *Gita* on the basis of Sri Aurobindo's exposition on the first Saturday of every month at 7 p.m. at 18A Ramdhone Mitra Lane, and the class on the Ideal of Human Unity would continue. Sri Samar Basu delivered his second speech on the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo. The meeting terminated with devotional songs by Sri Hemendra Nath Kar, Smt. Sati Das, Smt. Protima Das, Sri Arun Bhattacharjee and Robi Ghosh.

The Hyderabad World Union Centre, jointly with Gandhi Gyan Mandir, arranged a public meeting in the newly constructed Gandhi Gyan Mandir Hall on 24th Oct., 1974

to observe the U.N. day. The former Revenue Minister, Sri P. Thimma Reddy was the Chief Guest. Dr. Md. Alum Kundu Mir, head of the Philosophy Dept. of Osmania University, was the chief speaker. Sri Chundi Jagannadham, editor of a vernacular monthly and Satyanarayana and Sri Kasinath, both advocates, participated. The dais was decorated with U.N. Flags, Dr. P. N. Bindu presiding. After prayer and meditation the Chief Guest addressed the gathering and exhorted them to cultivate human understanding and universal brotherhood. Dr. Mir stressed the importance of a total transformation of the human race and a radical revolution in the pattern of thinking and values of life. Sri Chundijee gave a critical assessment of the world situation. Sri W. L. N. Raju, the Joint Secretary of the Centre, read a paper on the "Origin of World Union International and the Hyderabad branch". Sri Kasinath stressed the need for united action and the synthesis of philosophical and scientific systems. Dr. Bindu thanked the audience and explained briefly the formation of the U.N.O. on October 24th, 1945 and the need to strengthen it.

Sri Aurobindo Society's Poona Branch, World Union Poona Centre and Sri Aurobindo Poona Centre jointly celebrated from 17th to 19th November 1974 the first Anniversary of the passing of the Mother in the hall of the Maharashtra Rajya Parishad, Poona. The gathering was attended by more than 500 persons. On 17th November Sri D. R. Bendre, the famous Kanarese poet, spoke on the teaching of Sri Aurobindo followed by vocal music by Mrs. Jyotsna Bhole. On 18th November Sri N. S. Pathak, the Chairman of the World Union Centre, spoke on the "Life, Teachings and work of the Mother", followed by vocal music by Sri Prabhakar Karekar. On 19th November Prof. D. B. Kerur delivered a lecture followed by the exhibition of slides from the Ashram and films. The programme had a good impact on the Poona public and helped the work of all the three institutions

World Union Rishra Centre held its 2nd monthly meeting on 28th November, 1974 at the hall of Bakultala Athletic Club at 6.30 p.m. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Sri Dilip Ganguli and group concentration for five minutes, Sri Kanai Prasad Dutt presiding. Sri Samar Basu spoke on "Sri Aurobindo's philosophy", and made a proposal relating to the introduction of a World Union Tournament in the area. He addressed athletic minded young men asking them to arrange a seminar for the formation of a group of athletes.

World Union Chibasa Centre held a meeting on 22nd November, 1974 at 7 p.m. in the lecture hall of Ravindra Bhawan, Sri Sukumar Sarkar presiding. Sri Samar Basu explained the significance of Sri Aurobindo's Maha Siddhi and spoke on the "Content of World Unity". The Centre is conducting weekly meetings to read and deliberate on various writings and talks of Sri Aurobindo with a view to advancing the cause of World Union.

World Union Kamarkundu — Singur Centre held its 4th, 5th and 6th monthly meetings on second Sunday of September, October and November, 1974 at the house of Sri Basu Dev Ghosh, at Kamarkundu Dharmasala, Par-Gopalnagore and at the residence of Dr. Ragunath

Das respectively. Sri Samar Basu spoke on the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo and "How to Achieve World Union" in those three meetings, which were attended by teachers of different schools and eminent persons of the area. A meeting was also held on 8th December, 1974 when Sri Samar Basu spoke on the "Content of World Unity".

World Union Calcutta Centre, whose President is Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya, held its monthly meeting on 1st December as an Annual Convention in the garden house of Sri Rabi Das at Kadamgachhi-Hatkoola, via-Barasat. The local members of the Centre, Sri Ganesh Das and Sri Jugal Chandra Roy, made arrangements. The Convention started with a Vedic hymn at 8.30 a.m. A piece from the Rig Veda and a portion of the Kena Upanisad were recited and explained in the light of Sri Aurobindo by Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya. After a collective meditation a good number of devotional songs were sung by Sri Swapan Brahmachari, Kumari Sunanda Roy and Kumari Rekha Ghosh. After the introduction of the members and guests by the Joint Secretary, Sri Samiran Ghosh, the opening chorus for the seminar was sung by Kumari Kakali Roy and Kumari Barnali Roy. Before lunch in the seminar on "Education for World Unity" Sri Samiran Ghosh, Sri Sukumar Roy, Sri Biplab Ray, Sri Keshab Ghatak and Sri Arup Ukil, and after lunch in the seminar on "How to Achieve World Unity" Dr. Neel Ratan Karmakar Sri Samir Ghatak, Sri Kalipada Das and Sri Diptabhanu Dutt, participated. Both the seminars were successfully conducted by the President of the Centre. Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya had visited World Union Jamshedpur Centre and spoken there to a meeting jointly sponsored by World Union Centre and Sri Aurobindo Society on Siddhi Divas.

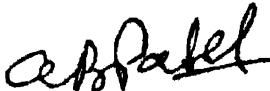
Sri Samar Basu, Coordinator of World Union in the Eastern Region visited several places in the region and addressed meetings in order to promote new World Union Centres, increase World Union membership and advance the cause of World Union.

World Union Butwal Centre, at MRM camp, held meetings on the 8th, 10th, 17th and 24th November and 5th December, 1974. On the 8th and 10th November, the President, Sri S. K. Rattan, read to the members the brochure *This is World Union*. It was decided to hold regular weekly meetings on Sundays. On the 17th November the President gave a brief talk on "The Mother's Maha Samadhi Day". On the 24th November he gave a talk on Sri Aurobindo and the significance of the day; after meditation for five minutes he read two articles: "A Role to Fulfil" by the Mother and "An Ideal Centre" by Nolini Kant Gupta. On the 5th December the meeting commenced with a brief meditation at 7 p. m. S. K. Rattan, after paying his highest tribute to Sri Aurobindo, spoke on Sri Aurobindo's Yoga and the epic poem *Savitri*. He also read to the meeting a part of the first chapter on Philosophy from the book: *Sri Aurobindo's Teachings* by Sri M. P. Pandit and from the last Canto of *Savitri*. There was a meditation again at 8. p. m. Another meeting was held on 9th December, 1974 at 5.15 p. m., when the President gave a talk on the "Ideal of Human Unity".

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

170. Dr. Sitaram Jayaswal, "Panchvati", B. 23, Sector 'A', Mahanagar, LUCKNOW, U. P. 226006.
171. Shri Harendra Chimanlal Jani, M/s. Auto Diesel Components Services 26, Ganesh Chandra Avenue, CALCUTTA-700013.
172. Mrs. Mani B. Bhesania, 26/9 Ganesh Chandra Avenue, Suite No. 9, Floor No. 2, CALCUTTA-700013.
173. Master Sandeep Kapur, C/o. Shri Anand Prakash Kapur, 41-A, The Mall, AMRITSAR, Punjab.
174. Dr. N. C. Mandalia, D.O.M.S. (Lond), Ophthalmic Surgeon, P. O. Box. 82173, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
175. Mr. Chunilal Mohanlal, P. O. Box. 90624, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
176. Mr. D. M. Savani, C/o Sameh Textiles Industries Ltd., MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
177. Mr. K. R. Paroo, P. O. Box. 80228, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
178. Mr. P. N. Mehta, C/o The Social Service League, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
179. Mr. Chhotabhai I. Patel, P. O. Box. 80410, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
180. Mr. Bhagwanji Hansraj Jetha Shah, P. O. Box. 82673, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
181. Mr. Premchand Devchand Fulchand Shah, P. O. Box. 80307, MOMBASA, Kenya, E. Africa.
182. Mr. B. J. Sharma, P. O. Box. 56, LUSAKA, Zambia (Central Africa).
183. Sri. A. C. S. Chari, B. A. B. L., Advocate, 233, Lower Circular Road, Suite No. 7, CALCUTTA-700020.

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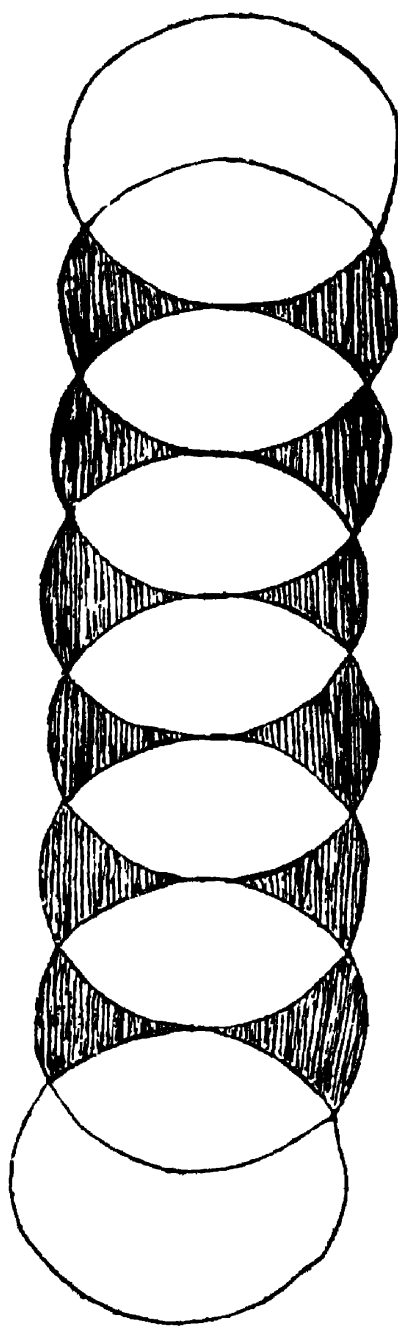
WORLD UNION

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EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT



*An attempt, a drawing half-done is the world's life;
Its lines doubt their concealed significance,
Its curves join not their high-intended close.
Yet some first image of greatness trembles there,*

*And when the ambiguous crowded parts have met
The many-toned unity to which they moved...
A graph shall be of many meeting worlds...*

— Savitri
(drawing by Barbi Dailey)

EDITORIAL

Seminar on National Reconstruction

In keeping with its intent of working for World Unity and promoting every effort at the elevation of human consciousness towards that Ideal, World Union is participating in a significant seminar that is being held at Pondicherry this month under the auspices of all the organisations affiliated with the Sri Aurobindo Ashram.

The seminar is to discuss and present an integrated programme for national reconstruction based upon the realistic Philosophy and Yoga of Perfection of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother. Only a regenerated and strong India can play its rightful role in the comity of nations for the achievement of One World.

The discussion is to proceed under four broad heads :

Spiritual: the sense in which this Philosophy and Yoga represents the fulfilment of the various spiritual traditions of India; India's role in the spiritual evolution of the world and the part that the Ashram and the community abroad that accepts this Ideal of a new man in a new society, have to play.

Social: reasons for and measures to meet the challenges of the breakdown of social standards, disintegration of political and public value.

Economic: causes for the breakdown of the general economy; what kind of effort is needed to build up the industrial, agricultural and commercial potentialities of India.

Educational: the main principles of the new education as enunciated in the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother; their applicability at different levels of national education; the place of yoga in the curricula.

World Union will be represented by a delegation headed by Sri A. B. Patel,

our senior-most leader who is expected to be back in time from Delhi where he has been invited to participate in the sixteenth Congress of the World Association of World Federalists.

We will return to this subject in our next issue by which time the recommendations of the seminar will be available.

Tempers at the U.N.O.

If the smaller nations that are loosely grouped under the label of the third world acted somewhat precipitatedly in their steamroller methods during the last session of the Assembly, the bigger powers can hardly congratulate themselves on their peevish outburst against the show of majority strength by the Afrasian countries. No doubt more political maturity is called for on the part of the newly independent developing nations; but the bigger powers also have to display due responsibility in their dealings. The way in which they have been using the veto to overrule every measure that does not suit their interests has been appalling. More development of political sagacity and forbearance is needed. It must also be noted that equality of status does not automatically confer equality of influence. The influence which a nation can wield depends upon the strength of its resources,—material and moral—and it should be the endeavour of every nation to develop itself to its optimum in every direction and then pool its strength with like-minded nations for a common effort towards the building of a climate of mutuality and friendship among all the constituents of the Family of Nations.

International Sports

There is a strong feeling in certain sectors that in view of the deplorable failure of Indian teams in almost all the recent international meets abroad, India should not enter into such competitions for some time to come. The period of this abstention must be utilised to train ourselves to come up to international standards. To accept this proposal is to miss the very spirit of these gatherings. Teams from various nations do not gather to register victories and win medals. They gather in chosen places to meet and fraternise with fellowmen from all over the world and affirm their common humanity through sports. The spirit in which the events are done, the meetings on and off the grounds, the opportunities for learning from each other, for increasing one's knowledge and capacities by many-sided contests—these are important factors from the point of view of the development of nations towards human unity.

The stress must be on quality of effort, character of sportsmanship, ability to efface oneself and find a common identity in fellowship. Attention must be paid to these features at home, in every country. Especially in India a good deal of preparatory work waits to be done in this direction. In a country given to such hero-worship as India, it is doubly necessary to utilise the field of sports and athletics to build up team-feeling and a cooperative spirit. No man is truly indispensable and this should be driven home to the participants. Extra-sports considerations in the conduct of these affairs should cease. While a mature people like ours cannot treat sports as a whole-time occupation as in certain countries, we should treat this department of life on a par with other sectors that make for the wholeness of the society.

Enough of Politics

The tendency to bring in politics in every field of life is assuming absurd proportions in India. Even an age-old festival like Ram-lila that is celebrated annually in the North has been made an object of controversy. Ram-lila is always understood to signify the triumph of Good over Evil and the legend of Ramayana is enacted publicly in its broad lines. Historians necessarily differ as to how far legend has been mixed with history. Every people on this sub-continent claim to have in their region the special centres of the exploits of the hero. Fanciful geography, doubtful history, purposeful legend, are all mixed up in this as in similar traditions. Some political elements pretend to see in this celebration of Ram-lila certain racial overtones and seek to make an issue out of it. They claim Ravana, the symbol of Evil in the epic, to be of Tamil stock and propose to stage a Ravana-lila somewhere in the South as a challenge to the North. We wonder what certain gentlemen in Ceylon have to say in the matter. For long, Ceylon was identified too facilely with the kingdom of Ravana. The plain truth underlying the tradition, however, is simply the progressive subjugation of the animal in man by his more human and potentially divine elements. This fact of human evolution is fused into some partly historical and partly poetical story. It has no specific reference to the present disposition of geography or race.

SOME HINTS AT WHAT SHOULD BE THOUGHT AND DONE

Richard Matz

Put briefly, a Problem of our age is the reconsideration of the rapacious Western relation to that which is; it is the *questioning of Industrialism*, the common denominator of a civilisation which is now ruling or shading literally every square inch of the entire planet.

This is not a new thought for any reader of the works of Mahatma Gandhi, but in spite of all veneration bestowed on him and other wise personalities, this very question, which was central to him, has in an ominous way been eclipsed in the actual deliberations of our societies.

Surely many of you would like to object to what I say, reminding me of the fact that the so-called *environment question* is being discussed everywhere. However, this discussion is only seldom any real reconsideration of our practice, but rather deliberations about different contraptions aiming at palliating the most obvious monstrosities of our technological productive system. Pollution is supposed to continue, though at a somewhat slower pace. The environment, however, is the world, the Earth, and it must not be destroyed at any pace whatsoever. There is no reason why, simply because you cannot eat a cake and have it. Otherwise we are enriching ourselves at the sacrifice of the good possibilities of future generations.

As far as I know, the most valid tentative to formulate, comprehensively and yet briefly,

the essential problems of industrialism has been achieved by the contemporary German philosopher *Martin Heidegger*. For him the world of man has been "sent" into a certain way of disclosure, namely *industrial technology*. He calls this version of human existence "*das Gestell*", i.e. the maniac obsession or law by which man is today forced to exploit and rearrange everything. Before "*das Gestell*" all that which is is reduced to stocks, "*Bestande*" which are looked upon as merely quantitative and secular resources for man to investigate and exploit. The evident and universal goal of man, owing to this over-ideology, is the *control of nature* and the conversion of as much as possible of it into *commodities* of different kinds. This is called *growth* and it is measured by GNP, the Gross National Product, the ever-moving winning-post of every progressive state. In this "scientific" concept, construction and destruction are nicely summed, and as a matter of fact, GNP can be looked upon as the best possible index of the pollution or destruction of the environment. Still this is today the almost universal goal of mankind. The Earth is becoming a glamorous technological circus, inaugurating the possibility of terrestrial death.

Technology, with its tools and machines, is considered merely as an *instrument*, a means or a tool, to fulfil some productive or transportive purpose. We often hear from

proponents of rapid industrialisation, "A tool is not good or bad in itself, it all depends on how it is *used*." This way of thinking, or non-thinking, may be called *instrumentalism*. It assumes a one-way relation between man and his tools and his capital, man being the unquestioned ruler. This, however, is far from evident, because the prerequisite of any good practice is wise thinking. True, man of today rules his knife and fork, but evidently he does not rule the more or less multinational corporations where he earns his wages or is fired, and which control, among other things, the production and distribution of food as well as of knives and forks. And he does not control the development of the city where he is dwelling—those rambling, roaring tumors of concrete and asphalt, interspersed with crammed, filthy, desperate slums.

The "development" is, however, not controlled by the leading individuals either, in corporations, states, or cities; instead it looks like the technological development, with its ever increasing efficiency, is obeying its own laws, its own "economic realities", dragging man — including executives and state bureaucrats — along with it on its ruthless course.

Science is the industrialisation, the specialisation of knowledge. Knowledge thus screened off and concentrated upon "growth" has been atrophied in its faculty for minding essentials. Man has largely lost his ability to care for the *whole*, care for the weal of the totality.

In Christian theology it is often claimed that holiness, sacredness, is something *apart* from the *profane*, the world. The holy "phenomena" thus become converted into "extrasecular objects" reserved as the investigation field for theology as an empirical, analytical science. The result is

irrelevance, and a favorable atmosphere for "das Gestell". However, the stem of the English adjectives *whole* and *holy* is identical, and we would do well, I think, to spell holy with a w: *wholy*. Whole, holy, heal and hale are related to the Greek adjective *kalos*, which means beautiful.

According to this, a thing is holy when it is "wholy", i.e. representing the whole and its welfare. Holiness, or "wholiness", was an "invention" of Nature, God, through *Homo sapiens*, the Cro Magnon race, the only surviving human species. This species of ours was born about 30,000 years ago. The earlier primitive man, for instance Neanderthal man, had had tools perhaps a million years before, but only with the Cro Magnon race were born *language, art, and religion*. Man was not really "man" until he was able to constitute a world of relevance (the word *world*, *wer-old*, means "age of man"), and it was constituted in its *wholiness* precisely through language, art and religion.

Now modern man has *secularised* the world which was once resounding with holiness, and considers it as little more than a complex of isolated facts, ready to be changed by science and technology. Many Christian theologians boast that Christianity is the only religion that has been able to secularise the world, thus making it open to science and industry. Rather they should shudder at the thought that what Christianity and, before it, Judaism, have achieved with their *de-mythologisation*, their destructive fight against nature cults and maypoles, is the annihilation of the spiritual and loving way of living with things and with the rest of reality in general. Secularisation, fundamentally, means the destruction of the spirit of tenderness in man's relations, and in

a way a downfall to the level of primitive man who had only his tools. Surely tools have become more sophisticated, but: the wholeness of the worlding world has vanished; Homo religiosus has given way to Homo instrumentalis, "toolish" man. Man's mind was strengthened by his 30,000 years of life in the religious sphere, but now our intellectual capacity has been warped and is directed almost exclusively towards the efficacy of the ancient tool function, "pragmatism", which was earlier constrained by religion, religion in accordance with the weal of the totality.

This does not sound very hopeful indeed; where can salvation be found from this international deadlock of pigheaded talentlessness? Let us look a little how Nature herself solves similar problems. The functioning within humus, the top-soil, illustrates the resolution of a parallel problem for the Earth. Namely, how to take care of all the remains of dead animals and plants and make this ready for new turns is the everchanging biosphere where matter is incessantly shunted between simpler and more complex structures, from rock, air or water, into grass, mice, men, cults and societies. Nature solves the problem through innumerable bacteria, fungi etc., which literally *take care* of everything. For the humus, there is no such thing as waste.

"The essence of human existence is care", says Martin Heidegger. But the kind of care which man now bestows on the Earth, his mother, falls far short of what the humus can achieve if it is left alone, if it is allowed to *be*. Man is part and parcel of the biosphere, within which the humus is a crucial shunting level. Man collaborates badly with the humus, the all-changing soil, though in fact his Latin name, Homo, is

derived from the word "humus".

The most expansive output of present human economical—or rather eco-wasting—activity, is *waste*, an unknown thing before man. Waste makes it more and more difficult for the humus and the whole biosphere to function properly. More and more land is covered with concrete or asphalt making "biology" impossible for geological ages; and chemicals spreading everywhere are, in a "developed" country like mine, on the road to exterminating earthworms and other creatures necessary for the proper functioning of the humus, especially through the intensive use of chemical fertilisers.

The humus, despite its vast repertoire of combinations, cannot solve by itself the problem of human waste that is now rapidly accumulating all round the globe—in the air, in the water, and on land. The only salvation for man is to learn from the humus and from the biosphere itself how to live—privately as well as in society/economy—in a way that matches the weal of the totality, including man. The weal of man can never in the long run be achieved at the cost of the creation.

The only solution is "Peace with the Earth", rather than the industrial civil war that is now raging here; needed is the de-secularisation and re-sacralisation of facts and resources into fellow-plants, fellow-animals and fellow-things, co-players with open-eyed *ecological man* in the all-encompassing play of Nature, of *wholiness*.

Now it is for man to *take care* of the waste he has been spreading; not, however, by (wastefully) constructing enormous anti-pollution plants of different kinds, alleviating the dire consequences of the "ordinary" production but allowing it to actually roll on or even accelerate as usual

We need better solutions, outside or

beyond continuing technomania. Technology and science must so to speak be *tamed*, be made mature with the aid of a new and better *criterion* of practice; thinking is the part of practice which interrelates it with this criterion, this apex of maturity. There is a question which must be put to each and every activity going on here on our globe, namely: Does this contribute in any reasonable way to the whole weal of the totality? Experts, however exalted, are *never too advanced* to answer this question — and in a way that can be understood not only by experts but by people in general. If they do not, their advice should not be followed, and their activity should as soon as possible be stopped or reconstructed. This is a prerequisite of *democracy*. If we do not attend to this necessity, democracy will entirely be subdued by technocracy, and men and women will be helpless cogs in a technological world-machinery run amok. Still there are ways back, or rather *forward* into an age where it will be possible for technology to become mature, concentrated on the weal of the totality, God.

The problem of uniting mankind is thus fundamentally a *language* problem, language being the sphere of resonance where maturity and consideration can be disclosed. The resonance of language is also the condition for things becoming open for relevant

shaping, *art*. The resonance of language is, too, the dimension of *religion*, which literally means *caring for*, the opposite of negligence.

What human practice cares for now, however, is not traditional religion, and still less universal welfare, but just industrial ever-waxing efficiency, which amounts to a ruthless civil war in the biosphere. This is our self-contradicting religion, which does not care. It takes its origin largely, not to say predominantly, in abstract, imperialistic Christianity, or rather in the fact that such ways of thought became dominant at an early stage of Christianity, especially in the Roman branch. Reckless industrialism is the true child of this *neg-ligion*.

Soil, *humus*, for a better thinking can be found both in East and West. The West, too, has mighty strains of "Peace with the Earth"; personalities like Saint Francis, Martin Heidegger, or August Strindberg are exemplary. And in the East the entire religious-philosophical tradition, both in Hinduism and Buddhism, aims — among other things — at such Peace, the opposite of current industrial practice. In this contradiction is waiting for us the crucial revolutionary problem of our precarious era, the Problem that will not wait for ever. It becomes more and more critical the longer we push it from us.

WORLD UNION CONSCIOUSNESS—XI

A Child's Rights

T. Govindarajan

(In the tenth article of this series it was stressed that the birth of the child, or even before, it is the starting point of its education. The child learns, rather absorbs, in its first year "more" than in the rest of its life. The home is the first place where education begins. The influence of the parents and the home environment act jointly on the child. The mother is the most important individual in the process; the father comes immediately second. Working mothers are of course provided with two to four months of maternity-leave in many countries. It was suggested that one or two years should be given so that the mother's full, undivided and intelligent attention can be ensured for the child. This liberal provision is bound to yield rich dividends in the long run in terms of the social welfare of the community. A charter of rights for children and a corresponding charter of duties for parents—at least as an unwritten but imperative convention—may be conceived.)

Dr. Maria Montessori says, "The fundamental problem in education is not an educational problem at all, but it is a social one. It consists in the establishment of a new and better relationship between the two great sections of society — children and adults."

The first adults that enter into the life of the child are obviously the parents. Their attitude and conduct towards the child in the first two or three years shape much of its normal growth. Of the parents, the central place goes to the mother. In some families, the father takes a close second place; in some others it is a distant second, often of very little significance. Where both parents have a discerning and uneffusive love towards the child, circumstances are most desirable. If they have read appropriate literature of child guidance and follow the guidelines in a spirit of love and respect for the child and reverence for life, and if they have otherwise prepared themselves, all may go well. The child of an intelligent and spiritually harmonised couple has no problems at all.

Sometimes the father, as a bread-winner, is far too preoccupied with his work or

profession to find the time or inclination to be with the child, to be an influencing agent in its life. What is more disconcerting is that in some cases the father is just not interested in his child, though material and other circumstances have provided him with favourable opportunities to be so. We shall call it callousness or to be milder, apathy. This, of course, is deplorable. He fails as a father first and as a citizen second. In some hard-pressed families, the father leaves for work before the child wakes up and returns after it has gone to sleep. There is practically no waking hour for the child to see the father and receive his attention. The father becomes a stranger in a way. This is a tragedy for the child, as well as for the society of which the child is to be a part. What is worse, in some affluent families the child (mildly considered an encumbrance) sees both parents at fixed hours and then goes to the governess or nurse. This snobbery is only a piece of sophisticated barbarism.

It often happens that while the mother's personality is absorbed by the child, for one reason or another the father enters its life rarely or only occasionally. Though the child in the first few months may not always recognise in its consciousness the presence or absence of either parent, it is nonetheless imperative that the child be aware of and be influenced by intelligent and loving parents. Snobbery, in any form, has to give place to natural duties; apathy has to give place to genuine and natural parental interest; in no case should the rights of the child to parental attention be sacrificed.

Furthermore, the economic structure of society and social activity vis-a-vis the constituent families will have to be so reorganised that every child with working parents gets all the attention due to it, in its own right. A penny-wise and a pound-foolish society alone can afford to risk its own future by denying the first natural rights to a child—the love, care and intelligent attention of its parents. It is puerile to point out instances of orphans having scaled heights of eminence. However high the eminence reached by them, there will be a yawning gap in the consciousness, an abnormality or complex or incompleteness—emotional and spiritual—not perhaps evident or felt.

As a matter of fact, most of us who call ourselves normal are not so. We are not aware of the deviations in our personalities. Most of us carry psychological scars of one kind or another, caused (albeit unconsciously) by some circumstance. Willed self-restraint or fear of the law or social opprobrium keeps us in an uneasy poise. That is only as far as the individual is concerned. But the aggregate of all our deviations is clearly manifest in the state of our society today. Take any part of the world, there is unrest, there is tension, there is kidnapping, there is hijacking, there is gross selfishness to the point of social tyranny, there is corruption, and above all there is an inhuman violence in the very atmosphere.

Where else can we trace the "incentives" for these deviate ways of social behaviour except to the deep subterranean storehouse of the racial mind and consciousness? It would

appear there is something lacking in the intellectual, moral and spiritual luggage we carry on our journey on this planet; or there is some unwanted, wasteful and positively mischievous ballast clinging to our luggage, befogging our journey. To vary the metaphor, mankind resembles an abandoned child who has lost his way in a thick jungle at night and is stupefied by the queer sounds and shadows of the thickets. This stupefaction fathers a few illusions; man, thus stunned and caught in illusions, marches into the *greatest illusion* called *war*. The causes of war lie deeply embedded in the collective subconscious of the human race that has strayed away from its natural and normal course. To identify the deviations in the present, to avoid them in the future, and to bring the human race back on the rails of "nature and normalcy" are the goals of education.

So it is we take the first step, the most important step—the discovery of the *child*. He is a forgotten citizen, even forlorn and ignored. Yet, "The child is a social entity of the highest constructive value", as Montessori would say; "The child is, in fact, the other pole of humanity." He is a great and important creator, creating the *adult-to-be*. He carries in himself the nucleus of this creation.

So this discovery of the child in its entirety, in all its aspects is vastly more important than the discovery of the energy packed in the atom of nature. While the physical energy stored in the atom is harnessed for some creative and some destructive purposes, the properly released energy latent in the child can be even more powerfully harnessed to create what can be termed the *armament of peace*. That was Montessori's dream when she set out on the long journey to discover the child and present him to the world.

If this century can be called "the Century of the Atom", it may equally well be called *the Century of the Child* if "the discovery of the child" could be pushed to its logical end. There appears a historic destiny in the Century of the Atom being coterminous with the Century of the Child. The child who is the adult-to-be carries in his tiny hands the future of the human race. To grant him his rights, and to give him the prepared environments for his growth into the future adult are the tasks that lie ahead of us.

In the past man concerned himself, for far too long, with the outer impressive apparatuses of education and their refinements,—psychology, methods of teaching, examinations, intelligence tests, classrooms, size of classes, types of schools, school architecture, salaries of teachers, etc., etc.,—and forgot the child. But the child is the centre, everything else is ancillary. And the child is as much a citizen as those who consider themselves so. The child is a citizen in his own right, and forms a class by himself with rights and privileges that accrue to him according to the laws of natural growth. The child lives in a world of his own, and he has to grow first in this world before he can step into the world of the adolescent; from this he grows into the world of the adult and then grows old.

It is said that every stage of growth—childhood, adolescence, adulthood, old age—is a new birth or a new *becoming*, a transition from one world to another. No one need imagine that these worlds are watertight and disjointed. They form the long passage with its many mansions collectively called life. One has to move from one to another, naturally, smoothly imbibing the environment provided in one and carrying a part of it and shedding another part of it, into the next. It can be called a march by *quanta* rather than a continuous process. But every experience, every impression and every acquisition, in short the whole consciousness is stored. Much of it is manifested in the course of life through ideas and ideals, through voluntary as well as involuntary actions. Cause and effect, action and reaction, dream and reality, thought and motivation could be traced with unerring precision on the detailed mental chart, if one could make it, of an individual.

As all healthy growth should be uninhibited, it is of primary importance that the child should grow in his world in his own way before he steps or is taken into the world of the adolescent and thence into the adult.

Until the advent of some early educationists, especially Froebel and Montessori, it was a common idea that the child is an adult in miniature, a small *man* or a weak *man*. The logic of this conception of the child led to the domination and/or oppression of the weak by the strong. But paradoxically enough, this domination was motivated by love. This situation is seen by Montessori in the following perspective:

All over the world, in every land—civilised and uncivilised—in every social stratum (not least among the rich) there is going on a disastrous oppression of the weak (the child) by the strong (the adult)—an oppression none the less real and devastating in its effects because it is unconsciously exercised and therefore unintentional. It is indeed the strangest kind of oppression, because those who exercise it, love those whom they oppress and wish rather to help them than to hinder them. Furthermore, the oppressed, for the most part love their oppressors. Parents, nurse-maids, governesses, teachers, in fact all those who have to do with children are the guilty ones. Yet in a sense, they are not guilty, because it is all a tragedy of misunderstanding.

So the first step in the education of the child is for the adult, parent or teacher to discover the child as he is. That is, the adult must change his observation post. He has to recognise the "world" of the child, identify its boundaries and landmarks and place the child in that world. Having placed the child in the place where it belongs, the adult has to recognise the rights of the child in his world and in a spirit of love and respect for the spark of life that the child holds in him, secure for him these rights:

- 1. The right to independence;**
- 2. The right to activity;**
- 3. The right to explore the world for himself;**
- 4. The right to a suitable environment.**

The right mentioned last, to a prepared environment in which the child can grow to its full stature, we shall look at later in detail. The environment of the adult is clearly and emphatically not the environment of the child.

LINES OF AWAKENING

Five Poems

*The moment of day's genesis comes mid night,
Silent, resonant with verses of potency
And promise, calling with the austerity
Of wings still folded the instant before flight.*

*

*Rapid streams of bare electricity
Cut through the dross of twilight,
The landscape of drowsing grey,
And with uncommon light impregnate
An instant of predawn, of awakening.*

*

*Night turning to sweetness
Rising, harbinger of light,
Rose in the day's first sky,
A soft and certain hope.*

*

*Seemingly itself rising above our horizon,
The line where intersect our earth and sky,
And though spread are its emanative hands
Always, as we revolve, wake and toward it glance,
Yet it is lifted, it appears in our heavens
Through the power and oblation of our turning.*

*

*Waking to the sunlight that surrounds,
Like a bird to the air that uplifts
Or the fish who learns to drink in
The pure ocean in which he finds himself;
Rising to this golden and clear, this blue
World of rhythmic glass broken only by joy
Of leaping silver and diving white.*

Tatsat

THE FLAME-SUN

Mary Alexander

Once there was a land where everyone was content with things pretty much as they were and the moon shone every day for light and most everyone thought this was fine.

But one person was not so content with things as they were. Angiras had read in an old book that in a cave (which was now behind a wall and much rubble) the sun lived. The sun remained in his cave because no one wanted him to come out, as was demonstrated by the wall and the rubble and the fact that no one ever went near the place. Angiras had also read in the old book that the brilliance of the sun was so great that the moon seemed pale in comparison.

He thought this was wonderful news and shared it with his closest friend, Sarama, who also thought it was wonderful because she was not so content with things as they were either.

They started to share the wonderful news with other people, but found that most everyone else didn't find it wonderful at all. They laughed at the thought or got angry that anyone would want their beautiful moon to seem pale. And nobody liked the idea that they might have to look at things in dark corners which the moonlight never lit up. So, very quickly Angiras and Sarama stopped talking about their wonderful news and everyone else felt more comfortable. And they stopped talking about everything else too, because nothing seemed so important to them as the sun. People thought they were pretty strange, but that only bothered Angiras and Sarama when they stopped thinking about the sun, which they thought about more and more all the time.

Then one day Sarama said to Angiras, "Let's go to the place where the sun cave is. Perhaps if we let him know that we want him to come out, he will. Then everyone would see how wonderful his light really is!"

So they went and found that indeed the place was very untidy and that a high wall was covering the entrance to the cave. The wall was very old and beginning to crumble; very few people even remembered that it was there. But Sarama and Angiras were delighted to find it and began working immediately to break the wall down completely



It was very hard work Angiras and Sarama went every day, every day. People thought them odd to work so hard for something they'd read about in a book, but they left Sarama and Angiras alone, and one day the wall was down.

There was the entrance to the cave. It looked so dark and forbidding; they couldn't see any light from the sun at all. But although they were a little disappointed, they didn't give up hope that the sun would come out, perhaps the next day, when he saw that the wall was down and someone really did want him to come.

So they came eagerly the following day and waited a long time, but still there was no sign of the sun.

"We must be very patient," said Angiras.

Sarama did not feel patient enough to just sit and wait indefinitely, so she looked around for something further she could do to convince the sun that she really did want him to come out.

"Why Angiras, look at this place!" she cried suddenly. "It's such a mess! It could only look worse by the light of the sun. We must clean it up and make it beautiful so that the sun would be happy to shine on it. Surely he won't come out to shine unless there is something worth shining on!"

So the two began to clear away all the old rocks, keeping ones with pretty shapes or colors to arrange nicely around the cave and taking the rest far away and piling them neatly. And after awhile—for it was again hard work and they had to work for many days—the place began to look really nice. Then it began to look not just nice but beautiful!

Finally one day they felt they could do no more to the outside of the cave to make it ready for the sun. So they called to the sun to tell him how much they wanted him to come. They called and called but could see or hear no response.

"No one has wanted him to come out for a long long time," said Angiras. "We must be very patient and call to him every day so he will know that we truly do want him to come."

Again Sarama did not feel patient enough to just call indefinitely, so she looked around to see if there was something more they could do to let the sun know that they really wanted him to come.

"Why Angiras!" she said after thinking quietly for some time. "We must go to the sun directly and tell him politely and with due respect that we would like very much for him to come and shine upon us. Surely one so wonderful as he cannot think very highly of people standing at the edge of his cave shouting at him!"

Angiras realized at once that this was correct, but it presented a greater problem than before. To go into that unknown cave without even the light of the moon, to go to the very home of the sun (whom they had only read about in a book), and to speak to him face to face, well, that would take a tremendous amount of courage—perhaps more than Angiras was sure he had.

So he didn't respond right away because he knew she was right, but he didn't really want to go.

"Someone should stand guard at the entrance to the cave to keep people from blocking it up again," he said. He said it because he was afraid and didn't want to go in' but Sarama spoke up immediately.

"You're right. You stand guard. People must not think we have gone off and left it. I will go to the sun and tell him how much we want him to come. But you must not tell anyone where I've gone because then they will become afraid and try to block the cave again. You wouldn't be able to fight everyone."

Angiras was ashamed that the truth he had spoken had come from cowardice instead of wisdom. Again he was quiet.

After some time he spoke quietly. "Sarama, you must stand guard. I will go into the cave. While we know in our hearts the sun is wonderful, we don't know what there is along the way which might not be wonderful. You are clever and can keep the curious people away. They will suspect nothing of you playing in this lovely garden you have made."

Yes, people would believe her more readily because she would be at ease, certain that Angiras would reach the sun all right. She could see that much as she wanted to go, and much as he might have doubts, or perhaps because he had doubts about his own courage, he should be the one to go.

They were silent for awhile. Angiras thought of all the things he might need to make such an unknown journey; things to make him safe, things to help him get back out of the cave, things for hunger and thirst and cold and heat. The list of things he might need seemed to get longer and longer in his head until he could not possibly go without someone else to help him carry everything. He was going to say something but didn't know quite what to say. Then he looked at Sarama and he realized that she expected him to begin right away without taking *anything*.

"But..." he said.

"What use would it be to take a lot of stuff with you? You might be in there five minutes; you might be in there five years. Here," she said and handed him the food and canteen of water they had brought with them that day.

They sat in silence again. Slowly the hope of their quest grew in their hearts. And with it grew courage and joy. Angiras stood up and Sarama followed. There were tears in both pairs of eyes and smiles on both pairs of lips as they shared together a moment before Angiras turned silently and entered the cave.

For awhile the light of the moon penetrated the cave. Angiras walked along easily, the glow in his heart and the silence in his head giving him the courage to go quickly though carefully. Even for a long time after all light had gone he continued easily, letting his heart and his hearing and his sense of touch guide him through the dark.

He had no way of knowing how long he continued like that, with no thoughts or expectations. Slowly, however, thoughts crept in and he began to feel hungry and a little tired. Still he continued for quite some time before he sat down to rest.

When he got up and began the journey again it was not the same. The cave began to get narrower and then lower so that pretty soon his head was almost touching the top and his shoulders were almost touching the sides. This made it easier for him to feel his way along, but it also made him more uncomfortable about bumping his head and about what he would do if he met something he didn't like.

After awhile Angiras had to stoop to avoid hitting his head against rocks sticking down from the ceiling and after some time more he had to crawl.

Again Angiras did not have any idea how long he continued like this. Fortunately the cave did not get any smaller, but it was a most uncomfortable way to proceed as he had no protection for his hands and knees and the floor was very rocky. They became very sore.

It had just entered his mind that what he was doing was absolutely crazy and that he should probably turn around and go back (but there was no room to turn around so he would have to back out) when something changed. At first he did not know what it was that had changed; he only knew that something *had* changed and that it gave him the courage to go on.

Suddenly a ray of light showed hesitantly from somewhere and he could see just a little. He looked to find the direction from which the ray came, but it was not from the side he expected. He looked again, and to his amazement, it was coming from within himself. He moved along for a few moments, then stopped. How could this light be coming from inside him? No sooner had he thought this than the light receded and try as he might he could see nothing at all. Bewildered, he continued to grope his way along in the dark.

After some time the light came forth again, and again it seemed to come from inside him. Angiras was very anxious for it to stay this time. Still, as he moved along he began looking for a possible source of light outside himself which might only appear to be coming from him, and as he looked the light dimmed and disappeared.

So it went on. Each time the light came, Angiras followed it hopefully for awhile. Then doubt would creep in and he would look for a different source; as soon as that happened

the light would go. Gradually, however, he began to believe that the light actually was coming from within himself; and when there was no doubt left in his mind the light stayed. It guided him for a long time through the twists and turns and darkness of the cave.

Then a light from somewhere else met the light that was coming from Angiras. As he went on, he kept expecting it to get brighter, but it didn't seem to. All of a sudden he crawled around a bend and found himself up against a door. The other light was coming through the cracks.

There was room here for him to straighten up a little, so he did; but then he didn't know quite what else to do so he didn't do anything for awhile. Finally he knocked on the door. Silence was the only response. Again he knocked and again there was only silence—not even an echo in the cave.

He waited longer before knocking again. When he did knock a third time it was with a great deal of force, but the silence when he stopped was only more forceful. So Angiras let the silence be the response and he became very quiet too. Only after he had become so still that nothing moved in him, not a muscle, not a thought, did he hear,—or was it feel, or was it both or neither?—"Come".

Trembling with fear, with anticipation, with joy, he pushed the door. Slowly, carefully he pushed and it took every ounce of energy he had to move it. He closed his eyes and concentrated and slowly, slowly, it opened.

When he opened his eyes again he had to close them immediately because the light was so bright. Gradually, by blinking a lot, he was able to accustom his eyes to the light and he began looking for its source. He found to his amazement, that the source of this blinding light was not a huge fire but a tiny flame in the center of the room, flickering in the gust of air let in by the open door.

Angiras stood in awe that such a tiny flame could be so bright. And as he stood there he found that this flame was not only giving off light, but a wonderful warmth and something else which he couldn't describe. Tears of joy began rolling down his cheeks. Here he was, standing before the sun, and it was more than he could ever have hoped for.

Millions of thoughts raced through his head at once and then it was quiet. In that quiet he remembered why he had come. After a moment's hesitation he bowed his head and said solemnly, "Mr. Sun, I have come...to ask you if you... will come to shine on the world outside."

Silence.

"We have torn down the wall and made it very beautiful around the entrance to the cave. Sarama is there now guarding to see that no one blocks it up again."

Somehow, as he finished speaking he could tell that the sun already knew all this. So Angiras just sat quietly and looked at him. The silence grew and grew until it filled every part of him. In that silence he began to see what needed to be done.

The tiny flame lit up the room in the cave very well and seemed very bright after hours in a pitch-black tunnel. Here it was protected from wind and rain and people who didn't want it. But taken outside it might very quickly be extinguished by any number of things.

"The fire must first grow here in the cave," Angiras' heart seemed to tell him. "It must be big enough and strong enough that the wind and water of angry people who don't want to see by its light cannot put it out. Go and bring back fuel for the fire. Feed it. Tend it. Build it. Then it will become strong enough to light the world."

Again tears of joy came to Angiras' eyes. He sat in the beautiful silence of the flame-sun for a long time before he was ready to go again.

The crawl back through the cave seemed a little bit shorter, though not much. It was night when Angiras came out and although there was more light outside the cave than in, the feebleness of the starlight in comparison to that of the tiny sun-flame almost overwhelmed him. He looked around and saw that Sarama had made a bed of dry grass and moss for herself a little way from the mouth of the cave. He didn't think he ought to wake her, but Sarama sat up almost as soon as he saw her. With eyes glowing she waited expectantly for him to tell her what he had seen. The silence was still with him and she shared it for a long time before he was ready to speak.

Sarama listened to Angiras' story without saying a word. When he finished she said, "Let me go next. We can take turns tending the fire and tending the garden. We must not neglect either."

Much as Angiras wanted to return right away, he knew she was right and was glad that she would see the sun-flame herself. He thought that she would go immediately but she said, "We must take good care of ourselves too or we won't be able to do everything properly. We must do things carefully. We won't be able to go again and again if we are not strong."

She gave him her bed and quickly made another for herself. Angiras thought the wonder and excitement of all he had seen and done would surely keep him awake, but he quickly fell into a deep, peaceful sleep.

When Angiras woke the next day the moon was high in the sky and Sarama was nowhere to be seen. He couldn't imagine that Sarama would have gone into the cave without telling him, but he couldn't think of where else she could be either. After awhile though, she came from the direction of the town carrying a large, full basket on her head.

"I have some fuel for the fire and some work for us," she replied to his questioning look. "You know people were worried about having an open cave around. It made them very uncomfortable when they walked by. I told them that we did not want a wall in our park just because there was a cave there. But I think if we block their view with some nice bushes and trees, they won't notice the opening so much and will leave us alone—at least enough to do what we need to do."

Without saying more Sarama took a large bundle out of the basket. She held it close to her and smiled at Angiras. He smiled, then closed his eyes. It seemed to both that they were finally beginning.

The journey through the cave was easier for Sarama because she knew what was ahead. But when she had to start crawling it became more difficult in a way because she had to carry the package with one arm. It still seemed a long long way. Then just when she was beginning to feel a little discouraged, the light in her began to shine.

Even before she reached the door, the silence and warmth had begun to envelope her. She entered and waited for her eyes to get used to the light, then turned towards the flame. There it was, tiny and white, with such a startling purity about it that it made her catch her breath. She moved towards it and offered the contents of her package, bit by bit, until it was all consumed. The fire grew, but died down almost as soon as the fuel was gone.

Sarama left the room as quietly as she had come, but as soon as she was out the door she sat down and almost cried with disappointment. Somehow she had expected so much more, although she didn't know exactly what.

When the disappointment died down an emptiness of sorts took its place. She began to crawl out. When she came out it was night again and Angiras was asleep. She didn't bother to wake him, but went to her moss bed and went dully to sleep.

Angiras was eager for a report in the morning. Sarama told him how the flame had died down as soon as the fuel was gone. They pondered over what to use for fuel that would keep the flame growing. They decided upon something and tried to think of how they could take more in at a time.

It was Angiras' turn to go. Sarama waited eagerly and hopefully for his return, but he too came back somewhat disappointed. The flame had gone high and lasted long, but it had not continued when the fuel was gone. They tried to think of something even better for fuel, but each knew that it would be the same with whatever they used.

"I guess the only thing is to keep the fuel constantly coming. We'll have to take in as much as we can and then keep bringing more as we feed the fire."

It made them both uncomfortable to think that they would have to stop guarding the entrance to the cave, but there was nothing else to do. Knowing this gave them courage.

Angiras and Sarama worked very hard for a long time to fill every possible place in the room and the cave with all kinds of fuel for the flame. They hoped that by trying many different kinds they could find a fuel better than the others and concentrate on that one. They would just have to see.

Finally every corner possible was filled. It felt right that both should be present to begin this time. Silently each offered himself and all his work to the flame, then each offered a small piece of wood to the fire. Accepting the offering, the flames rose tremendously, out of all proportion to the amount of wood, but this did not surprise Sarama and Angiras. Angiras put more wood on the fire while Sarama turned to begin the long task of bringing in more fuel.

So it continued for many days. They took turns at bringing the fuel and feeding the flame. They rested and ate as they needed but thought only of the work they were doing. So intent were they that they did not notice the remarks, looks, and questions of other people they encountered while gathering fuel.

The fire grew with their offerings. It grew and grew. Sarama and Angiras did not know quite what to expect it to do. But in watching the flames rise they noticed a hole in the rock high above them. Once they saw the moon pass by and peek in at them through the hole, and it then became clear that when the fire was strong enough it would rise right up through the hole to shine on all the world. The moon knew this. She had smiled at them as she passed.

After a certain point it became necessary for both Angiras and Sarama to work at feeding the fire. They abandoned everything else and concentrated solely on this. The fire grew and grew and it seemed to grow inside them as well as outside them until they could barely tell the difference between the fire within and the fire without. Still it did not rise through the hole and suddenly there was nothing left to put on it.

Angiras and Sarama looked at each other in shock. There was no question in either mind of their going out to bring in more fuel. The fire would die down in the meantime and it seemed clear that something else was to be done. It was close, so close!

"We are all that is left to be given, Angiras." With these words the flame inside Sarama grew until it consumed all within and rose up and out the top of her head. Angiras was speechless but the fire inside him grew in response.

Sarama prostrated herself before the fire. Then, without a word, she rose and stepped into it. The flames quivered and rose up off the stone where they had rested. The room was filled with a golden light and the sweet scent of white and pink roses. Yes, the only possibility was for Angiras to add the rose of his love to the fire as well. He closed his eyes. All else vanished in his offering. Without opening his eyes again Angiras stepped into the fire.

The flames expanded to fill the whole room, then began to concentrate into a ball. The ball of fire began to rise, slowly, softly towards the hole at the top, sending its golden and its white and pink light before it.

The reactions of people to the new light were varied. Some indeed thought it wonderful. Some didn't like it much and grumbled. And although the moon was certainly pale in comparison to the brilliance of the sun, the sun usually came when the moon was not there and she remained every bit as beautiful as before, perhaps even more so for she too loved the sun and always kept her face turned towards him.

Those who did not like the sun continued to live their lives by the light of the moon. Most, however, began to live their lives by the light of the sun, even though they still loved the moon dearly.

Few people thought to ask what had become of Angiras and Sarama. No one had seen them in such a long time. There were some though who remembered Angiras and his book and they went to the cave to find him and Sarama. They could find no trace of the two outside the cave and it was unthinkable to them that they might enter the cave itself, even though something warm and sweet seemed to come from it. Yet those who cared to think of Sarama and Angiras knew that it must have been through their efforts that the sun had come to shine, so they decided to maintain the little park which Sarama had begun. There they gave thanks for the sun daily and after some time weekly and then yearly until most people forgot why it was there. Eventually the cave was walled off again because it made people uncomfortable in spite of the nice bushes and trees. Everyone was pretty much content with things as they were.

But the sun shone every day.

EGALITARIANISM AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN A CHANGING AMERICA

Henry Winthrop

1. Equality of Opportunity Versus Equality of Results

Humanists should certainly be bestirring themselves with respect to the revolutionary ferment now taking place in higher education. I am referring to the current, national phenomenon—still, technically, a minority movement—to switch our allegiance within the framework of the egalitarian credo, from the traditional principle of “equality of opportunity” to the newly voiced principle of “equality of results.” This switch, of course, is also taking place in other areas, such as job placement and representation in political bodies. But the transition is, perhaps, most dramatic and most traumatic in higher education. The demand for equality of results for all persons is taking the form of an insistence upon equality of income, status, power and influence—for all men in society. The question of how far to go to meet this demand, the exploration of the contexts in which it might be regarded as reasonable and the contexts in which it would most likely prove destructive—these and similar considerations constitute the substance of some of the conflicts now occurring between those who still adhere to the principle of equality of opportunity and those who plump for the displacement of this traditional

principle by the newly voiced principle of equality of results. The passionate disagreements now raging—particularly in higher education—over which of these two principles should constitute the major guideline of our society may yet prove to be one of the most controversial issues of our time.

The switch in the nature of our egalitarian outlook is reflected in the claim that equality of opportunity—the traditional, American ideal—no longer works in a society that (1) is growing increasingly complex and is making demands for skills that only specialized training can supply, (2) is imposing vicious circles (that is, positive feedback) upon the underprivileged in their desire to climb the ladder of success, (3) has moved in recent decades towards a meritocracy within the framework of what has come to be called “the credentials society” and (4) is eliminating through automation and other forms of technology, job opportunities for the economically underprivileged and the educationally disadvantaged. These indictments constitute a limited bill of particulars, since many other reasons can be forwarded to show why the traditional principle of equality of opportunity is no longer viable.

The vicious circle to which I have referred above is the fact that all too many Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians

and members of other minority groups—when looking for work—are told by placement officers that they are unqualified for certain positions that they seek, on the grounds that they lack a high school or a college diploma. But the economic and family situations of a good many of these individuals forces them to look for work—any work—in order to help out financially in the home. The need, however, to look for work makes it impossible for them to attend school, even if such attendance carried no financial cost—which is almost never the case. The failure to attend school and receive the needed high school or college diploma results in their being disqualified by many personnel officers, for positions that they desire. This chronic demand for educational credentials reduces job opportunities and increases the length of time over which they receive no income.

But this lack of income exacerbates the problems at home—illness, family undernourishment, a flood of unpaid bills with constant pressures from collecting agencies, etc.—and the aggravation of these domestic problems generates further, increased family pressure to get a job. This increased family pressure means a longer period must elapse during which one tries to find a job and this longer period, in turn, means a more extended absence from high school or college. The length of this scholastic fallout period creates increased superannuation for these job-seekers, in relation to the age-group enrolled in secondary institutions and in colleges and universities, to which they might, under certain conditions, wish to return. This superannuation increases the reluctance to return to school—even at night—in those cases where one does, in fact, find a job. But, in so many cases, the unfortunate indi-

viduals of whom we speak fail to find any position at all and continue to search for employment. In both the situations I have just mentioned, they continue to live without a high school or college diploma and find the number of turndowns by smug and complacent, middle-class personnel officers, increasing. These personnel officers have never experienced the kind of suffering and frustration these job-seekers have had to live with for as long as they can remember. Since a good many personnel officers also lack the imagination to understand the plight of the economically underprivileged and are also alienated from these members of our new fourth estate, they fail to comprehend how much their demands for credentials are worsening the life-situations of these underprivileged job-seekers.

For the four reasons mentioned above and many others I have not mentioned, the demand that the principle of equality of results replace the principle of equality of opportunity, is increasing. This demand has been met by such devices as the government's affirmative action programs with their attendant quotas and the threat to withdraw contract money—often in substantial amounts—from educational institutions that refuse to comply with government demands made under affirmative action programs. The result of the effort to comply with quotas has been the lowering of traditional standards both in the hiring of teachers and in the admission of students. At the same time this lowering of standards has been vigorously reinforced by the demand of our citizens that every high school graduate be entitled to go to college—a demand fed, of course, by the growing, meritocratic rigidities of the credentials society. In a subsequent section I shall deal separately with the possible effects

on American life—educational and otherwise—of this lowering of standards. At this point, however, I think that it is more important to examine briefly the sophisticated philosophy and moral position that are used to support in a semi-official sense, the demand for equality of results.

2. Philosophical Justifications for the Principle of "Equality of Results"

Professor John Rawls* of Harvard, although in no sense an official spokesman for the new fourth estate, has performed yeoman's work in preparing what might be called the bible of the new philosophy. I am referring to his milestone volume, *A Theory of Justice*. At the risk of making myself guilty of tremendous and potentially misleading oversimplification, let me say that Rawls develops extensively and systematically a theory of "justice as fairness"—a theory under which the demand for equality of results can easily be subsumed. Or—put more strongly—it is a theory from which the principle of equality of results can be derived. One of the major consequences of Rawls' theory of justice as fairness is the recognition that men are rendered unequal either by nature, in the form of hereditary differences in intellectual abilities, talents and special aptitudes, or are rendered unequal by nurture, that is, the accidents of social and cultural milieus into which they are born. These milieus not only provide differences in social stimulation that lead to differences in skills but they also confer inequalities in privileges, in opportunities, in material bases for satisfaction, and in

many other ways.

Making use of a fiction which Rawls calls "The Original Position," a fiction in which one imagines men coming together to decide consensually what constitutes a just society and what are the appropriate principles, measures and institutions for achieving such a society—but where they come together without knowing the differences in advantages they may later have thrust upon them—Rawls formulates one of his central notions. This is the idea that if men were to seek a theory of justice in which their own futures were unknown to them—that is to say, the dialogue in which they engage would occur behind a "veil of ignorance"—they would opt for a society that might crudely be described here as one which welcomed the principle of equality of results. Inasmuch as they have been placed behind a veil of ignorance, they cannot develop an *ad hoc* conception of justice, precisely because they do not know what awaits them in their separate but emerging futures. In such a fictional situation, Rawls believes, they would opt for an equality in the distribution of primary goods—freedom, opportunity, income, wealth, health, the possibility of achieving dignity, self-respect, influence, etc. In The Original Position men would be least likely to enunciate conceptions of justice that rationalize their advantages, precisely because they do not know what these future advantages will be.

In adopting the fiction of The Original Position, Rawls makes clear what the purpose of this fiction is.

"...The aim is to rule out those principles that it would be rational to propose for

*John Rawls. "A Theory of Justice." Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971. 607 pp. See, in particular, chapter I, "Justice As Fairness," 3-53.

acceptance, however little the chance of success, only if one knew certain things that are irrelevant from the standpoint of justice. For example, if a man knew that he was wealthy, he might find it rational to advance the principle that various taxes for welfare measures be counted unjust; if he knew that he was poor, he would most likely propose the contrary principle. To represent the desired restrictions one imagines a situation in which everyone is deprived of this sort of information. One excludes the knowledge of those contingencies which sets men at odds and allows them to be guided by their prejudices. In this manner the veil of ignorance is arrived at in a natural way. This concept should cause no difficulty if we keep in mind the constraints on arguments that it is meant to express. At any time we can enter the original position, so to speak, simply by following a certain procedure, namely, by arguing for principles of justice in accordance with these restrictions." (pp.18-19)

The purpose of Rawls' approach is to assert—and here I shall employ everyday language rather than the language of philosophy—that no man has done anything to earn special breaks either from nature (heredity) or from society and that a proper moral imperative in a society as complex as our own, is to take whatever measures we can to undo or redress the occurrence of such special breaks. Quite obviously, where such special breaks are hereditary, they can only be undone by discoveries and techniques of biological and molecular engineering that may arise *in the future*. Where they are socially conditioned, however, reflecting recent or historical, human selfishness,

society can clearly, *in principle*, be restructured, so as to eliminate such special breaks—provided men have the will to do so. I shall here gloss over the technical complexities of determining what the appropriate restructurings should be and how they should be implemented. I shall likewise gloss over the techniques by which efforts might be made to forecast some of the social consequences of such restructuring. The important point—nay, the essential point to be made here—is that the principle of equality of results is a modern, secular expression in a technological and socially complex society like our own, of the principle of Christian brotherhood or, for that matter, of an authentic concept of brotherhood as that concept might also be found in the literature of several religions other than Christianity.

I want to go on record here as favoring the principle of equality of results—and favoring it because I believe it is appropriate for our complex, Western, social environment. But if this principle is elliptically formulated, that is to say, if it is invoked for, and applied to, any and all social and work contexts, it may degenerate into an absurdity. The context of application is vital. If employed for a context in which an equality of results brings in its wake certain, highly undesirable features or brings in its wake depressing but hitherto, non-existent, social pathologies, then we would have a case of the cure being worse in some respects than the disease. One must therefore examine or assess the likely contextual consequences of the application of the principle of equality of results, before actually employing it. Its uncritical use could be both irrational and empirically frustrating. Rawls has recognized one contingency in which this principle should not be applied, namely, when an

unequal distribution of primary goods is to the advantage of the least favored in our society. By the same token I would argue that if the form in which this principle has been applied, leads immediately to the loss of certain advantages essential to the whole community—and definitely including the least favored—it should not be invoked in that form. Likewise, if a particular application of this principle would generate certain disadvantages, either to the whole community or only to the least favored, it should not be employed in that particular form. If it has been improperly invoked in either of these two cases, the community should not withdraw the application of the principle but should change the form and content through which it has been given expression.

The equality of distribution of primary goods has been enunciated by Rawls as a *modus operandi* that is superior morally to the utilitarianism which has traditionally dominated social, welfare theory and economic thinking in the Western world. In particular, Rawls spends a considerable amount of effort, dealing with the limitations of the classical statement of utilitarianism as formulated by Sidgwick. This is the position which asserts that "society is rightly ordered, and therefore just, when its major institutions are arranged so as to achieve the greatest net balance of satisfaction summed over all individuals belonging to it." It is my impression that Rawls does not believe—and rightly so, I think—that any man would happily and voluntarily consent to have his satisfactions reduced, simply because he was assured that such reduction had increased the net social welfare. He might be coerced into accepting his loss or he might be resigned to it because he realised that he could do nothing about it. He could not,

however, honestly declare that he was happy at having his own personal welfare reduced.

The utilitarian principle has undergone some refinements in economics. Thus an economic optimum has been defined in terms of what is called the "Pareto-optimality" criterion. According to this criterion, an economy is at its optimum when it is impossible to make anyone better off without making someone else worse off. It is extremely difficult to find an instance of a technological or social change that does not make some people worse off, even if the number of people who are made better off is many times greater than those who have to take the setback. As a result, the Pareto-optimality criterion has been supplemented by what has come to be known as the "compensation test." This test says that a change from one state to another is desirable only if those who benefit from the change can compensate those who lose out as a result of the change and still leave those who benefited from the change better off than they were before. Although the Pareto-optimality criterion and the compensation test, together refine a utilitarian position, it is to be noticed that the refinement still legitimates an inequality in the distribution of primary goods. Thus even these two powerful tools of economics would not be capable of fitting into the theory of justice as fairness, proposed by Rawls, since the two criteria would consistently discourage the principle of equality of results.

The ferment that now rages in higher education is due to the conflict between the principle of equality of opportunity—the ideal that moved several of The Founding Fathers and which has always been part of The American Dream—and the principle of equality of results. A brief overview of this

conflict was given in a recent issue of "U. S. News & World Report."* An extended and insightful examination of the philosophical assumptions inherent in the new principle and an examination of some of its social implications and probable consequences, was given in the journal, "The Public Interest."** Almost an entire issue of this journal was devoted to the subject.

What is important to me in the present context, however, is the manner in which so lofty a principle as that of the quality of results, has eddied down to many of our students in colleges and universities and been transmogrified by them into a justification for anti-rationality, anti-intellectuality

and a demand that they be given something for nothing. Although the students who are demanding something for nothing and who wish to turn education inside out, are often marginal students who have been able to enter the precincts of learning by virtue of the lowering of standards all across the country, one can also find competent students who passionately support the effort to degrade some of the essential features of true learning, by translating the principle of equality of results into a demand for a passport to the bachelor's degree, without doing anything for it and without having any interest in the intellectual content or tradition of education.

(To be concluded in the issue of March, 1975.)

*"Can All Americans Be Made 'Equal'?" "U. S. News & World Report." Vol. LXXIV, No. 15, April 9, 1973. 39-44.

**"The Public Interest" No. 29, Fall 1972. 136 pp. See, in particular, the following articles: (1) Daniel Bell. "On meritocracy and equality," 29-68; (2) Daniel P. Moynihan. "Equalizing education. In whose benefit?," 69-89; and (3) Seymour Martin Lipset. "Social mobility and equal opportunity," 90-108.

OPENINGS OF EDUCATION

"What is the way of making the consciousness of human unity grow in man?"

"Spiritual Education, that is to say an education which gives more importance to the growth of the spirit than to any religious or moral teaching or the so-called material knowledge."

This was how the Mother answered a question many have asked, and at the same time cast the basis for this column. We all are somewhat familiar with the present systems of education; and most familiar with its famous flaws, rather like yawning holes which seem to absorb more of its structure than the solid sections do. But who is familiar with exactly what is needed, Spiritual Education?

Yet it is to discover openings of education (possibly precisely those holes), which may spend themselves toward the stirrings of Spiritual Education for which we embark together in this young year's issue of "World Union" journal. The word *together* is important because "Openings of Education" will not be written by one person, but will be the conversation in print of we readers who feel moved to explore and exchange on this frontier: as active teachers, as administrators or simply as observers: educational experiences, problems, solutions, new experiments or hopes, proposals, ideas, ideals, questions.

Whatever Spiritual Education is, we know it is free, unlimited, endlessly creative. Applying this to the question of unity,—for

so much has been said about education and world unity—does it simply mean that students should study books on human unity; that history books should be re-written by historians with a more global consciousness; that there should be a world university where students matriculate from all over the earth? No one could speak against these things but we, I think, are interested in much more.

We know a global unity is not possible without the unification and harmony of a single person with himself or herself; of families with themselves; of a yet unseen harmony in each community, each nation. These would make the field of study considerably wider—and deeper, into the clashes between the different parts and planes of each person's divided mind, his will of part-time goals, her warring emotional being, the wild contraries of the subconscious. There is the search for unity in subjects of knowledge where, in sociology for example, opposing theories and schools pull the fabric of the field in all directions. Unity and harmony of the students and teachers, of ideals and practice, of inner and outer, of the younger generation with the older one, between the systematic and spontaneous (in education, for instance), freedom and discipline, and harmony between the process of analysis and the process of creativity or imagination. Yet all these still deal solely with humans: how relevant is the harmony of all these people and their activities if they

live out of harmony with the realms of Nature? Ecology is certainly a question of unity, down to the level of minerals we stand in dependent relationship to and the ozone depleted from the atmosphere by a science divided from Nature.

The unity inhering in the essences of all these things must eventually reach towards the grand chord of harmony: matter with spirit. The curriculum of education for world unity fills up and overflows.

The first contribution to this column comes from an Aurovilian. He calls it

A Proposal

"'But,' says one, 'do you not mean that the students should go to work with their hands instead of their heads?' I do not mean that exactly, but I mean something which he might think a good deal like that; I mean that they should not *play* life, or *study* it merely, while the community supports them at this expensive game, but earnestly *live* it from beginning to end. How could youths better learn to live than by at once trying the experiment of living? Methinks this would exercise their minds as much as mathematics Which would have advanced the most at the end of the month—the boy who made his own jackknife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this,—or the boy who attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the meanwhile, and had received a Rogers' penknife from his father?'"*

Education is learning the art of living. And if one is to be a teacher, then one should have become that kind of artist. To

live simply, basically, wholly, in tune with god and nature and other people—what more important training should a teacher have?

I am proposing, simply, that if students come to Auroville they should become immersed in the life of one of the communities—to experience fully that kind of oneness with all that Aurovilians are opening towards.

Utilite is a small organic farming community of seven people and 1.5 cultivated acres of badly eroded, depleted, unfertile land. We have basically two goals: one, to protect this small piece of land against further erosion and to eventually build up its fertility and two, to produce vegetables, fruits, grains, nuts, milk, and eggs of the highest possible quality.

Now obviously those are two worthwhile goals, but how do they apply to a future educator? Simply that we perceive that it is essential for *everyone*, especially those who will be in a position to influence and guide young people, to realize the absolute necessity of maintaining and preserving a fertile soil. Our earthly existence is maintained by the products of the soil. If we destroy or lose that soil, mankind will vanish from the earth as surely as has the dinosaur.

The beginning of a spiritual awakening in our age is one of the most hopeful signs for the future, but the earthly habitat of man's spirit is his body, and the building of a healthy body is completely dependent on the fertility of the soil. "Healthy citizens are the greatest asset any country can have."**

But what *is* happening in most of the world? The machine is rapidly taking over agriculture. Artificial chemical manures are widely used. Diseases are on the increase.

*Winston Churchill, in a radio broadcast, 22 March 1943.

**Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*, p. 37.

Food preservation is also on the increase. Science has become the mentor of agriculture. But mother earth is in revolt, the land is going on strike, the fertility of the soil is slipping quickly away.

And why? Because man has forgotten about the wholeness of things, about the cycles of growth and decay which return to the soil that which the plants take out. Man has tried to replace the organic matter which is absorbed from the soil during agriculture; but he has tried with inert, dead chemicals. The wheel of life: birth, growth, decay, has been broken.

Organic farming is a return to the basic necessity in life: a fertile soil which gives healthy, whole, life-giving foods; which in turn produce healthy, strong, disease resistant people. And so, our little community is engaged in something much larger than itself: the building of a fertile soil which will give us the means to healthy bodies—without which any more spiritual or material progress of man is doomed.

And so I ask again, can the knowledge of this basic necessity for a good life be something other than essential for the training of a new educator? And it is not just this knowledge from a book that is necessary, it is experiencing the feel of the land, that something which brings us in touch again with what is basic to our existence.

Our life here in Utilite emphasizes a striving towards perfection in the physical environment. We put a high value on orderliness and cleanliness and try to do our work as perfectly as possible. We also consider the unity of our community essential for its proper functioning. Towards that ideal, we have a nightly meditation and meeting, to come together in silence first; and afterward to verbally share all that concerns all of us—

whether it be personal problems or joys, disharmonies among us, what materials we need to buy or how we should organize our work, to the sharing of the beauty of one of the flowers or vegetables from the garden.

Our life is utilitarian, for we live in simple natural huts, wear a minimum of clothes—those suited to a hot climate. We have no electricity; we do our reading and writing by the light of a kerosene lantern, and we rise with the sun.

We welcome the possibility of a student coming and working with us and sharing our life. We will be open to him or her and will share with them our foremost blessing—to live and be in Auroville, and to be guided and helped and loved by Sri Aurobindo and the Mother.

Dick Frost
Utilite, Auroville

Another contribution comes from one of the participants in World Union's recent Teachers Teaching Workshop. He writes of his experience:

My being a teacher only since June 1971, I did not realise...the true aim of education. But my participation in the Teachers Teaching Workshop.. awakened my soul to the true and integral education which can bring human unity and...the teacher and the taught nearer and nearer to the Divine. The Teachers Teaching Workshop opened a new frontier of education for me: entirely new techniques—teaching without lecturing, group discussion, and a group question and answer process to work towards the group-soul through which we have an everlasting unity and permanent remembrance in our minds and hearts. After my participation in the workshop I now strongly believe that though education

is deteriorating and academic values are in turmoil outside, there is the Divine force and meditation in education. If we follow the path pointed out by Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, we can make education sacred and academic values alive again. I am sure I am definitely going to overcome disturbances and difficulties in education through what I learned in the Teachers Teaching Workshop.

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Responses to these ideas, or other articles, letters or questions for "Openings of Education" should be received by us before the 20th of each month; if they arrive later we will include them in the following month's issue. Address them to:

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UNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Manash Kumar Mitra

Our day to day materialistic existence leaves us little time to ponder the subtler aspects of life, the things of the mind and spirit. Some individuals, like Sri Aurobindo, did find time however for self-discovery. It is certain that one question pervaded their thoughts: Whither are we going?

Bickerings, conflicts, jealousies, perplexities and misery are common features on the domestic, national and international fronts. This is mainly because the individual is not balanced in his outlook—a balance between body and spirit. According to Sri Aurobindo every step in the forward march of man is usually first taken by the individual; the individual is always the pioneer and precessor. Thus, it is essential that the individual should be fully balanced spiritually and materially before we can dream of a better collective life. How can a nation boast of its culture and achievements, if its every corner is infected with the epidemic of corruption, parochialism, self-interest, hypocrisy and meanness? Material achievements are to be backed up by a spirit of honesty, sincerity, purity and truth. Sri Aurobindo, in his *Idea of Human Unity*, showed the need for strong spiritual foundations and an inner cleansing.

We see that the individual, though considering himself to be mentally more advanced than his predecessors, is actually at a very ignorant state of spiritual consciousness.

Aesthetic consciousness does not solve all the world's problems, but it undoubtedly keeps the world on a human level. Solution of world problems will not amount to much, if after a certain period we again fall back into the same rut. An international problem can be "solved" through a single weapon of destruction, which is anti-human and anti-humanitarian.

Politicians, scientists and to a large extent the majority of the world's population are likely to insist that science is the main cog in the wheel of progress. This is not essential progress, and definitely not evolution, since we know very well from the great philosopher Hobhouse that evolution is a natural process, which permits no *artificial* stimulus or restraint.

Natural evolution is a process of the emotions, thoughts and the workings of the spirit, which help man in the ascent towards perfect humanity and self-realisation. Some gifted few find themselves in still higher realms of light, and ever more light, the light of mysticism; and finally they achieve their main objective, which is deliverance—here or elsewhere. But the common man is faced with a problem. He is unsure that science and materialism can really bring about the complete solution to all our problems; and he does not possess the inner peace of mind which is a criterion of the truly dynamic

society of Sri Aurobindo.

Dynamism is a long process, an enrichment, a flowering from within, resulting in a well developed individual personality; and it is the dynamic, integrated individual who can save present day society from its death throes.

This is by no means an easy process. This state of mind or consciousness can gradually be attained only if we care to realise that there is a sphere beyond the body, the sphere of Universal Consciousness, Supreme Intelligence or Creative Intelligence. And surrender to this spiritual consciousness can make man the master of his destiny, or

in the words of Sri Aurobindo, make man *more* than a man. A sincere surrender of mind, body and spirit to the Cosmic Consciousness or the Universal *Sakti*—the Consciousness Force of the Divine—will without a ray of doubt lead us to the path of truth and harmony. When on this path, a man has achieved wonders. Vivekananda said, "God is within us." We have only to wake up and realise it.

If the individual is spiritually conscious, the ideal state will then come into existence as a matter of course, and these ideal states and nations will eventually constitute a true brotherhood of nations.

IN AUROVILLE

THE ASPIRATION "SCHOOLS": II, THE YEAR OPENS

Ronald Jorgensen

It is precisely 8:00 a.m. in the Last School, Aspiration's first educational building full of morning and jauntiness and silence at once. On the smooth polish of the stone floor area that centers the building we are all sitting: a large thick circle of infants and children, youth, educators, parents and other Aurovilians in an opening silence brimming with happy waiting.

Suddenly a very small child about two years of age is up and walking near the middle of the circle and, in a moment of lostness, glances helplessly out and utters a tiny short beginning cry that—you can feel it—will soon cascade into wails. Quick as that perception a young mother-guide is up and carries the now restored child back to her seat in her arms, taking it into the silence of her resumed meditation.

Now we are all waiting. The click of the tape recorder is unnoticed, and like a noiseless wave gliding in growing approach from the far horizon of the ocean, music advances from silence to our shore—a seamless gathering of limpid sound. "Hello", exclaimed one child in a wonder-sweet voice and the meditation beginning the new year began.

After, the glowing silent attention stayed ..until an educator talked beyond their absorbing capacity and the normal first-day excitement took over. Even then, with the slightest outer gesture or request the attentive quiet was restored.

In the new year's innovation are an arrangement of three main buildings: a language center, a fine arts and music center and a science and general knowledge center, each with resident educators or guides and the materials and equipment one might need to study and speak Sanskrit, to learn playing a sitar or imagine forms in modeled clay, to prove by experiment that air does have weight. The three centers are open virtually all the time so, in addition to the schedules of study chosen by students at each (described in the previous article), they can be visited during adventurous moods of free time.

These centers are in addition to the kindergarten, a large diverse outdoor playground of swings, trees, sandboxes, flowers, tight walks and slides punctuated by huts inhabited

by mathematical games, other toys, language environments and guides. At two years of age you can come here, growing out of it in about four years.

Another area of concentration is called "Mango Grove", where a few young boys live with their guide on the near horizon across the canyon, about a ten minute walk. This innovation in integrating learning into living has been undergoing a major construction in its preparation for the "School's" year opening. Mango Grove is an attempt to live off and with and learn from the land and its bounty. Events are populating the project rapidly, with the boys and their guide moving from solely studies of nutrition and plants in the beginning to an expanding fruit and vegetable, dairy and poultry, cooking and composting focus of work and study.

It is in a situation like this where an inner work with the child can be done free of interruptions that might normally come in the way: the return of the child to his parents, and community's weight of the landlocked past each late afternoon, the often brutal snap between what is nurtured in the school environment and more or less bludgeoned in the so-called real-world environment, a change of teacher each period or hour which invites a continual uprooting of any slow blooming intimacy and basis of depth. With these kinds of interruptions out of the way all can be done if the guide living with the children is an open, purified and selfless instrument for the emergence of the small ones' psychic being and the rooting of the entire studying and living in that soul consciousness.

But the perennial problem of parent-"school" relationship is here, too, particularly in the eddies of such new born phenomena like Mango Grove. In many so-named progressive schools the teachers have two problem fronts with the parents: one is the continued pressure to teach socially and economically dictated skills for positions and careers; the second is parents' disruption of the education process by home life which counters its effects. For the first problem Aspiration educators' position toward parents is, "If you don't want to have your children taught this way perhaps you would rather send them somewhere else to school." In dealing with the second problem, a simple but difficult achievement has been to never go to parents with complaints about some issue or obstacle but always to go with some suggestion or proposal. That difference of approach is abysmal—constructive over destructive—even though the incident discussed is exactly the same.

* * *

Now it is about ten days after opening day and everything is moving toward the hum of adjustment. "Shanti-ben, I don't want to take planting [a practical application of botany] on Friday afternoons, because we're doing planting at the Matrimandir nursery on Mondays and Wednesdays. I want to spend more time on chemistry."

"All right, there is room for you to join chemistry on those Fridays", she takes his individual schedule card and writes the change on it.

"No one came to the human biology class this week" says a new educator. He found his erstwhile students in the art and music center at the Last School and asked them what they wanted to do. None of them wanted to continue. "Then", said Shanti "just come and make yourself available to whoever for whatever until a relation is established with the children. It's like that with new persons. Then something will grow."

As of now all the schedule cards are wisely written in pencil until the two weeks adjustment period ends. By January 1st, things will settle into a steady pattern of subjects and educators each student feels "right" with.

Those working at the Aspiration "School" have not said much to others about the evolving experiment they are evolving in—no brochures, reports, articles or books, TV or AIR specials. They feel the work progresses best done in a quiet way, particularly what is preparing out of the future. Much more could be said about the present work, even more about preparations for what is to come. But like those who guide and educate here, it may be best for us too not to go further with words but support this work, if we feel a response in us to it, in a quiet collaboration of consciousness.

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY—II

Pratibha

It was very early on a snowy February morning of the year 1958 that my father took me in the car for the 400 mile ride to Plattsburgh, New York. All along the highway we followed the snow-plowing truck which cleared the way, and all those hours I was silent, consoling myself with the idea that I would run away and be back among my friends the next day. At last we arrived at Our Lady of Victory Academy High School; Sister Bertha, in charge of the boarders, spoke for a short time with my father and then he left. In the following days I learned about the school's social structure. There were the so-called outsiders, simply daystudents from the town itself and of both sexes, while boarders were solely females. The Sisters were of a French-Canadian order, and we ourselves were of various ethnic origins. There was a large group of French-Canadians, generally older than highschool age; they had come to learn English and studied commercial courses. There was a small group of South Americans, particularly from Venezuela, who also had come to study English and commerce. The American boarders were primarily those with divorced parents, and we studied the usual academic courses.

We were allowed to go into town as a group for four hours on Saturday afternoons, which time we spent shopping for small articles and in the popular luncheonette talking with the boys from an all-male boarding school which was there also. I could manage to smoke almost a whole pack of twenty cigarettes in that short spell. The most salient feature of Plattsburgh was its drabness. Its people also were extraordinary for their dullness; the livelihood of most came from the paper mills. There was a nearby Air Force base and every day one could see the silvery jets flying in formation across the expanse of blue sky. The awareness of the Cold War was reinforced in us more than most, as we had periodic air-raid drills for evacuating the town in case of atomic attack. Though I've never lived in any other small U. S. town since, I've always had the suspicion that it was the prototype. Years afterwards in faraway Athens, I asked a couple where they were from, and they answered not too jokingly: "Oh, we're from Nowhere!" They were astounded when I guessed it was Plattsburgh.

Now, until that time I can't say I had been noted for my scholastic undertakings, but as there was nothing much to do during the long, cold, almost Canadian winter days, I began to frequent the school's small library. It abounded mainly with religious books and I read the lives of some saints and such. My mind was becoming increasingly

active, and there was a type of literature which I sought, but which I couldn't define. Later I came to know that it was what is generally labelled as the Humanities. I read something by Plato, and discovered my ideological Northern Star; it was this, that Virtue and Wisdom are one and the same. I began to consider the principles of Communism which appealed to me; I could accept material equality for all men, as I was keenly perceptive of social injustice. At the same time I was an absolute champion of individual freedom, which expressed itself in the form of a more or less benvolent insubordination against the school's system of correction, training and control. I couldn't admit, therefore, the precept of militancy because coercion was against the essential grain of my spirit. When I read a small biography of Gandhi, I encountered the doctrinal refutation of violence which I had intuitively felt. Either because I had heard many anti-clerical stories, or because, while never personally experiencing a major instance of hypocrisy on the part of a religious member, I saw wide gaps between what they spoke and their way of being,—I ignore precisely the reason for it—but I felt I had no faith. At first it was a source of great sadness; when I received Holy Communion I sometimes wept because I didn't believe. Since we had to attend Mass very frequently, I had much occasion for intimate deliberation on the subject.

The academic standards of the school were poor; aside from every kind of mathematics, which I avoided for years and years, I began to think of myself as comparatively intelligent. Besides Sister Bertha, who usually surmised I had surreptitiously smoked a cigarette in the boiler-room, there was Sister Ann, who taught me most of my classes, including the history of the Church, and an art class in which, without aptitude or skill, I entertained myself with profound commitment painting the Blessed Virgin. Sister Ann always knew as if by magic when I had chewing-gum in my mouth; and she said she could tell from my facial expression exactly what I was thinking on every occasion. There was also Sister Genevieve, the school principal, and she taught me English. Of all the nuns, each of whom was more eccentric than the other, she was the most naively peculiar. For months on end she asked me to read the same novel to the class. At the time the reportcards were distributed, it was the custom to recite each aloud before the entire group. My grades were generally high and my behavior appraisals were generally low; Sister Genevieve would invariably comment: "I like a girl with spunk." Notwithstanding that I hypothetically liked playing the piano, other things usually engaged me during practice time. In sports my naturally agile body most readily responded to tumbling. Emotionally I had regressed considerably, and the prime source of amusement came to be the swings that were on the grounds. We were amazed to see ourselves, sophisticated girls, dedicating so many hours to this activity. I didn't have any attraction to or relationship with a boyfriend as some did, but I kept a profuse correspondence for two years with a young man in the Navy who hailed from Oklahoma and to whom I had spoken briefly once in Acapulco. June finally came, and with it the end of school; the train taking the boarders on the nine-hour trip to New York City had a pronounced air of agitated laughing, joking, screaming, singing, playing and so on.

My father and my aunt and uncle had determined that during the vacation I would go to the University of Mexico for the summer program; this was unusual, as I was fifteen years old and the courses were for college students. I was slightly interested in Mexican history, and Spanish literature and grammar, but certainly not enough to attend the classes regularly when instead I could be in the university cafeteria talking with nearly everyone about what might be termed philosophy, politics and religion. I had a stylish wardrobe, and insisted that I was eighteen. Of that entire sequence of events, what made the greatest impression, aside from indulging in scores of lewd jokes—almost an international sport among Spanish-speaking students—is what one fellow said to me. He studied psychology, and spoke of numerology; I grasped something about the significance in nature of the numbers. He told me as well about energy being God, and what I could receive of all this information extended further my conceptual horizons. Besides this, I enjoyed an intense reunion with the vastly rich Mexican dance and music folklore.

The following semester I was back in my little school; it became overpoweringly evident that I couldn't bear emotionally to remain in those conditions until the final year of graduation. Thus it was decided that, as I had the minimum requirement of subject-credits, I would graduate in my third year. I had no qualms about the fourth-year English regents-exam, but I didn't see how I could pass the one on world history, having only studied third-year American history. The day of that exam came, I looked at it for a few minutes, saw all my hopes for graduating early were lost, and gave Sister Ann my blank paper. She said she wouldn't let me leave the room until the last person had finished. I sat down and gradually concocted a long essay about Napoleon and some other things. To the present hour, although I've had Napoleon's biography among my books, I've not mustered the inclination to read anything of him. As it happened, I graduated, having read the school encyclopedia till F. When my father came, Sister Bertha announced that I had broken every rule, that they had even made up some special ones for me, but because I was truthful, they at no time deemed me as deserving expulsion.

I had romantic fantasies about going to live in Texas, nevertheless my aunt and father took me to Europe for a summer automobile tour. The French ship made port at Le Havre on July 14th. At Paris they felt duty-bound to sample the famous Lido Cabaret, and left me for the evening in the custody of some spinster teachers we had met on board. They, in turn, were impelled to explore the exotic Latin Quarter; I dare say I found the atmosphere completely enticing and would have been content to remain there permanently. What touched my heart at the Louvre was the winged Victory; and of the Venus of Melos, I modestly observed that we looked alike. However striking the celebrated monuments, they didn't overcome my dissatisfaction with the simple streets which I regarded as exceedingly dreary.

Eventually, after coursing over an immense fertile landscape, we crossed the Spanish border for our journey throughout the periphery of the peninsula. At that time, Spain was

barely beginning to recover from its traumatic post-war stupor; it was coming to be known as an inexpensive tourist resort. Still, ours was among the first of the "foreign invasions". We rode for mile after mile through rather arid lands. There was then no overabundance of hotels or restaurants; customs and things were to a degree the way they had always been. None of the rural peoples in the non-central regions spoke Spanish; all kept exclusively their own native dialect or language. As we moved from one place to another, I was ultimately saturated with castles and cathedrals. At every major venerable place I was politely asked to leave the premises due to the fact I was wearing slacks, which were then banned; my anti-religious attitude had reached its apex by then, and I wore them particularly for those occasions. Along the bumpy, dusty highways—Spain had only recently been endowed with the American rehabilitation program—my aunt would at spaced intervals reiterate that here or there some friend had been killed during the war. The marvellous scenery was truly attractive, but more captivating yet were the books I kept finding and avidly reading. A major revelation was Huxley's utopian society of total technological advancement without any sort of corresponding spirit or ideal. At the homes of the many acquaintances we visited I expounded my free-thinking views.

On the great feast-day of Spain's patron saint, we reached his town and cathedral, the calm and splendid seat of early medieval culture, Santiago. Legend has it that one of Christ's apostles, Saint James, is buried there; thus Santiago was once second only to Saint Peter's at Rome as a pilgrimage center. The singing minstrels from Provence, the ubiquitous moneychangers and the pilgrims had left the place with an enchanting tone of silver bells. I had resolved to study psychology by this time. I thought psychology was the panacea for humanity's ills: women could prepare themselves professionally for the important task of rearing their children, children could grow without an incapacitating burden of ignorance, the mental causes of man's physical ailments could be uncovered, criminals could be treated as patients; with psychology's invaluable enlightenment man could at last be freed from misery. In Santiago's quaint harbor of gentility I found a home; I proposed to have my school papers translated, and expectantly awaited the opening day of classes at its revered university. For the rest of that summer I communed for the first time with the vast, solitary tracts of northern coastal sands; I first intuited the mighty, rhythmic ocean waves could someday with their steadfast murmur suffuse with veritable peace all my members.

(To be continued.)

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

ECONOMIC TIMES

Our conglomerate lives of inflation, stagflation and recession are so interesting because they are global and because no experts seem to know the cure. Some are not even certain there is a disease, speculating we may be in a furnace passage to a new planetary economic system. Could it be that the present situation is not only a mother of great progress toward world unity but also of a new kind of world more aware of its materializing unity?

Certainly the unmoved old world isn't going to manage when its newest powerful country, the United States, is fumbling with itself in disarray. There is "a certain helplessness in the U. S. Administration", declared an aide to West Germany's Chancellor Schmidt in the 9 December edition of the *Indian Express*. " ..the U. S. is not accustomed to being dependent on others. It is new for the U. S. and it takes time to get used to it."

And in the same edition Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a well-regarded American historian and thinker, peels the subject a little more.

My opinion frankly is that our orthodox thinkers are living in a dream world. I claim, God knows, no special access to the higher mysteries of economics. But anyone acquainted with American history must wonder whether the annointed priesthood really sees so much deeper into those mysteries than the rest of us.... In 1930 Franklin D. Roosevelt was on the horizon. I don't see his equivalent at the moment."

You must have noticed that expert prescriptions for economic sanguinity have consisted of very repetitive and widely ineffective ideas: public employment, change of the tax rate, of the lending rate, imposition of price and wage controls—the phrases are so smoothly worn over one hardly knows what they refer to anymore. Mr. Schlesinger's prick at the "annointed priesthood's" mental routines in these extraordinary times attracts credence. I wonder if you noticed a reader's suggestion for overcoming inflation contained in the letters section of the 19 August 1974 *Time*? He writes from Green Valley, Arizona—not exactly an area famous for sprouting economists—in a clear and succinct style.

Sir/Suppose labor unions, where a product is involved, were to switch tactics and ask for, instead of a pay raise, a cut in product prices? The money earmarked for pay raises would be used to lower prices, and the effect would quickly snowball in other industries.

Union leaders would be gaining more for the workers, whose present wages would go farther. The back of inflation would be broken, and everyone would be better off

H. Chase

We don't know how effective it may be, but it is a fresh perception of a solution. As is the following a disarmingly straightforward insight of the problem, which also surfaced in an unexpected way—the letters section of *Newsweek*. In the 30 September 1974 issue, reader John R. Perkins writes from New Zealand that

Milton Friedman and many other economists recognize the soundness and worth of freedom and individual enterprise. But they are blind to the fact that greed and excessive concentration of wealth are the fundamental causes of inflation.

If the past forms of leadership and expertise are truly past and the readers of their discursive proposals are more penetrating than the proposers where will the new leaders—and new impulses amidst the old leadership—come from? Possibly anywhere; an anywhere that just may not be from the citadels of attention and power.

Africa: Algeria

Everyone knows young people will not follow a hypocritical example. In Algeria students are 50% of the total population, yet they are not striking or otherwise living in confrontation in the streets but "repaying the debt" owed by their education: working in rural districts, after graduation, to explain and help implement their country's cooperative agricultural system to the less literate farmers. In another project of reforestation they are helping reverse the advance of the Sahara.

According to the *Indian Express's* 22 December 1974 feature on this, such enthusiastic participation in a required mass program happens because President Boumedienne—a pragmatic leader who abhors vague theories—has been willing to live and marshal the implications of a progressive life; for the country's leadership accepts a ceiling on incomes, the abolition of absentee landlordship and other economic and social disciplines of collaboration. Also, the country spends 11% of its gross budget on education—a very large percentage, particularly for a developing country.

Work outside the professions, business and the civil service is often considered inadequately dignified to students of rising third world countries and agriculture is popularly identified by them in the top ranks of demeaning labor. Not only has President Boumedienne led Algerian students to pour their energy into one of the most sensitive and important areas of the economy, but through the students' work he is also gaining insight in working through his country's supreme practical problems.

When a country's youth are united with it in its work, where are the limits? Youth are already overtly international in mood and, engaged, they can instrument the unity of the world.

Africa: Tanzania

Another instance of youth attracted by new impulses of leadership was reported by a journalist who returned to the Tanzanian village of Regere four years after his first visit in 1970 [*Guardian*, 21 December 1974]. Of course some difficulties there have increased for the African drought, in its third severe year, has claimed more trophies of cattle and crops. But rather than worry, he found the people were looking toward the future. More participants have come into the collective work, the villagers have purchased a new tractor and several hundred more chickens, constructed a new school, a Roman Catholic church and a mosque. Yet the most profound achievement in Regere, located so nearby the capital of Dar-es-Salaam, is that its younger generation have not drifted away to the city. Their interest in staying is baffling social scientists all over the world. It is true that the communal shop and tea room are of a quality to attract customers as they did four years ago; that the villagers built their own football field where the young men play neighboring villages and the women netball; and that they are now building a community center for dances and social gatherings. These surface features, nevertheless, only confirm the interest of young people in Regere's future without explaining it. But those readers who are somewhat acquainted with the character of Julius K. Nyerere, Tanzania's President, may not be so puzzled. His way of beginning a campaign of village self-help schemes is to go work in one for a day. When he says political leaders and officials should stop making their so-called rank so important and publicly conspicuous, the palatial ambience of his own activities is the first to be deflated. The remarkable unity formed in the wake of his living the life of the nation he is teaching would, on the contrary, make it odd for his young students to leave the adventure of collaborative working education for the thin excitement of city life.

FOOD

In spite of the thousands of actionless words which absorbed the visible effort of last October's World Food Conference and the universally poor reviews it received in the world's press and registers of public opinion, one feels it did something significant in

the world movement. Certainly not in most of the ideas it spawned and proposals it came to agreement around, for those seemed stale and trivial. And not so much, it seems, in the interplay of nations' delegations, although an example of the interesting plays that unrolled revealed just how the diversity of nations presents a rich foretaste of eventual unity: the American genius in capitalistic organization was evident in their proposals of increasing food aid and setting up a world food security system and the Soviet socialistic prodigy was unmistakable in their suggestions of democratic agrarian reforms and the forming of farming cooperatives under state control. But, ironically enough, the contribution of the World Food Conference appears to be not in its proceedings, but in the constellations of events precipitated before and after this first (recognized) international gathering of concern about food—events which show a more globally illumined consciousness budding.

First the shot fired in the conference by Peru controversially calling for reductions in arms expenditures and consequent increases in food production finances for the developing countries; a shot which was echoed by the USSR—though a score of other industrialized countries said they "did not see the link between the two"—when it said that

Hunger is a corollary to war, and world peace and disarmament pre-requisites for a solution of the food problem.

From there, a "third world banquet" held in the United States by CROP, a division of Church World Service, in "response to the food problem". As chronicled by *Time* [16 December 1974] the participants began with a thirty hour fast and then were divided into three groups for the banquet: one-third were served a regular American dinner of meat and potatoes, the second randomly selected sub-group was given a single glass of soya milk (a typical item in food aid programs) and the last third a bowl of rice. In several stagings of this event the organizers found that, after surviving the unsettling quality of the situation, the meat and potatoes eaters nearly always shared their meal with the others. Allen Hengst, CROP's Washington D. C. organizer, comments:

I honestly believe if the American people could see that other person at the end of their own table, they would share. It is just hard to educate people to see it that way.

Even someone as sophisticated an observer as Gunnar Myrdal recently burned to the usually undiscussable core. In discussing the developed countries' role in the food crisis, he said:

There has never been an honest appeal in most of the big, rich countries to the fundamental decency of people—to their compassion and willingness to cooperate.

Mr. Myrdal's interviewer, still on the wavelength of fashionable sophistication, shot back with :

Is such magnanimous philanthropy really politically possible?

Why shouldn't it be possible? People are hungry, people are starving—these are the true arguments. [*Newsweek*, 28 October 1974]

The reverberations circulating around the global concentration represented by the World Food Conference have even reached the feature columns of *Newsweek*. Varindra Tarzie Vittachi, one of the magazines name writers, explores the more intimate individual dimensions of the world food issue in a 16 December 1974 piece entitled "A Chicken for Bangladesh". In discussing the various reasons people give for not eating less luxuriously or sending help to desperate areas (reasons like, "The food I don't eat will never find its way to *those* places anyway"; "What good does it do to contribute when it's mostly countered or blocked or absorbed by the faces of governments anyway."), Mr Vittachi dismisses them as irrelevant with a telling point :

All conscientious action begins at home We have no control over other people's actions, but we do have some over our own, and that is the only place to begin.

That is why, he says, he is impressed by seeing the young people turn in thousands towards a day of fasting; for they didn't ask if the food they are not eating will "find its way into Cox's Bazaar in Bangladesh". He concludes by saying that maybe if we do something that we feel in order to swim against the global food problem

without looking over our shoulders to see if others do it

we might help start something in this play of action and vibration that will inevitably oblige the state to act in the shadow of its citizens.

WORLD UNION FOCUS 2/75

COLLABORATION

Man's road to spiritual supermanhood will be open when he declares boldly that all he has yet developed, including the intellect of which he is so rightly yet so vainly proud, are no longer sufficient for him, and that to uncase, discover, set free this greater Light within shall be henceforth his pervading occupation. Then will his philosophy, art, science, ethics, social existence, vital pursuits be no longer an exercise of mind and life, done for themselves, carried in a circle, but a means for the discovery of a greater Truth behind mind and life and for the bringing of its power into our human existence. We shall be on the right road to become ourselves, to find our true law of perfection, to live our true, satisfied existence in our real being and divine nature.

Sri Aurobindo.

To Our Members and Friends:

In my world tour last year I came across several individuals and organisations who are working for world unity, world community, world government or global civilization and who by and large take a world view of problems. But I encountered three different view points on the future of humanity among those who think seriously towards global solution; of course the majority of people appear either indifferent or incapable of serious thought. Some believe world problems have passed beyond the stage of solution and humanity will gradually drift towards an irremediable disaster. There are others who believe there is not much time left to bring about real global cooperation for the solution of world problems, and unless humanity is compelled to create some effective global authority within a few years man may face extinction and disappear as other species in the past. They say that by or before 1980 the nations of the world must reach an agreement to create an effective world order which can regulate relations between nations, prevent a world war, establish a just economic order on a global basis and initiate steps for the solution of world problems, some of which cannot be solved by any single nation—however rich or powerful. Those with the third view point hold that humanity is moving towards a new age and that the consciousness of man is changing and rising to a higher level which will permit him to approach all these problems more wisely than he has, and enable him to create a necessary

and effective world order. They believe that the present chaos and confusion are the pangs of the birth of a new age. All the weaknesses and defects stored in world nature have come to the surface and now demand solution so that conditions can be created for the advent of a new age.

I also found, broadly two opinions about the United Nations Organisation and the possibility of its future evolution. One is that world public opinion should be educated in favour of strengthening the United Nations and assisting rapid evolution to an adequate world authority. Another is that the United Nations, as constituted to-day, is incapable of becoming an instrument to meet the aspirations and needs of humanity and it should be bypassed so that the necessary authority of world government can be created by independent means.

Be that as it may, there are many non-governmental organisations around the world working for international understanding, world unity, world order or world government. However, each of these organisations works in its own way and believes its approach is the best. Because the efforts of all these organisations are dispersed they are unable to make the necessary impact on world leaders or world affairs, though the ideas and ideals propagated by them help in educating world public opinion and do not go in vain. But to make the work of these organisations effective, fruitful and quick to the goal they all want, it is essential to bring them on a common platform periodically so that they can collaborate with each other for the achievement of the common goals.

Bangalore Convention:

The Convention committee met on 29th December, 1974 and reviewed the progress made for the holding of the Convention. Sri P. Krishna Raju was chosen to be the convener of the Finance Committee and of the Souvenir Committee. These Committees met on the 9th January, 1975 and decided that the tariff of the advertisements in the Souvenir be Rs. 250/- for full page, Rs. 150/- for half page, Rs. 100/- for quarter page, Rs. 500/- for front cover inside and for back cover outside and Rs 350/- for back cover inside.

Invitations to attend Convention have been sent to all World Union Centres and members in India. The invitations have also been sent to World Union Centres abroad. We hope and trust that the response from all quarters will be enthusiastic and the Bangalore Centre will receive full cooperation.

World Union New Centres:

World Union New Delhi South Centre was constituted on 21st January, 1975 under the Presidentship of Dr. M. Balasubramanyan, Deputy Director-General of Health Services

(Planning), New Delhi, 11. Dr. D. V. Navathe, the Principal of the College of Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, is the Vice-President and Sri M. R. Bajikar, the Regional Manager of Pest Control (India) Private Ltd., New Delhi is Hon. Secretary, and Sri Chintamani Vyas is a Committee Member. The address of the Centre is C/o Pest Control (India) Pvt. Ltd., F-47, N. D. S. E. Part I, Ring Road, Andrews Gunj, P. O. Box 3828, New Delhi-110049.

World Union Chinsurah Centre was constituted on 2nd October, 1974 with Sri Sambhunath Seal as the Chairman and Sri Panchu Gopal Saha as the Secretary. The address is: Sri Prosad Kutir, Prosad Das Sen Road, Chinsurah, Dist, Hooghly. West Bengal, which is the residence of the Chairman.

World Union Gauhati Centre has been organised beginning from 1st January, 1975 with Sri B. R. Kachari as President, Sri Jonab Syed S. Huda as Vice-President, Sri Nripati Dhar Choudhury as Secretary and Sri Nishit Dutta as Treasurer. The address of the centre is: C/o Sri Nripati Dhar Choudhury, C/o Office of the Director of Public Instructions, Dishpur, P. O. Gauhati-5 (Kamrup-Assam).

World Union Asansol Centre was inaugurated on 11th January, 1975—with devotional song, message of the Mother and recital from Savitri—with Dr. G.R. Mitra as Chairman and Sri Satyabrata Das and Kalyanmoy Mukherjee Joint Secretaries and Treasurer. Prof. D.N. Mitra spoke about the Mother's and Sri Aurobindo's Sadhana with special reference to the Ideal of Human Unity. Sri Samar Basu spoke on World Union movement and vision of Sri Aurobindo. The address is: Masjidbari Lane, P.O. Asansol, Dist. Burdwan, (West Bengal)—the residence of Dr. G.R. Mitra.

World Union Centres:

World Union Chinsura Centre held its first monthly meeting on the 16th November, 1974 at 5.30 P.M. at Prosad Kutir, Prosad Das Sen Road, the residence of the Chairman who presided. After devotional song by Smt. Aruna Bhattacharya and group concentration Sri Samar Basu spoke on "the Present Crisis and World Union Movement as visioned by Sri Aurobindo". The meeting was attended by teachers and students of schools and colleges and eminent persons of the area. It was resolved that the centre would conduct seminars on the 3rd Sunday of every month. 17th November, 1974 was observed as the first anniversary of the Mother's passing by offering flowers and group meditation. The second monthly meeting was held on the 22nd December, 1974 at 4.30 P.M. at Dervanjibari, Kanakshally, Chinsura, the place of the Centre, Sambhunath Seal presiding. After group concentration, Sri Samar Basu spoke on the subject of his previous talk.

World Union Rishra Centre held its third monthly meeting on 26th December, 1974 at "Anand Basar" house of Sri Prafulla Kr. Bose, 77/2, N.K. Banerjee Street, Rishra at 6.30 P.M. The meeting commenced with group concentration, Sri Deb Kumar Das presiding. Sri

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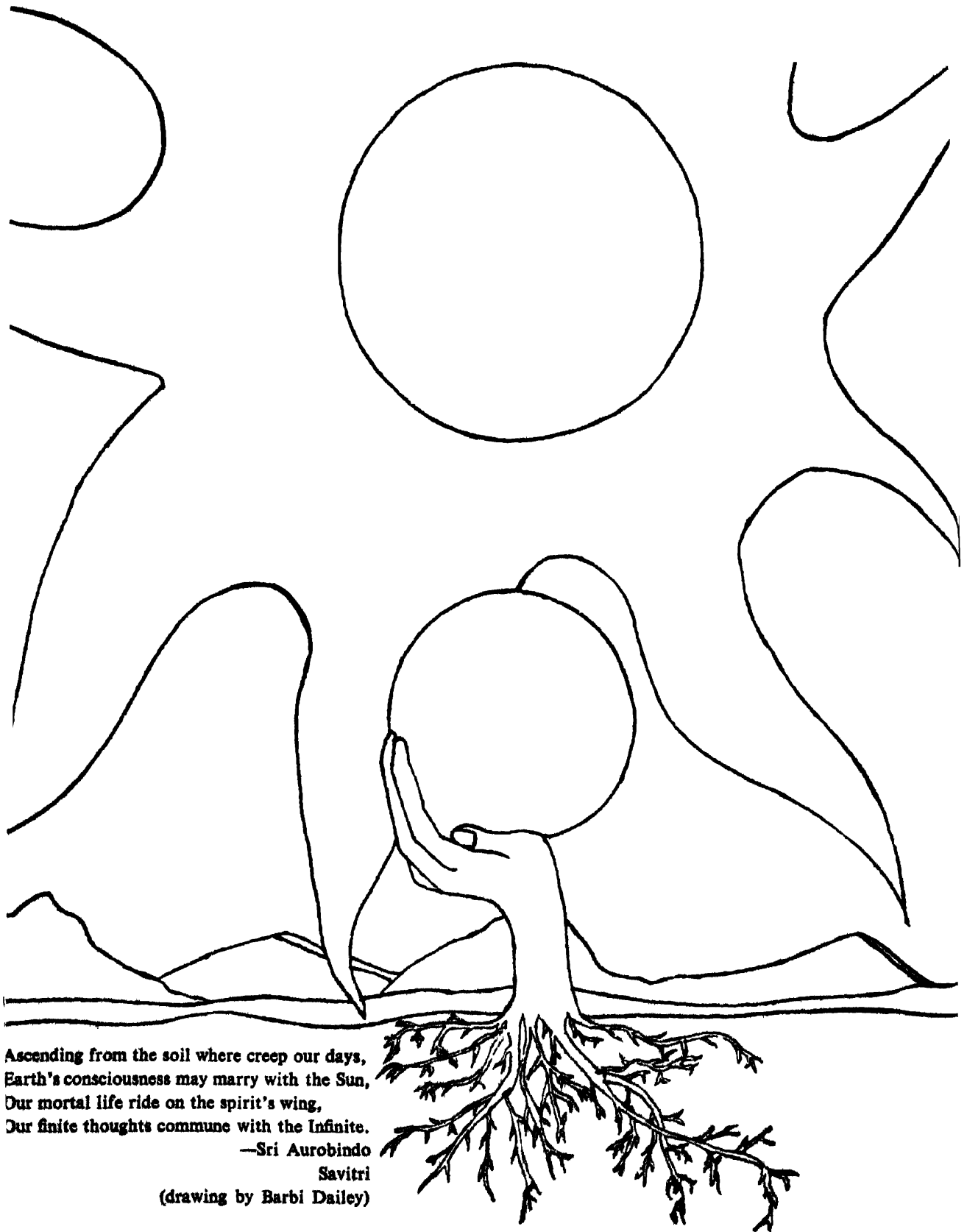
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*BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT



Ascending from the soil where creep our days,
Earth's consciousness may marry with the Sun,
Our mortal life ride on the spirit's wing,
Our finite thoughts commune with the Infinite.

—Sri Aurobindo

Savitri

(drawing by Barbi Dailey)

EDITORIAL

Coordination

In almost every country of consequence there are movements and bodies working for the unity of mankind. Very often it happens that they are not aware of the existence and the work of each other even when in the same country. No doubt different institutions have different approaches and means: some believe in political education, some in executive action, some in a spiritual or religious basis and so on. Still it would avoid a good deal of overlapping and conduce to a more effective action if there was some kind of coordination between all of them, nationwise, continentwise and worldwide. There should also be a healthy relation between the governments of the nations concerned and the public bodies functioning there for the propagation and realisation of the ideal of human unity. There are some countries where this coordination not only exists but positive encouragement is given by way of fellowships and grants to foster and sustain research and study in these directions. Japan, the U.S.A. and certain countries in Europe are some of the striking examples. In India too the principle is accepted but the actual benefit reaches only a few individuals or institutions who know the ropes. Many institutes working for cultural or political unity are not even aware of the support that can be drawn from the Union Government. Even if they know, they are not in a position to pull the proper strings. In practice what happens is that the same few institutions who have been getting grants all along continue to thrive; ambitious persons use the platform of these institutions, secure facilities and take trips abroad again and again. We suggest that those in India who are interested in this cause of world unity must meet together at a national convention and formulate certain norms and procedures for the best utilisation of our resources, governmental and nongovernmental. For such a meeting the coming national convention of the World Union Centres at Bangalore can provide an excellent setting. We would invite all bodies working for this ideal to get in touch with the organisers of the World Union Convention at Bangalore and arrange for their representation in suitable ways. Our head office at Pondicherry may also be contacted.

Ghost Research

There was an interesting news report that Cambridge University has

offered a scholarship of £ 1,000 for anyone participating in a study of ghosts. Now, ghosts are as old as mankind, if not older. And what is a ghost? Generally speaking a ghost is an apparition, an appearance of something or someone who is not physically present. There is a sudden presence, a visible shape which is not physically palpable and is not permanent. It disappears from the scene ere long. These apparitions have been seen and experienced from times immemorial and for those who believe in a subtler order of existence, who believe in the soul and the spirit, no proof of ghosts is required. It is only those who refuse to concede reality to things that are not material or matter-based, that need proof of non-material phenomena of which ghosts are an eerie feature

Ghosts are a fact. One may see a ghost or a spirit under a number of conditions. A person may be dying or dead and he may want to communicate that fact to someone dear to him· his soul comes in its subtle body of transit and appears before the other and communicates either silently or by voice. Or in cases of sudden death—say by accident or murder—the dead person may appear in order to communicate. Or it may be that a strong mental or vital formation is left in the atmosphere where a murder has been committed and that formation wearing the form of the dead person or persons may haunt that place till it either works itself out or is dissolved by some occult means. And there are other possibilities. What we have said are the normal cases in common experience. We do not know how they are going to prove the existence of ghosts beyond recording cases of their appearances and sifting the evidence for purposes of verification. The evocation of spirits in mediumistic seances is of a different kind. Ghosts are not lasting, spirits can be—they have their own world.

Some years ago in America someone had willed a fortune for anyone who could prove the existence of the soul. As far as we are aware nobody has succeeded in collecting that prize, though numerous books have appeared on the subject, some of them being nothing more than quotations from scriptures and occult literature. Some confused the soul with ghosts. Of course nobody can be brought to believe in the existence of the soul who does not believe in the existence of the Divine Reality. For the soul is only a spark, a portion, a projection in evolution of the Divine. These things cannot be proven in the way of laboratory proofs. They are matters of personal experience. And when one has an unmistakable experience, what external proof would one care for?

M. P. P.

IS WORLD FEDERATION FEASIBLE?

V. B. Kulkarni

The President and the Prime Minister took the opportunity of making a realistic appraisal of the value as well as the limitations of the United Nations Organisation when addressing the delegates to the sixteenth Congress of the World Association of World Federalists who had assembled in New Delhi in January for their deliberations. While the President expressed the hope that, in spite of its shortcomings, the United Nations would eventually become the path-finder for a new world order, Mrs. Gandhi appealed to the delegates to pursue their goal with faith and determination.

The concept of One World is as old as the civilisation itself. The ancient Aryan literature proclaims the oneness and the indivisibility of human society. The Aryan seers, whose minds over-leapt physical barriers, regarded man as a member of the world family, which they called *Vishwa Kutumba*. The same lofty ideas animated the ancient Greeks whose all-embracing philosophy of humanism was enshrined in the simple word *cosmos*.

But the world as it was seen and understood by the ancients was much different from what it is today. Their view of it was essentially philosophical. From the point of view of transport, communication and intercourse, the world they lived in was infinitely bigger than ours. In their time, the movement of men, goods and ideas from one

part of the earth to another was slow and uncertain and was fraught with incalculable risks. Under such conditions, masses of men could afford the luxury of "splendid isolation".

The world of our time has, however, shrunk to the size of a back-garden. There are no distant points in it any longer. Quick transport and communication and the consequent inter-dependence of the world have fused mankind into a single unit. This is a unique development in the history of man with immense possibilities either for promoting his progress and prosperity on an undreamt of scale or for encompassing his utter destruction. Wise men have come to the conclusion that in a world so closely knit together, man cannot live in peace unless he regulates his affairs on a global scale.

In the effort for organised international cooperation, the League of Nations stands out as the first bold experiment. Brought into existence in 1920, two years after the termination of the First World War, the League sought to bring into the realm of realisation the noble exhortation, namely, that "nations shall not lift swords against nations, nor shall they learn war any more". It sought to achieve many other commendable objects, including the promotion of world peace, collective security based on disarmament and international cooperation in matters of common concern.

These aspirations were embodied in the League Covenant, one of whose Articles emphasized the need for a drastic reduction of national armaments to facilitate the maintenance of world peace. In the early thirties a series of disarmament conferences were held with the object of scaling down the armies of countries to the level of domestic police forces, but they all ended in utter failure. An expert wrote thus in despair: "Throughout history peace conferences have been the grave of reputations and the womb of future wars."

The failure of the League of Nations was inevitable despite the fact that it represented the first attempt in the stormy history of man to give an institutional basis to his long-cherished yearning for durable peace. The League was not a State, a federation, a confederation or even an alliance. It was no more than a deliberative, consultative and advisory body whose decisions were accepted or rejected by the member-States according to their convenience. National interests were allowed to prevail even over the collective will of the world body because it did not have the ability to enforce its decisions. In an atmosphere of unbridled nationalism, the dissolution of the League of Nations was inevitable.

The war of 1939-45, the second global conflict in one generation, stimulated world-wide debate on the need for creating a world polity based on the federal system. Earlier, the idea of international cooperation was vigorously canvassed by an American journalist, Clarence Streit, in his widely-read book, *Union Now*. Streit argued for the creation of what he called a union of democracies. It was not a flawless blueprint for a new world order. Professor Gilbert Murray pointed out that a federation of the kind

envisaged by Streit would give rise to power blocs. "The result would be", he wrote, "a Balance of Power, not a united world." Nevertheless, *Union Now* served the purpose of reminding the Powers that were preparing for war that "we are a part of the world and not a world apart".

Meanwhile, the intellectuals of the world, functioning from their respective countries, raised their voice in favour of creating a world body capable of promoting international peace and concord and of forging deterrents against potential aggressors. The great British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, maintained that wars were not inevitable like convulsions of nature and that human volition could avoid them. H. G. Wells, who worked for a saner world with the zeal of a crusader, rejected the Victorian idea of the permanence of institutions and spoke fervently about the "flow of things".

He invited Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru to state their views on post-war reconstruction. The Mahatma's reactions to the Declaration of Human Rights, prepared by a committee headed by Lord Sankey, were characteristically original. "Begin" he wrote, "with a charter of the Duties of Man and I promise that the rights will follow as spring follows winter" Wells did not like the Mahatma's prescription and characterised it as "naive exhibitionism". He, however, attached great importance to Nehru's views on the Sankey Declaration since he knew that Nehru was the most persevering champion of international peace and amity.

Commenting on that document and Wells' own "Guide to the New World", Nehru held that such schemes would acquire their validity only if action was taken on them. "Mr. Wells lays down", he wrote, "that

every man is entitled to various things. I agree. But how is he to get them under capitalism or if any class or nation is dominated by another? The way lies through socialism and a social structure of society."

Far more destructive than its predecessor, the Second World War shook civilisation to its very foundations by exacting an astounding toll in terms of human suffering. Writing to his President on June 26, 1945, the U. S. Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinus, pointed out that "the total military casualties of the nations which had fought the European war were estimated at some 14 millions dead and 45 millions wounded or captured without count of the civilian dead and maimed and missing". The loss through the destruction of physical assets was breathtaking. "Of the destruction of other and less tangible things," Stettinus further wrote, "it is not possible to speak in terms of cost—families scattered by the war, minds and spirits broken, work interrupted, years lost from the lives of a generation." The outcome of the two wars was that "many had lost the best of two succeeding generations of young men".

A tragedy of such frightening magnitude forced the world leaders to think of a machinery capable of preventing its recurrence. The United Nations Organisation was accordingly established by fifty countries at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. The UN charter, like the League Covenant, is a noble document which gives expression to the deepest aspiration of mankind to outlaw war and to build a new edifice of enduring peace

based on international cooperation and understanding. But, being an assembly of sovereign nations, the United Nations is no better than its ill-fated predecessor, the League of Nations, which perished because of its incapacity to enforce sanctions against recalcitrant member-States. It is indeed impossible to resist the conclusion that the UNO is like the fabled emperor without clothes and that no wonder a child is necessary to show up its nakedness.

There is a surfeit of blueprints on world federation, but none of them can be effective unless the federating countries are prepared to pool their sovereign rights in furtherance of certain well-defined international objectives. In the present atmosphere of aggressive nationalism, it is too much to expect them to show such a spirit of self-abnegation even when it is necessary for their survival. The habit of tolerant intercourse is so conspicuous by its absence that international cooperation even on a regional scale has become impossible.

For example, the lack of good neighbourly relations among the countries of the Indian sub-continent, despite the manifest need for their cultivating this virtue, proves how insuperable the obstacles in the way of establishing a world federation are. But the stars in their course have no mercy for excuses. As Mrs. Gandhi told the delegates to the Delhi Conference, the federalists should persevere with their labours, though the goal appears to be so elusive.

(Courtesy of: "The Sunday Standard.")

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Some Crucial Terms of Reference

C. V. Devan Nair

As one wades through the voluminous literature currently being churned out on the subject of multinational corporations (MNCs), one is struck by two major impressions. First, this growing mass of literature will certainly make a large contribution to the universal problem of paper pollution! Second, there is little evidence to show, thus far, the emergence of any significant international consensus, as between governments, whether of developed or developing nations, or between interest groups in the different regions and societies.

According to the critics, the MNCs generate unemployment, mal-distribution of income, and a financial drain from the poor countries. But the public relations boys and the futurists eulogise the MNCs as the unrivalled instrument of material progress and global harmony.

Then there are the intellectuals, critical of established power in any form, and especially hostile to the exercise of power through business enterprises, which they see as a constant affront.

Each protagonist draws upon his favourite selection of studies, and ignores all evidence which does not fit his own simple case.

Most questionable and irritating of all I find the ideologists and the social philosophers, who find in multinationals and in modern technology the standard scapegoats for the ills of our time. These are the gentlemen who constantly prate about what they call "the primacy of concentrating on the quality of life".

My observation is that, generally, the condemnation of materialism is usually the refuge of those already comfortable. As Buckminster Fuller once noted: "If one dumps all the technology into the ocean, millions will starve. But if one dumps all the politicians (and the philosophers) into the ocean, no one will starve."

When preparing this paper, after wading through much of the available material in

Singapore on MNCs, I found myself in a quandary. There are so many different criteria of judgment on the issue of multinationals, most of them at variance with each other. It would have been easy enough, in the circumstances, to paraphrase one expert or the other.

It would have been even easier to trot out the generally negative denunciation of MNCs, if not the banalities, from trade union sources, whether of the AFL-CIO the ICFTU or WFTU varieties.

I decided that the honest thing to do would be to speak as a partisan of what I conceive to be the real interests of the poverty-stricken multitudes, who form the majority of mankind, and who live in the Third World. Before I do so, I must enter some caveats. One obvious difficulty is that the Third World itself can boast an even greater diversity of approaches to MNCs than the developed countries. I cannot, therefore, claim to speak for all Third World countries. I can only speak for myself. The closest approximation I can claim is to the views of the majority of my colleagues in the Asian Regional Organisation of the ICFTU, for I was privileged to contribute to the formulation of the Asian approach to the challenge of the multinationals.

In presenting this paper, I would like to offer what seems to me to be the categorical imperative, if the international community is ever to evolve a global consensus on multinationalism. And it is this, that present-day reality is so mind-bogglingly complex, and will not permit confinement within the bounds of any particular dogma or doctrine which we can think of. The moment we do so, reality escapes, and returns upon the international community with redoubled insistence and force, teasing us with the challenge:

“What will you do with me? I am too complex to be cribbed, crabbed and confined within the petty moulds of any of your dogmas and bigotries of race, region or nation. I am global in scope and impact. Catch me globally, and you might secure the future. But if you beggar your neighbour, in the pursuit of what you conceive to be your self-interest, be you a nation, region or super-power, you will find that your neighbour's downfall is your own disgrace. For, I repeat, I am global in scope and impact. You cannot confine me. Neither can you escape me. For I drive your shrinking world relentlessly towards global perceptions and global goals. My arms are global in their embrace. I am neither WFTU, ICFTU, nor AFL-CIO. And I owe no apologies to the MNCs, nor to Shelepin, Otto Kersten or George Meany, let alone the scholars who would dissect and analyse my constituent parts, when I can only be comprehended in my global wholeness. My love is global. My hate is global. My challenge is global. And if it is not met by mankind in a global fashion, and on the basis of global ideals, be certain that my wrath and my revenge shall also be global.”

So much for my categorical imperative. It was almost a transcendental flight. But it was necessary to help us orient ourselves to the global nature of the problem we are discussing. My approach will therefore try to be global and, therefore, eclectic.

A pertinent point of departure would be to ask ourselves the question whether any human endeavour can possibly surpass the challenge and the complexities of the task of fulfilling the aspirations of the teeming and ever-growing multitudes of the Third World. Perhaps only the search for lasting peace and international unity.

First, a brief attempt to paint, as vividly as possible, a picture of Global Problem No. 1:

- a) One-fourth of all the human beings born since the dawn of history are alive today.
(Lester Brown)
- b) World population growth is proceeding on a scale and with a speed unprecedented in human history.
Each year, 127 million children are born.
Each year 95 million come of school age.
Each year 19 million people reach age 65.
These totals will rise steeply in the years ahead.
(Kurt Waldheim)
- c) Five times as many babies are born in the developing countries as are born in the developed world. The economic gap dividing rich and poor nations is closely paralleled by the gap in rates of fertility and population increase; the highest fertility and sharpest population growth is in the poor countries. Thus the population of the less developed countries (LDCs) forms an increasingly large percentage of the world population. (*Population 1974* — UN Secretariat)
- d) Last, but not least, reduction of family size and a more controlled rate of growth can only be obtained on the basis of technological, economic and social development. There simply is no other way. (*Population 1974* — UN Secretariat)

Next, a few quick strokes of the brush to drive home what life is like for the great majority of mankind. The misery of some three billion human beings is beyond the comprehension of the average North American, European or Australian. I quote from a dramatic passage by Robert L. Heilbroner, telling what would happen to an American family if its living standard were to be reduced to that of the under-privileged majority of their fellow human beings:

We begin by invading the house to strip it of its furniture. Everything goes: bed, chairs, tables, television set. We will leave the family with a few old blankets, a kitchen table, a wooden chair The box of matches may stay, a small bag of flour, some sugar and salt. A few moldy potatoes already in the garbage-can must be rescued, for they will provide much of tonight's meal.

The bathroom is dismantled, the running water shut off, the electric wires taken out. Next, we take away the house. The family can move to the toolshed. Communications must go next. No more postmen, no more firemen. There is a school but it is three miles away and consists of two rooms. They are not too overcrowded since only half the children in the neighborhood go to school.

The nearest clinic is ten miles away and is tended by a midwife. It can be reached by bicycle provided the family has a bicycle, which is unlikely.... Finally, money. We will allow our family a cash hoard of \$5....

Now what about the magnitude of production and productive capacity required if we are merely to scratch the surface of the problem? We will leave aside industrialisation and the role of MNCs for the time being. But take agricultural production. According to the Indian Planning Commission, and I quote:

To increase consumption of food grain [in India] by two ounces per head per day...will require an increase of nine million tons in annual supplies. This means an increase of more than 10 percent in domestic production or alternatively, an increase in import expenditures of \$750 million, which is more than half of India's total export earnings.

Now these, very briefly, are the terms of reference I employ when discussing the role MNCs can play, and the way they ought to play it, to speed up development and accelerate the dynamics of change in the LDCs. It is the intense awareness of these wider and deeper terms of reference which drives one to tears when one listens to the champions of protectionism in the developed countries, whether politicians or trade unionists. And also, let me add quickly, by the attitude of dogmatic ideologists in certain Third World countries, who suspect everything foreign, including the technological tools of development, so vital to the solution of their urgent problems of development.

Harvey Stockwin, an Australian journalist, and a percipient observer of the Asian scene, tells the story of "an East European who, curiously, worked for either the World Bank or its soft loan affiliate, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He was sent to a

certain Asian country, where heady political rhetoric and nationalism had succeeded over the years in keeping new investors elsewhere and old ones looking for greener pastures. After six months grappling with the local realities—notably a State-owned industrial sector whose contribution to the national economy was a regular weekly loss of tens of thousands of dollars—the man was asked by a visiting colleague from the head office for his appreciation of the situation. His reply graced the cocktail party circuit long after it was made. 'I am a communist. I have always been a communist. I will always be a communist,' he said with measured fury, 'but when I survey the problems of.....I can see only one hope. The answer lies not with the local [expletive deleted] capitalists. Neither has communism an answer. The only conceivable solution is for someone brave enough to bring together the ten largest corporations in the world and say: Here gentlemen,.....is yours, do what you can with it.' "

Stockwin observes that "In non-communist Asia, the most successful countries have used foreign investment to advantage, whereas the poorest ones, generally, have been the ones who eschew it." It is tempting to conclude that foreign investment has increased the gap between those nations that have a chance of being developed and those destined to have growing poverty and malnutrition in their midst.

He cites the developmental contrast between South Asia, comprising countries like Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh on the one hand, and Malaysia and Singapore in South-East Asia, as well as countries like Taiwan and South Korea in East Asia, on the other.

Taking Sri Lanka as a pertinent example, Stockwin observes, and quite rightly, that twenty years ago Sri Lanka had the undoubted potential to be to South Asia what Malaysia and Singapore have been to South-East Asia—a really going concern, far above the regional norm. Since 1956, beginning with the late Mr. Bandaranaike's sweeping electoral victory, the major drift of the elitist Ceylonese politicians has been towards the widespread nationalisation of the British-owned tea estates. Their almost exclusive ideological preoccupation was to take over possession of this so-called "commanding height" of the economy, "without ever seeking, through domestic or foreign investment, to make new heights to reduce the national dependence on tea earnings. What was a well-run country, capable of attracting foreign investment, has virtually ceased to be either. Politics and economics have remained ostensibly ideological—but Sri Lanka's precarious standard of living is no advertisement for the teachings of Harold Laski."

With certain qualifications, India and Bangladesh multiply the same basic story. One qualification is that in India, at least, foreign investment is quantitatively greater than it was in 1947. Stockwin observes that "The fact that so many investors have stayed amid the often appalling difficulties is sufficient proof that foreign investors do not necessarily need to be flattered with an open door for their capital."

On the other hand, we have the developmental success stories of Malaysia and Singapore in South-East Asia, and of Taiwan and South Korea in East Asia. In these countries the politicians, whatever their other shortcomings may be, have been refreshingly pragmatic in their approach. They have seen foreign investments in terms of wealth-creation, for you cannot re-distribute wealth unless you first create the wealth to distribute, in contrast to ideologists elsewhere who put the cart before the horse, and end up with nothing to distribute, apart from poverty and want. And how do you re-distribute poverty?

Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea are also perhaps unique in the sense that their relations with MNCs are generally smooth and unruffled. The chief reason would appear to be the existence in these countries of a high degree of sophistication and expertise in negotiating terms of entry with MNCs on an equal footing. In none of these countries have they allowed any single MNC or its subsidiaries to obtain a monopolistic stranglehold on the economy. On the contrary, and as a matter of deliberate policy, American, West European and Japanese MNCs are often in a competitive relationship in the same industry or service. Thus, political pressures that could be exercised against the host government, if any MNC obtained a monopolistic position in a single industry or service, are not possible, when host governments take the elementary precaution of distributing their eggs in as many MNC baskets as possible.

Again, the official encouragement in these countries, whenever feasible, of joint local-MNC participation also means greater capacity on the part of the host governments to have a say in the planning, production and social policies and targets of MNCs.

Next, several MNCs operating in these countries have realised (or been made to realise) the wisdom of following a positive policy of encouraging local capital markets, by hiring out as much work as possible to local sub-contractors, repair shops and service industries. One of the major charges levelled against MNCs in other developing countries is that they depress local capital markets and the development of local entrepreneurial skills. MNCs operating in such countries, on this basis, and who have had their fingers burned as a result, might profit from the experience and the practice of their counterparts in Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea and Taiwan.

MNCs must be made to appreciate that the growth of local business communities will be their biggest ally, and not their biggest competitors. Foreign investors who fall foul of what the Marxists call "the national bourgeoisie" in a developing country, contribute directly to the generation of strong anti-foreign sentiments.

Japanese industrialists in Thailand, for example, learned this lesson in a painful way during the violent anti-Japanese demonstrations which erupted in Thailand during former Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka's visit in January this year. For the Thai business community is just as hostile to Japanese industrialists as the students and the politicians.

Mr. Tanaka's visits to places like Malaysia and Singapore, on the other hand, were unmarred by similar hostile demonstrations, for reasons which I have already stated.

The host governments in Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan have also been able to ensure, to a fair degree, that management and technical skills are transferred to local persons as rapidly as possible. In several companies in Singapore, for example, which are not even joint ventures, but wholly-owned subsidiaries of foreign enterprises, Singapore personnel have assumed top management posts, that is, as Vice-Presidents and/or Managing Directors.

I have dwelt at some length on the Asian success stories of Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea, which have established viable and workable relations with MNCs in their territories, for two reasons:

- i. Much of the evidence about and against MNC operations are based on Latin American and African studies, which show that at least some of the MNCs have been guilty of gross misconduct. Hostile and negative generalisations have been drawn from such evidence, which are certainly not universally applicable.**
- ii. To indicate some desirable criteria to govern the relationship between MNCs and host countries, as they have been developed in the Asian countries I have mentioned.**

A word of caution, though. The situation is not all that euphoric in all these countries when it comes to the question of MNCs and trade unions. But this has little or nothing to do with the MNCs themselves, as with the particular political and ideological stance as reflected in the labour legislation of the government concerned.

I know that in Singapore, for instance, some American MNCs who demanded, as a pre-condition for their investments, that there should be no trade union for their employees, were politely told to go elsewhere. Which they did, either to South Korea or Taiwan, whose administrations happen to regard the right of workers to organise in a somewhat different light.

One MNC which requested the same "no union" condition in Singapore was the American-based Hewlett Packard. In Singapore they manufacture sophisticated calculating machines. They also have operations in Japan, Germany and Malaysia. Neither in the U.S. nor in Japan, Germany and Malaysia are their employees unionized.

However, they received a firm negative response from the Singapore Economic Development Board to their "no union" bid, as was inevitable (for the Secretary General of the Singapore NTUC is a fairly important member of this Board). They thought again

and decided to invest after all. We have organised their employees, won recognition, and developed fairly fruitful union-management relations in this undertaking. To the tiny Singapore NTUC therefore, goes the distinction of unionising the employees of a company whose employees in the US itself and in other national centres of operation have not been unionised, in spite of the efforts of the giant AFL-CIO.

I hope you have not forgotten, in the meanwhile, the terms of reference which I have advanced as fundamental. The four countries I cited in South-East Asia and East Asia, constitute only a minority of Third World countries. And it is in these areas that industrial investments and technological transfers are most vital for development purposes. Such transfers can only come from the developed countries, largely through the instrumentality of MNCs.

(To be concluded in the issue of April, 1975.)

WHITE APPEARANCE

Four Poems

*A wet fragrance mentions rain's coming,
The waves growing voice augurs ocean wind,
So too the violet hands of evening
Lay out the softening cloths
At the entrance of night's white heart.*

*

*Emblem of the prayer of darkness,
Measurer of fullness in ascension,
Waxing body of an argent dawn,
Saffron and pale, a sun on the night's horizon
Grows whiter as it rises to become the moon.*

*

*A white appearance in the blue deepness
Focuses the night's memory of tomorrow.*

*

*The night heaven is of light and suns,
Interrupted only by the dark result
Of their absence and the hope
For white progeny and inviolate day.*

Tatsat

AN APPROACH TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF WORLD UNITY

Haneef Jawaid

The Nature of Man

We start with the premise that world unity is a necessity. There is hardly anyone who is not convinced of this. It is therefore not necessary to advance any elaborate arguments to emphasise the desirability or urgency of world unity. The main task is to find out what its content should be and to ascertain means and devise ways to achieve it.

The first step to solve any problem is to know its exact nature; we cannot otherwise hope to find solutions. The problem of world unity is essentially a human problem in the sense that it is the unity of the human race that is desired, sought after and aimed at. Man, therefore, is the key element, the central piece in the whole scheme, the foundation on which the whole super-structure of unity has to be built. Everything revolves round his sanity and humanity.

The question of world unity, therefore, depends almost entirely on "the nature of Man", since all codes of conduct, rules of behaviour and human institutions are rooted in and based upon what is understood to be his nature. A few general observations about man, his nature and his predicament, thus seem to be quite in order.

Briefly speaking there are two diametrically opposite views about man and his nature: one is that he is essentially bad and

needs to be controlled, and the other is that he is essentially good and misbehaves only because of ignorance or lack of proper education or environment. The truth seems to lie somewhere in between — he is a mixture of both good and evil.

He contains both elements because of the fact that he belongs to two different realms: the animal kingdom and the human kingdom. By virtue of his being an animal he has inherited certain instincts, wants, and desires. Further he is not just an animal but a social animal. His gregarious instinct drives him to seek the company of his fellows. In fact he cannot realise himself fully except in a society of similar human beings. But since other men have similar wants which they also seek to satisfy, and since life happens to be, on the whole, a struggle for existence, they often clash with one another. As a result he develops aggressive and violent attitudes and displays such traits as anger, jealousy, hatred etc. But if one makes a deeper probe, one can discern another principle more basic to corporate life, that of cooperation, operating at the same time and all along. Thus man has developed another set of equally strong qualities like sympathy, kindness, service and concern for others. In contradiction to the principle of the struggle for existence, he has not only protected and helped others, but has sacrificed his life for the sake of

others and for higher causes.

In addition to this, man possesses rationality, the mental and reasoning faculties. He has used this capacity for both constructive and destructive purposes. He has invented and improved weapons of destruction for waging wars as well as having developed culture and civilisation; too, he has built institutions for establishing peace and happiness among his fellowmen.

Threefold Existence

With this as a backdrop let us come to the actual problem: the predicament of man and how he has tried to solve it.

As soon as man is born he establishes a three way relationship: with himself, with his fellowmen, and with the outer physical world or the universe. His problem has, therefore, three aspects and has to be tackled on corresponding planes: individual, social, and universal.

Now these relationships can be either cooperational or oppositional. Man has always sought two things most: security (or peace) and welfare (or happiness). These he can achieve only if he establishes a harmonious relationship in all the three vital areas—with himself, his fellowmen and the universe—and eliminates conflict. And this he can do only if he has a correct understanding of himself and of his exact relationship with his fellow beings and the physical world. Fortunately this was made considerable by his reasoning and reflective faculties. Man's mind has always tried to find and to establish order in chaos; it has tried to reduce the apparently discordant, unorganised, disconnected and disjointed data, material or phenomena into a coherent system or an organised whole. This has

resulted not only in making his life more comfortable and in improving the quality of his life, but in finding a deeper meaning.

As a direct result of this eternal quest and the spirit of enquiry, man has developed various branches of knowledge each dealing with one particular aspect of his relationships. The saints and seers, the philosophers and thinkers, the writers and scientists have all contributed to this body of knowledge. Particularly during the last century and a half there has been an extraordinary explosion in the sphere of knowledge in both the social sciences and, more especially, in the sphere of natural sciences. The irony of the human predicament is that knowledge comes but wisdom lingers. If only men could make use of, take guidance from and heed the conclusions reached by all of the different disciplines and wisely plan his future, it might not be so difficult to achieve his ultimate goal of world unity.

Let us now look briefly, but in some detail, to see how these disciplines have approached the problem and how the conclusions arrived at can be wisely applied; obviously the present study can neither be profound nor exhaustive.

Of the three parts of the problem, the individual aspect is dealt with by disciplines and sciences like psychology, spirituality, religion, ethics, biology, medicine, education etc. On the social plane man's problem is being tackled by disciplines like sociology, anthropology, politics, economics, ethics and allied fields. And the universal aspect, through the enquiries of metaphysics, philosophy, spirituality, the natural sciences like physics, chemistry, biology and others, is being investigated.

As can be seen there are no hard and

fast lines between the areas of study of these subjects as all of them endeavour to study man and his universe. Naturally their boundaries overlap and they are complementary rather than contradictory. Ideally, they try to study the *total man*, the whole man. The various conclusions thus reached by them, if wisely implemented, should help in achieving world unity.

The Universal Relation

To look at one element of the universal relation first: it is hardly necessary to point out that man has been quite successful in knowing the nature of his physical environment through the findings of science. The reason is that though it took centuries to make any progress in this field, once the breakthrough was achieved it became relatively easy to find out its secret because the laws that govern nature are, comparatively speaking, simple and universally applicable, amenable to experimentation and human control. This is at the base of the spectacular achievements of the natural sciences and its hand-maid and advertiser, technology. It has mastered nature, annihilated distances, conquered time and reduced the size of the world. It has provided man with comforts of life, freed him from the slavery of manual labour, improved his health, and prolonged his span of life.

Through development in mass communication—the printing press, wireless, telephone, radio, television, photography etc.—people separated by vast distances have been brought together and made familiar with each others hopes and fears, modes of living and ways of thought. These advances have literally made everyone neighbours.

Technology has virtually made a functional international community a reality. In fact there is here an institutional lag, the institutions have to catch up with the headlong march of science.

There are, however, two aspects of science which need criticism. First is its initial narrow and adamant attitude. In the flush of victory it turned a blind eye to its inherent limitations and over-confidently claimed to hold a monopoly in acquiring the truth. In that proud but short-lived euphoria it arrogantly claimed to be the only panacea for all the ills of humanity and the provider of a steady and automatic progression for mankind. But soon it came to realise that it too suffered from certain in-built shortcomings. It had to acknowledge that it was after all only a positive science and not a normative one, and as such it could explain the what and how of things but not the why. It could not deal with the values of life which fell outside its domain. It was compelled to concede that there were other and, in some respects and in some fields, better and more valuable ways of ascertaining truth, perhaps even through intuition or contemplation etc.

The other aspect that needs criticism is the destructive use to which science has been put, particularly the invention and development of destructive weapons—from gun powder to atom and hydrogen bombs, ballistic missiles, and bacteriological or biological weapons. These have for the first time in the history of man placed in his hands the power to destroy not only himself but the whole earth.

The lessons man should learn from these mistakes are to practice humility and to control his own creation, the scientific genie, before it destroys him. It must

however be noted that science cannot be blamed entirely for all this, after all, science is amoral and neutral; it is the persons who misuse that should be blamed. In fact science fosters certain invaluable virtues in an individual such as an honest spirit of enquiry, impartial pursuit of knowledge, dedication and self-sacrificing search for truth, self-discipline, integrity, a scientific temper of mind, a sense of devotion, the habit of weighing pros and cons impartially, detachment etc., which are basic to a civilised man. All the same it must be admitted that the responsibility of a scientist does not end with making discoveries and inventions. He is not only a scientist but a member of society. He owes it to society to see that the results of his work are used for the welfare of mankind and not to its detriment, that they are not utilised for the benefit of only a section of mankind but are equitably distributed among all. He should refuse to cooperate whenever they are likely to be misused.

The Social Relation

That much said about the universal aspect of the triangular relationship, consideration of man's relationship with his fellowmen is in one sense more important. The greatest dilemma here is how to reconcile the freedom of the individual with the interests of society. An emphasis on one will lead to maladjusted or distorted development. Too much liberty given to the normal individual will result in licence and anarchy while too much restriction will lead to domination by the group, not allowing his free development, perhaps even leading to dictatorship or totalitarianism. An ideal society would be that which would allow

maximum freedom to the individual consistent with the interests of the group as a whole and at the same time would not allow him to interfere with the similar freedom of others. An open society based on genuine democratic principles seems to be the only society that satisfies these criteria.

Here law plays a very important role. It tries to reconcile the interests of the individual with those of society, basing itself on such principles as the rule of law, equality before the law, equal opportunity for all, and a system of checks and balances. Even here a note of warning has to be expressed. All human institutions are imperfect, law is no exception. The laws themselves may be unjust or may have become obsolete by not being adapted to changing circumstances. Hence, there is the need for a set of absolute and universally valid values which would serve as a frame of reference; and also needed is a means of bringing about changes in a peaceful way.

The science of economics has provided us with certain unchallengeable axioms: the world is a single unit, its people are interdependent; resources are limited and scarce, they have to be used carefully without indiscriminate destruction or wasteful exploitation and without disturbing the delicate ecological balance.

The most urgent problem that requires our immediate attention is the removal of the glaring and unjust disparity in standards of living between the affluent and the developing countries. Through rational and progressive planning of aid and trade, and through the exchange of technical know-how it can be tackled.

Another equally important problem that particularly confronts the developing countries is overpopulation. Without its effective

and immediate control most of our economic difficulties will remain with us.

Still another most pressing problem is that of the pollution of the air that we breathe, the water that we drink and the food that we eat. Unless this is stopped the future of man is dark.

A significant fact to be noted is that most of these problems are global ones which can be solved only through the cooperation of all the peoples of the world. World unity is in one sense not only a precondition for this, but might at the same time be the result of such activities. The description of the world as a spaceship is most apt and accurate. The resources of this world are limited and exhaustible just as on a spaceship.

Coming to the political field let us see what the guidelines provided by political science are. Even a superficial study of the evolution of political institutions and the progress of civilisation in general will reveal that the growth has been from simpler and smaller units towards larger and more complicated ones. The main factor that seems to have determined the size of these units has been the capacity of the group to meet its constituents' vital interests, predominantly that of security. People accept that authority and owe allegiance only to that group which is able to provide protection and security for them.

Some have gone to the point of suggesting that the size of a political unit has varied according to, been dependent upon and even determined by, the development of the destructive capacity of the weapons used by men. When only stone implements were used, a family or a group of families was a good unit. When bow and arrows were invented man had to develop

tribes and clans. When gun powder was discovered these units became obsolete and small kingdoms were necessitated. But when artillery came to be used, even walled towns and fortified habitations were useless, thus nations came into existence. The development might not have been so neat or regular or universally true as just depicted, but the general trend of evolution can be seen on these lines. Even using these criterion, the present nation-state is definitely an anachronism now that nuclear and other sophisticated weapons have made national frontiers a mockery. The only unit that can now provide effective security to man is the world as a whole, with some global authority guaranteeing collective security for the entire human race.

There is, therefore, no doubt that we should strive for a world federation and government as an ultimate and natural collective goal. Already certain communities like scientists, artists, truly religious people, even workers and others have formed themselves into types of international communities. It should be the endeavour of all to achieve the ideal of a world authority with the power to enact world laws and to implement them.

But if one is to be a realist he cannot but accept the fact that somehow the nation-state has come to stay and there is not even a remote possibility of its going out of existence in the foreseeable future. This may be because the nation-state satisfies certain needs of the national communities. It seems to be an ideal cultural group as also a viable economic unit. Or it may be that man has not yet developed or matured enough to have a supra-national or universal consciousness. Whatever the reason, the nation-state is a

reality and has to be accepted as such.

Since politics is an art of the possible, we should at this stage think of devices which would ensure the peaceful coexistence of nations in a suitable world order. The principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations seem to be the only acceptable ones that satisfy these requirements. The most practical way of promoting world unity and peace is to strengthen the U. N. by fostering respect for international law and fundamental rights, by encouraging complete and ungrudging loyalty to it and implementation of its resolutions and by pushing aside the narrow national interests for the sake of the common good.

The Individual Relation

We now come to the third and perhaps most difficult and complicated aspect, that of the individual. It has already been noted that man is the basic unit and, as it has been beautifully put, the individual problem is the world problem, the world problem is the individual problem. Here our entire hope rests on the belief that human nature can be changed and that man is educable.

We have to begin early and give children a type of education which will instill a coherent pattern of values and develop a world view, a global attitude. One thing that has to be remembered in this connection is that man resists change. Prejudice, tradition, custom, inertia and the tendency not to welcome new ideas, combined with the natural tendency to love that which is near and familiar and suspect and even hate that which is far away, create formidable difficulties. Man is fond of

drawing narrow circles round himself and finds it difficult to enlarge or break out of them. The task of education is to break these barriers of prejudice and narrow vision and broaden, widen and deepen human attitudes and sympathies.

In the case of teaching history, for example, emphasis has to be placed on the march of man as a whole. The contribution of all peoples to the sum total of human civilisation has to be noted rather than drawing undue attention to the specific contribution of any particular section of humanity. Instead of narrowness, parochial and national glorification, a world view should be presented to the young minds as the natural approach. Similarly, in the case of science, the innumerable inventions and technological advances should be regarded as the achievements of mankind rather than a contribution of any country or nation. Every man should feel proud of such achievements since they are not the property of anyone but for the use of all. To elaborate on this point is not necessary, all that I wish to emphasise is that education, if imparted properly, could be a vital instrument in bringing about world unity.

In consideration of this individual aspect of the threefold problem of existence, disciplines like spirituality, religion, ethics and psychology play a very predominant role, particularly in the development of a universal consciousness in man. It is this growth of consciousness that will take him to the goal of world unity and make the most significant contribution in that direction.

An Observation

To conclude we may observe that it is easy to be cynical and pessimistic, to point

to the innumerable difficulties in the way of world unity. But if we take into consideration the time taken for man to reach the present stage, the very idea of world unity was born only yesterday. A most important thing is not to be unduly or unrealistically optimistic, believing that world unity can be achieved easily or very soon. This kind of attitude will lead to frustration and disappointment, which are the worst enemies. It is a long and arduous journey ahead. It

requires patience, hard work, perseverance in the face of all possible obstacles; obstacles and challenges should inspire rather than be stumbling blocks in the way. World unity has to be built brick by brick by individuals and voluntary groups that fix their eyes on the goal to be reached and move forward with determination and courage. Only then can we hope to achieve the goal of world unity.

A CHILD'S FIRST YEARS

World Union Consciousness—XII

T. Govindarajan

(In the eleventh article of this series, the parental duties toward the child were stressed. A parent who fails in this responsibility fails not only the child but also society as a whole. The "discovery of the child" is the first, the most important step. Dr. Maria Montessori begins her educational approach with this discovery. A child well brought up is an "armament for peace". The child should be the centre of education at every level. And it must be recognised that the child is not a miniature adult; his world is totally different from that of the adult. His rights for growth at his own pace in his own world have to be secured and the necessary environment has to be prepared and provided to help him grow to his full potentialities with an integrated personality)

The enunciation of the rights of the child and the concept of a prepared environment for his growth according to the laws of his nature, we owe to Dr. Montessori. As far as the education of children is concerned, a most scientific system devised for adoption is the Montessori system. Hence to know about her and her great discoveries is a valuable aid if we are interested in good, effective and purposeful education.

Maria Montessori was not a professional teacher by training. As a young girl, her wish was to become anything but a teacher. She was in fact trained for the medical profession. But a curious and fortunate accident intervened to throw upon her the responsibility of organising a school, or to put it more correctly, a home for the children of working mothers in a slum tenement area of Rome—San Lorenzo. Thus dawned a new era in the annals of child-education. Her native genius allied to a naturally humane outlook gave birth to a new basis for education itself, not merely a new system. Her keen observations of child-nature and child-behaviour led her to a number of intriguing discoveries about the child as an individual. These findings gave her the clues to further discoveries of relevant natural laws which had hitherto not been perceived or understood.

Her biography is mainly the story of her experiments with child-nature and is well

worth studying; it is especially rewarding for parents and teachers. Her long life — she passed away in her eighty-second year, 1952 — was a total dedication to the self-elected and self-imposed mission of “discovering the child”. The more earnestly we try to understand her ideas, the more certainly we find ourselves in the presence of the “mysterious hidden and creative forces of life”. A Dutch biologist, Professor Broghever-Fortuyn, has this to say of the universal and eternal quality of her philosophy of education: “The Montessori method is founded on general characteristics of life proper to all organisms; and it will last as long as life itself. It is not possible to imagine that such a principle having once been introduced into pedagogy could be abandoned.” Nature has endowed the child with unknown and hidden powers. If what we want is a new world that can recognise the brotherhood of all men, these common, unknown and hidden powers have to be identified and developed. That is Montessori’s aim and goal.

Whatever might be the political and economic structure of the sovereign states, whatever the rivalries that set them one against another or the identities that combine them, if an ultimate goal toward which these States professedly turn their gaze is the creation of a new world order, a first step they may commonly take is to utilise the great discoveries of Montessori. An education widely based on her findings will help open to the world a radiant future.

Among her books, *The Secret of Childhood* and *The Absorbent Mind* may well be called, without any exaggeration, a bible of child-training for the world. Her unpublished works are a common heritage of humanity and the U.N.O., through her appropriate ancillary organisations, may well investigate the possibility of publishing them in as many languages as possible. This would be a valuable long-range investment for a world waiting for an educational renaissance.

We shall begin by looking at the fundamental rights of the child as enunciated by Montessori. To appreciate these rights and to help secure them is the duty of the adult world, for the children do not “know” nor can they secure them. We have in this process to keep in sight two cardinal facts:

1. The human species is biologically united in its origin. This biological unity has not changed and perhaps cannot be changed (we hope even when non-viviparous children begin to appear). The whole process of education has to be informed and influenced by this basic unity. Naturally enough, then, the process of education of all human beings is bound to possess a universal quality, allowing for local variations.
2. As we have again and again repeated, the child is not an adult in miniature. This is one of the greatest discoveries of all modern educational psychology. All earlier perspectives of the child through adult telescopes were distorted and hence

defective. Adult vision is entirely different from child vision.

The biological unity of the human race accepted, and there is no alternative, it has also been scientifically established that there is a coexisting and incontrovertible unity in consciousness. Children everywhere in the world, in their pristine purity, behave in essentially identical ways. There is, so to say, in every child a painstaking "mentor" so skillful that he gets, mysteriously, the same results in children all over the world. Differences manifest themselves as children absorb more and more of their differing cultures and environments. The differences may become violent in adulthood.

Secondly, the differences between the child and the adult lie in the fact that, as Dr. Montessori says, the child "is in a continual state of growth and metamorphosis, whereas the adult has reached the norm of the species". It is to be noted that metamorphosis is different from growth. Metamorphosis involves a total or significant partial transformation, as for example, the transformation of the caterpillar into the butterfly or the tadpole into the frog. The butterfly and the frog have reached the adult stage, the norm of the species. The new-born child undergoes "transformation" and growth sometimes simultaneously, sometimes in alternate stages during the course of his development. These changes are perceptible in the physical, mental and social realms.

The physical metamorphosis is noticed in the proportions of the body of a new born child and those of the adult. Observe, particularly, the size of the head. In the year after birth, the head of a child grows to nearly twice its original physical size. By the third year, his brain is already half the size of that of an adult. At four years, the brain is four-fifths of its ultimate size.

Also at the mental level the growth and metamorphoses are significant. So significant are the changes in the mind at various stages that Montessori has metaphorically suggested that "one psychic being ceases and another is born". For reasons such as those mentioned above, the stages in the growth of the child may be broadly classified as below :

— First stage, zero to six years —

This is a period of transformation coupled with physical growth and sub-divided into,

- (a) zero to three years: the absorbent mind (unconscious);
- (b) three to six years: the absorbent mind (conscious).

— Second stage, six to twelve years —

A period of uniform growth which is the continuation of childhood.

— Third stage, twelve to eighteen years —

A period of transformation coupled with physical growth sub-divided into,

- (a) twelve to fifteen years: puberty;
- (b) fifteen to eighteen years: adolescence.

After eighteen years of age, there is no longer any "transformation". The person simply grows older — rather like a tree or a mature plant.

We shall take for consideration the first sub-division from birth to the completion of three years. In the words of Professor James, the child is in the midst of "a big buzzing booming confusion". Out of this confusion, the infant begins rapidly to build an order. He begins building an inner world and an outer one simultaneously, without any effort, will or "consciousness"; it is a process of absorption. This is indeed a great work. With no idea or awareness of space, time, colour, distance, size etc., the child is assiduously engaged in building its worlds, rather absorbing its worlds for future use. Time is an even greater mystery for the child. The past, the present and the future merge into one another and it is all a big puzzle for the child. Since the process of absorption is the way of Nature, the child feels no fatigue.

In the course of time, the world around him, which was initially "a big buzzing booming confusion", slowly takes shape as an ordered though miniature universe. This is true of all children in all climes. This avid absorption of the environment is a continuous process, free of intervals of laziness or inactivity (except the periods of sleep). And it is also unconscious. There is then in the first few months of the child the action of an unconscious mind, taking in without any effort everything around it. It is a kind of mind totally different from the adult mind which is conscious (at least in some measure) and has a will. It is for the child a period of creation, starting virtually from a nil or zero state — the *tabula rasa*. Intelligence begins to be formed at this stage as well as several other psychic (mental) faculties. For example, the child absorbs his mother-tongue from infancy simply by living in the environment where the language is spoken. Be it noted that the only language a man learns to speak naturally and perfectly is the language he learns from infancy. Even under the most expert guidance, other languages learnt at a later day are not spoken as naturally or as well. And the mother-tongue is learned when there is no teacher to teach. The child learns the language himself, he is not taught by an external agency called a teacher. This and similar absorptions of the unconscious mind are later projected into the conscious mind at the appropriate time.

How does the child make the transition from the stage of unconscious absorption to the stage of conscious absorption, that is, from the "unconscious mind" to the "conscious mind"? This transition is of immense magnitude and takes place by great leaps forward. It is dynamic in the sense that there is actual movement; the child follows beacons of pleasure and love. His hands are largely the instruments of this great forward movement. The child begins to use his hands and draw into his consciousness what he has already naturally and unconsciously absorbed in his unconscious. For example, holding a rattle and manipulating it, shaking it again and again, recognising its sound and experiencing the pleasant sensation of its "music", are all components of a learning process combined with absorption. To us it appears to be merely "play"; to the child it is "work" as much as play.

f The hands are now for the child the instruments of human intelligence.

Every object that comes within purview of the child is one of absorbing interest to him. For he sees it or handles it for the first time. Be it a piece of wood or coloured paper, a flower or a leaf, the child handles it with eyes wide open, turning it round, feeling its size and shape, rubbing it on the floor, throwing it and picking it up to start again — the child is a tiny explorer. Playing in water (when the mother is afraid of the child catching cold or drenching his clothes) or turning the water-tap on and off alternately to see what happens is for the child an *event*, for the child and his observant eyes take in every little detail without any effort. The active hands are the portals to the child's university!

During this stage, the adult has to provide the most favourable conditions for the child's growth of intelligence and development of faculties. Wordsworth describes this stage of a child's career as "voyaging through strange seas of thought—alone". We adults do not know, much less do we understand, how all this growth is taking place. Our adult logic and understanding are impotent. As Montessori puts it picturesquely, "The first nine volumes of child psychology have not been written; we have begun, instead, writing the tenth volume; the previous volumes would perhaps remain unwritten for a long time to come."

A child is never idle when he is healthy; sleep is the only period of "inactivity". No waking moment is lost or left unutilised. Existence is for the child an intense and ceaseless drama of activity, exploration, wonder, absorption and inner growth. Thus it is that the child develops, learns spontaneously and constructs his world in the first three years of his life.

IN AUROVILLE

HELP

Ronald Jorgensen

I don't know what *Edayanchavadi* means in English but it goes well with *Udavi* which is Tamil for help. The beginnings of Udavi trail back to July 1969 when it first placed itself next to Edayanchavadi, a large and attractive though poor Tamil village on the inner border of Auroville's Green Belt. In those days Udavi provided much more limited assistance to its adopted village than a persistent growth has made possible now—it waxed from a fair price shop to an employing incense factory and a white picket fenced nursery complemented by a nutritional service and a medical dispensary which has a healthy emphasis on vitamins and minerals beyond pedestrian stocks of pills.

But the most engaging dimension of the life there is gathered around what they call the incense factory and its satellites of activity: the research laboratory for constituting scents and experimenting toward new ones, the room where the scented paste is made to be sent to the factory for rolling onto sticks, the drying and sorting room where freshly rolled sticks are seasoned until mature enough to be packaged, and the veranda where packaging paper sheets are marbled into unpredictably beautiful colours from baths of oil paints' moving mixtures. The heart of the factory itself seems to be rolling paste onto the sticks and packaging

the sticks into a double wrapping of neatly folded and sealed paper. It feels like the heart because a very interesting process is developing in a concentrated way there which folds depth around depth upon the idea of help in Udavi.

Guy, a young Frenchman managing the enterprise since it began about a year and a half ago, took the two of us inside where about sixteen young women were intently rolling sticks, each on a low little Japanese style work table. They were positioned close enough to nearly touch elbows one with another, but none were distracting concentration by talking. In fact, our entrance and conversation with Guy proved a major disturbance to the quick and graceful rhythm of their silence.

He explained the three conditions of employment: not one word while working, a complete clean up and storing of every particle and item of waste and material at the end of each day, indispensable promptness in coming for work. Guy recounted how the last condition came to be established: at the outset he asked when was the best time for them to leave their households in the village, and when they decided to come at 8:00 A.M. he insisted it be kept. If someone came late he reduced that day's salary according to the percentage of time

missed. That was infrequent; now it is nonexistent.

At 10:00 A. M. there is a twenty minute break for lemon water. It is interesting that tea, which everyone recognizes to be without benefit for the body, is not served here unlike the hundreds of offices, banks, factories and other labour nerve centers in Pondicherry and adjacent areas of Tamilnadu. One may well wonder if refreshment which offers a true stimulation that nourishes and relaxes the nerves has something to do with the concentrated, rapid, very high quality work being done. Both those who roll sticks and the young men and women who weigh the sticks, fold and glue the paper, fill and seal the package take their break then, but it is done in small group shifts so both the movement of refreshments and work continue smoothly.

Those who do packaging work are regularly shifted to different tasks of that job so no one works in monotony. When it is possible to also shift the rollers and keep production steady, they will be moving around too.

Everyone is paid according to work produced; not all receive the same rate. Guy explained this with those who roll sticks. A new person is paid a minimum which meets sustenance needs during their training; their production is nil. As they begin to produce more and better sticks this minimum is raised in fine increments that sensitively reflect the development of skill. The quality and quantity of each person's work is identifiable by her labeled shelf area in the storeroom which is altogether organized as beautifully as the memory bank of a computer. Some of these girls are only sixteen years old, yet the maximum wages earned by the best worker far surpass incense workers' elsewhere and

even compare with the salaries in men's heavy construction work.

Withstanding these abundant wages, ample profits are yielded in domestic and export sales; profits which return to the village through the funding of the nursery, replenishing the infant feeding program, drilling for and piping village water, expanding the services of the medical dispensary; profits which also return to Auroville through sustenance of the general fund for food, clothing, construction, etc.

The cause of the workers becomes identical with the cause of the management, and the wage arrangement, based on what a person actually does, irresistibly encourages a constantly increasing high quality production. The more Auroshikha (which means "the inner fire" in Bengali) expands, the more young villagers can find living and fruit bearing employment which reverberates in developing village facilities, health and education and brings a more capacious Auroville which certainly permits a deeper collaboration with villagers: a benevolent circle of help.

Udavi cannot help but touch more dimensions. The product of incense, particularly the way Auroshikha makes it with natural substances that exclude any toxic materials, is ecologically benevolent too. It takes materials like clay, aromatic bark and plants, bamboo fiber, handmade paper (made from waste products) which are not scarce and makes a product which leaves no pollution residue on its surroundings. Further, and in some ways the most important, it offers a product to society that is purely beneficial in creating a calm, relaxed and concentrated atmosphere of aspiration for a higher consciousness; in contrast to most products which stimulate one's greed,

selfishness and sense of exclusive superiority, pamper and sedate the body when it needs the waking sting of action and fritter the will down a slope of vital indulgences.

What is these village workers, attitude toward Auroville? The one sure thing that has deeply impressed them, Guy feels, is these Aurovilian mangers who "go right down" and work alongside them.

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY — III

Pratibha

During the summer religious festivals I acquainted myself to a degree with some of the Spanish youth. At some time or other in the season every town and village had its holiday which consisted of attendance at Mass in the morning and a procession with the particular patron saint. This was followed by a widespread genial gastronomical indulgence, each household having slaughtered a chicken, goat or calf according to its monetary possibilities. At night, after the usual promenade, the dance began in the plaza. In older times there had been the traditional folk-dancing consisting of strenuous leaps and intricate step-patterns carried out by young men and women in their exquisitely ornate costumes; the music having been provided by local musicians playing the sweetly tuneful Celtic bagpipe and diverse types of drums and tambourines. Nowadays, these were all merely colorful side-attractions, having given way to more or less modernized bands and singers and very loud loudspeakers. As I conversed and danced during the various festivities I was able to ascertain that, while speaking the same language as my acquaintances, there were between us such great cultural differences as to make effective communication a near impossibility.

On registration day at Santiago University I was astonished by a circumstance unforeseen during the drawn-out procedure of validating my school credentials; it happened that there was no such thing as a Psychology Department. I didn't know Latin or Greek, and so couldn't study philosophy. It was in some unspecified manner established that I would study medicine, since that very year the entrance requirements had been reduced. I was the youngest, at sixteen, in the class of two hundred. I had there no close blood-related members of my family, consequently the members of my aunt's family, related by marriage, were my custodians. There were numerous dormitories, called residences, operated by nuns for the out-of-town students and I was placed in one of them. It was the Residence of the Sisters of Saint Dorothea, selected because someone in my aunt's family belonged to that order. The Mother Superior was fitly informed of my antireligious disposition, yet she acknowledged the responsibility and its consequences, certain that the power of her own pious fervor could draw out the faith she saw latent in me.

My roommate was also my classmate, and she was the second youngest in the group; she studied impracticably difficult subjects at all hours of the day and night. It was common knowledge that only a dozen people would pass the final examination at the

end of each of our courses of anatomy, physiology and histology. As for anatomy, I was utterly repelled by the whole uncouth practice of the surgical operations we had to witness; at the dissection table, without concretely thinking about it, the fact is my hands never left my pockets to touch the dismembered torso of the human male that was placed before us. My mind and heart were fraught with sorrow by the daily contact with pain and distress in the public clinic. Though it is basically against the inmost substance of my being, at times I considered indistinct speculations about self-destruction. With respect to physiology, my situation was well-nigh hopeless, as I had contrived to get along without elementary chemistry. A private tutor was employed to fill this awkward gap by teaching me organic chemistry. I listened to her totally fascinated during every hour she spoke, but couldn't generate further curiosity to follow up with studies on my own. With histology things were different, I felt comfortable within that range, and during the very few months before I stopped following the courses altogether, it was the only subject over which I had attained some mastery.

Thereafter, I concentrated my attention on more personal concerns. I intensified what was to become a prolonged habit of reading in the university coffee shops and talking with the most interesting people that chanced upon my table. Many nuns in my residence were themselves young students; their genuine devotion mellowed the bitter irreligiosity I had hitherto felt. There is heavy rainfall in that area, the bulky rainshoes I was unaccustomed to wearing originally caused severe leg-cramps. I was moved to the utmost when the Mother Superior, who although young had four or five major illnesses, knelt down to massage my feet several times. My feelings were tempered, but not my ideas. Mine was a distinctive atheism wherein God was a primary preoccupation: lacking faith, I was bent on certifying the existence or non-existence of a Supreme. Prior to that time, when a miracle-performing priest had come from Haiti to visit my Plattsburgh school, I think I surprised him when I mentioned faith as the miracle I desired. Later on, when the school had gone on a spiritual retreat to Quebec, we had the singular occasion of confessing and being forgiven for all our life's sins. I confessed that I simply couldn't believe. The priest listened to me at length, repeatedly asked me if I knew the essence of the desk we had before us, which didn't effectuate a modification of my views, and finally told me some jokes in the confessional so the nuns wouldn't suspect that I didn't partake of confession. In Santiago, after a specific discussion, I visited the Jesuit General to hear from him personally that Jesus had not preached the principle of tolerance, along with its corresponding and supposedly irrefutable biblical citation. Unwittingly I was glued to the spot where I was standing; he chose to lend me a book of Pope John's encyclicals, saying I was welcome to anything I could find in it about tolerance. I found something in it.

My companions were all extremely intelligent, beautiful, wealthy and gay. At a wedding I met a young resident surgeon who was well-known to have incomparable prospects for his future career. After a few evenings together at the Casino, it appeared that I had quite dishonored him by accepting his company without the intention of

marrying him. There was something within insisting that the real me couldn't be bound by any known limits. At a party I once withdrew inwardly from the immediate surroundings, from what seemed a preposterous farce; I resolved not to repeat such an alienating experiment as it proved to be unpleasant indeed. I had joined the university choir and we made some short tours around the country. On one occasion I drank some wine in excess of the customary liberal amounts consumed by Spaniards generally and students particularly; it was then clear to me that my vital principle required a greater freedom than was there permitted. The closest friends, besides those of my residence, were a group in their last year of medical studies; they would tell me I was excessively naive and candid in my outlook, that relationships derived a romantic significance from discrete innuendo and subtle suggestion. I imbibed all those European practices and conventions which I felt to be superior to those of America, but there were some, such as directness of speech and action, which I found no reason to alter. Furthermore, my acute tendency to absent-mindedness in details was a natural deterrent of intrigue and calculation. I thought of my being as draped with a plain tunic rather than a cumbersome gown. In effect, I didn't relate to any man with a mutual feeling stronger than that of friendship.

For the summer I remained mostly alone at the village house of my aunt's elderly mother. There only was my mind completely at ease musing pacifically on the briskly rolling sea-crests, gazing at the bobbing fishing-vessels, sharing vicariously the rustic life of the fishermen and farmers. The following year I attended the newly opened School of Social Work; since I had been a medical student, they placed me in the public clinic for my practice-study rather than in a civil service office or factory where the others were appointed. In the pediatric clinic I was required to ask the mothers questions such as how many times a year they ate meat and how many animals they shared their living quarters with. From time to time we witnessed the most profound obscurity, as in the instance of a gypsy mother who was unaware that infants require milk for food and as a result her one-year old child weighed the same as at birth. I complied with my social work requirements in a mood of relative detachment. I simultaneously read whatever psychology books I randomly found in the book stores. I even discovered one shop that specialized, clandestinely of course, in books that were on the "Index", that is to say, forbidden — such mystifying works as James Joyce's *Ulysses* in implausible translation. Through my aunt's relatives I was imbued with intimate detailed knowledge of intra-family associations and involvements; I weighed all the advantages and disadvantages. The greatest novelty in this regard was to realize that a mother could love one of her own children more than another.

I might have led a comfortable life in Spain, but I had inklings of a colossal and beckoning world which I felt the need to experience. I wrote to my father that I was ready to return to New York and begin the serious study of psychology. By and by he came for me, along with his Cuban business partner who had come for the purpose of finding and marrying a nice Spanish woman. How he found and did marry one was an episode often verging on the ridiculous: many people measured a foreigner's worth in terms of the

relative largeness of the car he brought with him. Then my father's partner, his bride, and my father and I went on a spring tour of Italy. In Rome I was naturally dazzled by the numberless brilliant marble structures, overpowered by the imposing proportions of the inexhaustible marble statues, and delighted by the myraid gilded fountains and their immeasurable charm. In Venice my senses were inflamed with the voluptuous beauty of the porcelain vessels and figures, and the luxuriously fashioned silks. On nearing Naples, my father asked if I desired to visit my mother's family; the savor of the Spanish family was still too striking for me to feel an animated inquisitiveness, and we forsook the intention. There in Naples, where we stayed for some time arranging the American entry papers for the Spanish bride in our company, we saw each evening dozens of very young inebriate sailors being carried back to the ships of the Sixth Fleet which was in the harbor. At last we boarded the passenger ship which took us to the port of New York City.

"Cultural shock" is a term used to denote the encounter with a foreign culture, but in my case it accounted for what I underwent upon returning to my own land. Surely no other major city could exhibit such extensive squalor and overall ugliness. Yet I knew that the collective Western intellectual genius emerged loftily from such a homely base, in the same way that the enormous skyscrapers do so from the sooty, litter-strewn streets. As I considered myself a libertarian, I acceded to the proposition that my father's long-time fiancée come to live with us. On a Christmas holiday trip to Puerto Rico we three took shortly thereafter, she estranged my father's affectionate feelings for me by telling him I had spent an evening with a married man. It was pointless to explain that we had simply toured the island. For the next two years my father rarely spoke to me. Acquainting myself with my brother again was an eventful illustration of the higher degrees of mental and emotional deprivation. Having divorced his young wife and relinquished claim of his two children, he was in a state of generally violent agitation and of frenzied envy of me; he was incapable of handling any life situation whatsoever.

I selected New York University as my alma mater because I liked its name; moreover, throughout my stay there I always marvelled at my choice since no other college had a similar liberality, progressiveness, and forward-looking international environment. Necessarily, I utilized the few months before the semester began to polish my rusty mathematical rudiments. During that first preparatory period I confined myself chiefly to my room. Besides reviewing algebra and geometry, now immensely meaningful, I evolved another long-standing habit of reading the whole night and into the early hours of the morning. I steeped myself with vehement diligence in the unfaltering perfection of Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies. While walking to my first class in the downtown liberal arts branch of N. Y. U., I suddenly saw in a bookstore a book on yoga and promptly obeyed the impulse to buy it, although fully ten years had to elapse before I would first read it.

(To be continued.)

EGALITARIANISM AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN A CHANGING AMERICA

Henry Winthrop

(Continued from the issue of February, 1975.)

I would like to devote the next section to some of the mistaken expressions of the principle of equality of results, of which many undergraduates are guilty, as well as a few instructors who are seeking popularity and acceptance from an intellectually obstreperous, know-nothing sector of our undergraduate population.

3. Intellectual Distortion of the Principle of Equality of Results

If we propose to indicate a few of the ways in which the Western intellectual tradition has been bastardized and corrupted by current, decadent misunderstandings of the principle of equality of results, the least we can do is to remind ourselves briefly of the objectives of that tradition. These are objectives that may be said to have accumulated roughly from the Hellenic period right through approximately the first five decades of the twentieth century. The content of that more-than-2000-year-old tradition might be reasonably enumerated as follows: 1. The fulfillment of the great, Greek ideal of *paideia*. Under this ideal an educated man was one who refined and enriched his potentialities by study, thought

and the direct quest for appropriate experience and who assumed the obligation of social responsibility by participating in collective efforts to solve the problems of his community. He did this by contributing the best of his thinking to dealing with the issues it faced. 2. One valued clear thinking and one enhanced one's critical and analytical faculties by studying logic and applying it to every context to which it appeared to be germane. 3. One read and studied the works of great men in order to familiarize oneself with the best that has been thought, said and written. 4. One adopted the ideal of a sound mind in a sound body. 5. The educated man sought to understand—and sometimes use—all aspects of scientific method and the logico-empirical tradition, in order to understand nature, society and himself. 6. The serious student sought to enhance all modalities of consciousness—the rational, the social, the aesthetic, religious, the affective, etc. 7. Excellence as the aim of education was subscribed to by all.

To these seven considerations may be added the following additional, educational objectives. 8. The past (history), it was understood, contributed to an understanding

of the present and a knowledge of the present combined with imagination, enabled us to provision some of the possibilities of the future. 9. Intellectual discipline was to be respected and utilized in the effort to master any problem, field or theme. 10. Education was intended to promote the flowering of the human spirit and although vocational, paraprofessional and professional goals were also to be sought and respected, there was no conflict between these two types of educational pursuits. 11. Individual differences among men were recognized, individual differences in achievement were shown to be measurable and were differentially recognized and rewarded. 12. Men are unequal in intellectual capacity and the variable, intellectual difficulties of different types of subject matter were recognized. One consequence of this was that certain types of subject matter were recognized as being beyond the task of comprehension for individuals of modest, intellectual endowment. Mathematics and physics, for instance, are examples of such areas. 13. Dialogue and communication were regarded as central to the task of being educated and, as a result, the exchange of ideas was welcomed. 14. Intellectual competition could be conducted without rancor and tended to sharpen human abilities. Such competition was not regarded as a form of elitism.

It should be clear that we could legitimately add some entries to the fourteen already shown. But this sample of the content of the traditional aims of education is, I think, sufficiently representative, so that we can contrast this ideal content with the changes being ushered in by some of the current but aberrant forms of the principle of equality of results.

To be able to meet many — if not all — of these traditional expectations is what it means to receive a genuine education. Such a goal has been recognized explicitly for ages and — less admirably — has been paid lip-service even when it has been betrayed. But in the rightful effort to give expression to the principle of equality of results, the means taken to fulfill this new principle have unfortunately, gone astray. Let us examine some of these means that are currently being employed — means that, I wish to emphasize, constitute unintelligent forms of application of the new principle and which are becoming the equivalent of the Freudian death-wish in education.

First of all we have the failure to recognize the types of consideration I have stressed in points 11 and 12 above. In the effort to rectify the discrimination that has been experienced by minority groups like the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Indians, the quota system was introduced. Fitness and readiness were thus ignored. But the lack of fitness and readiness had to be covered up in some way, otherwise forced egress would have become as common as easy entrance. The latter has been made unbelievably easy in many ways. One of the measures of easy ingress employed has been the open admissions policy as with CUNY (the City University of New York) in which any graduate of the New York City high schools could enter college, regardless of grades and test scores. Another has been the use of special but easy types of examination in order to give college credit, without requiring the examinee to take a course. Many faculty members are bitterly opposed to such examinations because of their alleged ease and unrepresentativeness and their tendency to create "instant sophomores" by

content that is regarded as too simple and because too low a cut-off, passing score is often used. If the traditional standards for remaining in college were to be exercised, large numbers of these new catechumens to higher education would have been flunked out in their freshman year—a contingency that was traditionally commonplace in many state institutions, like the University of Minnesota. Such a disaster would play havoc with some of the new measures — like the quota system — that are being used to assure easy entrance as one of the forms of expression of the principle of equality of results. This disaster has to be avoided.

Forced egress is therefore prevented by such devices as watered-down courses and easy grading. The latter is now often based upon ambiguous, subjective and questionable criteria, producing grading procedures that lead to an unusual and unwarranted number of A's and B's and very rarely a grade below C. Thus in one fell swoop the psychometric device of grading on the curve has been eliminated and many instructors now find that all hell breaks loose if they give out any grades below C. To insure entrance into graduate school, where many an admissions officer and committee would be inclined to ignore a transcript of record with too many C's and occasionally a D or an F, a forgiveness policy has now been introduced. Such a policy allows the student to take any course more than once and receive the later and higher grade — so that an A or a B now automatically wipes out a C, D or F. The result is that we can have two graduating seniors — one brilliant and one an incompetent who through sheer memory and repetition of a classroom experience that often consists of examinations with whose content he is already familiar—who can

both provide admissions officers and committee members with identical transcripts of records. Thus — apart from the deception creatable by a wooden use of the forgiveness policy — we have created a situation in which admissions officers cannot effectively apply the type of selection criteria that would guarantee the expression of points 11 and 12. Only if other types of achievement and aptitude tests are also used for admission to graduate schools — and given maximum weight — could these two different types of applicants be discriminated from one another. The time may yet come when a substantial number of graduate institutions may be willing to forego discriminatory tests of even this type — tests that separate the educated wheat from the miseducated chaff.

In addition to the foregoing, the student now has the option of taking a course that is graded only on a satisfactory-unsatisfactory basis, S-U. He may find that some institutions will regard him as having fulfilled a major requirement or the choice of an elective, if he receives an S in certain courses. A good many of the students who might have obtained a D or an F on the traditional, grading basis, will now sport an S. This is because many an instructor — worried about administrative pressures or seeking to avoid unpopularity with students determined to raise hell with any teacher who would have the effrontery to give out a U — will then see to it that no student ever gets a U. In this way one more technique has been added to the arsenal of new grading procedures by which the certification implied in a bachelor's degree has now become, *in part*, an open lie. Add to this the widespread use of the take-home examination on which the student can obtain outside assistance — although he is not expected to

do so—and the open-book examination which calls for abilities that, to a considerable extent, may not reflect mastery of subject-matter or mastery of required skills, and you impose further means of making a mockery both of the learning process and of grading.

Nor are these the only procedures by which the demand for fitness—not alone excellence—is being abandoned and by which the responsibility for meeting the proper aims of education is being abdicated. Required courses are being abolished. The teaching of parts of the traditional curriculum in the arts and sciences is being abandoned in the name of “relevance.” Written examinations and formal grades are beginning to disappear. And the final absurdity is that of having students, including freshman, design their own courses—presumably on the principle that the last shall be first. Even the demand for a concentration bloc is vanishing under the aegis of liberal studies majors, general education programs and “interdisciplinary studies.” All too often this latter term does not have the new, proper, professional and technical content and meaning with which it has been invested by scholars and researchers. Instead, it reflects a combination of easy-to-take survey courses and the “cafeteria style” enrollments in which students may receive a meaningless bachelor’s degree by painlessly selecting a “smorgasbord” of courses. The latter need have no common thread running through them but, instead, they make it possible to obtain a bachelor’s degree by doing the light-fantastic in education, that is, by taking snap courses that require little effort from instructors who assure easy but good grades. All this, of course, takes place in the name of trying to provide a broad education for the whole man.

Under all of these functioning, new dispensations, almost anyone can get a college degree, so that parents and taxpayers who are status and job oriented now find that the college and university is increasingly trimming its sails to their vocational orientation. One result of this sell-out, however—if that is not too harsh a term—is that these same parents and their happy sons and daughters no longer understand the difference between getting a college degree and getting a college education. Under the new dispensations it is becoming increasingly true that anyone—other than slow learners and retardates—can obtain a college degree. But if by getting an education we have in mind some or all of the original aims of education in the Western world, listed at the beginning of this section, then many of the marginal students who have come in under quota arrangements—and, for that matter, many above-average students who happen to be lazy and demand permissive approaches in education—are definitely not getting an education. If, then, in the light of these considerations, one raises the question “Can everyone obtain a college degree?”,—with the exception, already noted, of slow learners and retardates—the answer is definitely in the affirmative. If, however, one raises the very different question “Is everyone able to take and profit from ‘higher education’ in the traditional sense of this phrase?”, the answer is definitely in the negative. Parents and taxpayers, with help from politically and fiscally oriented legislators who are not, in any sense, sophisticated in the area of the philosophy of education, are unwittingly destroying more than traditional standards of excellence. They are also destroying the honest but *minimal* requirements for a

college education. Prestige-conscious, college and university administrators, with the cynical connivance of certain opportunistic faculty members, have now placed themselves in a position where they no longer care to distinguish the difference between the two questions we raised above. As a result the Western, intellectual heritage and its attendant cultural legacy have been sold down the river.

4. Some Consequences of the Misapplication of the Principle of Equality of Results

Who will be the losers in this great transformation in which *demos* has become king and in which we are witnessing what may yet prove to be the twilight of education? Where industry notes—and it is increasingly doing so—that the credentials society has been substantially destroyed by a type of educational, Gresham's law, in which meaningless and debased degrees have driven out meaningful and authentic ones, businessmen will probably inaugurate their own testing programs for responsible and demanding positions in which the actual possession of skills is essential and whose absence would mean increased costs and reduced profits. Government at all levels already does this through the Civil Service examination. In an increasingly complex society where the members of its meritocracy must learn more and specialize more in order to carry out their functions and where job-incompetence can result in a breakdown of needed services—whether in the private or the public sector—decision-makers and managers will have to ignore increasingly the debased currency of the degraded college degree. That degree has become a

travesty on the process of certifying that its holder really knows what he is supposed to know and really possesses the skills he is supposed to possess. An alert and profit-minded business community and a responsible government that must provide needed, community services simply cannot afford to allow a meritocracy to be superseded by a "mediocracy." When this takes place—as it must—we will have a large and bitter bloc of holders of cheapened and meaningless college degrees. These holders of meaningless and inauthentic degrees will constitute the *epigoni* of that type of debased, higher education that became the *panem et circenses* of the college, undergraduate routine in the eighth decade of the American twentieth century. These *epigoni* of education will find themselves unemployed and will, in addition, feel cheated when they discover that the degree currency proved worthless in the end. Instead of achieving equality of results, they will discover, in that rude but future awakening, that they constitute a conspicuous fourth estate whose members claim knowledge and skills that neither business nor government believes they truly possess.

The members of this future, fourth estate will then be pushed more and more into the unemployable sector of the population, since the gap between their unreadiness and the skill-demands of our increasingly technetronic society will be greater than the gap between those who have received an authentic, higher education and these same, skill demands. There will be one difference, however. Those with the traditional type of authentic education will be able to help themselves, for they will have learned how to learn and they will be able to adjust to more and heavier

demands upon them, made by the larger society. The incompetent who will be the victims of an ersatz and watered-down, college experience will find themselves among the welfare cases of the future, along with those who never went to college or who "copped out," whether for good or bad reasons. Short of having a society of the kind in which income and purchasing power will not depend upon work—the kind of society envisaged by Robert Theobald and Michael Harrington in the film, *America: On The Edge of Abundance*—we are helping to create a jobless, degree-holding proletariat for the future. Unpleasant eventualities of this sort do not impeach the adequacy of the principle of equality of results. They do, however, indict the forms by which we are currently giving that principle expression.

But it is not only the students who are being swindled by the debasement of educational standards. The American community, itself, will be among the future victims of our current, educational debacle. When the American taxpayer realized some years ago that tax money had been poured into education on all levels and that on every level educators had failed to impart the knowledge and the skills they were supposed to have imparted, his resentment became very great, indeed. When he later learned that the compensatory programs in education into which his tax money had been poured—in order to remedy the failures of standard education on all levels—had likewise not worked out, he let out a roar. He demanded accountability in education. What this amounted to was not only the insistence that education should provide the knowledge and skills it was supposed to impart but also that it should do so unwastefully. In short, he demanded a bigger

educational bang for a taxpayer's buck.

In recent years the principle of accountability has been erected into one of the prime measures of performance in education—and rightly so. But notice that the money now spent on that type of higher education that is being watered down both for the marginal and for the lazy student, amounts to a further failure in accountability. This is a failure that is clearly conspicuous in financial and economic terms—a failure in which the cure is worse than the disease. This is because there is a larger accountability than the financial one, that is not being met, and that is the accountability for providing the knowledge, skills and services that the community at large has come to expect from those who have received college and professional training. If the marginal or lazy student does, in fact, succeed in getting a job in the future, will he be able to deliver what the American community has been told he can deliver and told this by virtue of a college degree? Will he be able to do the accounting job that he has been given in the tax assessor's office? Will he be able to teach the subject for which he has been hired in the local high school? Will he be able to run the tests for which he has been hired as a laboratory technician? As an individual who managed to slip into medical school and receive a medical diploma—by virtue of easy and generous, undergraduate grading—will he be able to diagnose the ills of his future patients correctly and treat them properly and responsibly? For many college graduates who have received a college degree but not a college education, the answer will be "No!"

In this sense the American community

will be cheated in that the services to be delivered will not, in fact, be deliverable. In a fiscal sense the taxpayer will be the victim of a fraud. When one is defrauded in the sense that one is not able to receive the services one has come to expect and when, in addition, one has had to pay for the training of those incompetents who cannot deliver these services, then the principle of accountability has been violated in an even more important way than is indicated by considering only the violation done to the poorly trained and intellectually undisciplined student. Higher education is responsible even more to the American community, than to the professionally ambitious undergraduate. That responsibility lies in the trust imposed by Americans. This trust is expressed in their beliefs that a college education will impart the skills Americans need and in their assumption that the college graduate can provide the services that are potentially supposed to accompany the college degree. Americans will demand these skills and these services from those who have received college degrees. When they discover that they have been made the victims of an educational shell game, their wrath will know no bounds.

To make matters worse, higher education, itself, will, come in for increased contempt and lessened support. This will be inevitable when, with the passing of the years, Americans will come to feel that they have been let down by both college administrators and college teachers. It will be a lame excuse to say that academia gave the taxpayer what he demanded, namely, equality of results. The responsibility for the lazy and thoughtless form in which this principle is currently being satisfied must be laid at the feet of higher education, itself. It is the

duty of educational leadership to find ways and means of modifying this principle efficiently and honestly, without sacrificing the principle of excellence and without jettisoning the original goals of education mentioned at the beginning of the previous section. It is the responsibility of educational leadership to do a selling job, that meets the principle of equality of results, humanely and intelligently, while preserving the Western intellectual and cultural legacy. There are many ways to do this. Among these are the following: multiple-track education; new types of degrees; homogeneous grouping and new methods of getting good results with such grouping; efficient remedial programs in reading and arithmetic; special tutorial methods; programmed instruction; higher salaries for jobs with less status than those for which the college degree has been traditionally slanted, as a possible drain-off of some of the moderately endowed who would otherwise seek a college degree which would be basically dysfunctional for them; training for an increased variety of paraprofessional objectives with reasonably good pay; the writing of job specifications for dozens of new types of positions that will be needed (i) to deal with environmental pollution of every type, (ii) to deal with the reconstruction of our cities and the building of new ones, and (iii) to deal with the export of skills needed by underdeveloped countries to build up infrastructure; and many other categories too numerous to mention here.

All this implies educational planning of a sophisticated sort and knowledge of current and emerging needs—in both areas of which we find distinct lacks among a good many college and university administrators with vested interests in holding on to their

jobs and thinking in terms of archaic concerns and old habits. Members of this bloc are clearly not the types of men and women who can do the urgently needed, selling job to which I have just referred. They will therefore — in the days of wrath to come — fault the taxpayer, fault the politician, fault the teacher or fault the student. You can be sure they will not fault themselves. But whether or not they can be brought to chant "mea culpa," one can foresee an increased contempt for higher education, upon the part of the public. This contempt will come in the form of lower salaries, loss of the tenure privilege, increased teaching loads, greater political intervention in, and control of, the teaching process, smaller budgets for operating costs, less ability to float school bond issues and many other considerations too numerous to mention here.

One cannot begin to do justice to the grave problems that are being created by the debasement of higher education, within the space of a single article. In this paper I have

tried to limit myself only to a discussion of some of the improper expressions of the new and rightful principle of equality of results. These improper expressions—if continued on a larger scale — will bring about the twilight of higher education. Humanists certainly have an investment in preserving what has been — and should continue to be — the bastion of the Western intellectual and cultural traditions, namely, the traditional college and the university. The most needed feature of our intellectual heritage is its humanistic outlook, its holistic bias and its emphasis on intellectual discipline. All these ideals, it seems to many, are about to go by the board. It is not only a narrow, technetronic vision which will erode these ideals. Their biggest enemy will be any systematic abandonment of the principle of excellence, its usurpation by a narrow vocational outlook, and the abdication of responsibility for continuing to carry the intellectual and cultural torch of Western civilization. Whom the gods destroy, they first make mad!

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

AN ABUNDANCE

"Total energy" is a concept meaning to fully use the energy made available in any process. The National Productivity Council recently claimed that India can utilize 90% of the so-called waste steam thrown off in factory operations instead of the present 30%. It simply requires the steam be produced at a higher pressure and temperature than presently; then 90% of it can double for the generation of electrical power. No increase of fuel is needed according to the Council.

In the same news item the Ford Foundation is reported to have discovered that all U.S. energy needs up to 2000 A.D. can be met by using this total energy approach. If this is true [*The Hindu*, December 23, 1974], the loud and painful issue of energy scarcity has no real substance.

In that way it is similar to the emergency global food shortage which Frank Bologne wrote about in the December 1974 issue of *East West Journal*. He finds when you calculate seven pounds of U.S. grain produces one pound of animal food, the U.S. consumes enough food to feed 1.6 billion people. And the earth's population of 4 billion lives on a diet that would sustain 12 billion people. As it is distributed, several million get almost nothing.

As bad as this is, it at least demonstrates there is no scarcity of these things needed from the earth, but an abundance. And it puts the strange closetlike argument of "triage" which has emerged with such emphasis lately, into perspective.

The meaning of triage in the present situation, as you may already know, is to choose countries that look like they will respond best to food aid and, concentrating the limited food reserves on them, allow the most disastrous countries to perish. Then the life boat analogy is pumped up: if we're all packed at a maximum into a life boat and we permit other survivors aboard, the boat will sink or capsize; better we refuse additional survivors to save the lives of those already on board.

Even discussing this without the insight that there is an abundance of food and

other maldistributed resources humanity needs, it can be seen for what it is—a false analogy maintained by that old fellow traveler of a dwarf humanity: egoistic self-regard. Varindra Tarzie Vittachi, the *Newsweek* columnist who may be remembered for his appearance with "A Chicken for Bangladesh" in last month's issue, pierces the unfortunate triage fashion fortress of the mind this way:

We did not fight our way aboard the boat called earth; we were all *born* aboard. And far from being a lifeboat, it seems to me that the earth resembles a badly managed ocean liner that has seen better days and is now quiet outmoded. It could carry us all—and perhaps even our children—to our destination. But only if we put our newfound technological knowledge and our humane sense of mutual considerateness to work redesigning the ship by stripping it of its wasteful class divisions and eliminating its dispensable luxuries rather than dispensing with its passengers. If we could agree to do this, some of us would be less comfortable than we have been, but, on the other hand, all of us would feel secure knowing that we were not overloading the ship or behaving in such a way as to endanger our common safety. Would any of us then need to make the awful choice of determining who will die?

[*Newsweek*, February 10, 1975]

Mr. Vittachi is quoted at some length because of the gravity of this point which is like an ejection to the surface mind of something we had thought dissolved that insists on its dissolution before the next advance is made toward human unity.

Robert McNamara of the World Bank may feel something of this also, for he swam into the issue with his considerable energy during a television interview. [*Indian Express*, February 6, 1975]

.. it is morally repulsive and technically wrong. The lifeboat is not full. The world capacity is not being utilized.

BEYOND GOVERNMENT

But Mr. McNamara had not finished. Speaking in "brutal frankness" about the world starvation problem, he said:

tens of thousands, probably hundreds of thousands, are going to die (in some of the developing countries) in the next five or ten years because of neglect by their own governments and neglect by the governments of the Western world including Japan.

At the same time as a movement toward reconciliation of the world's states gradually progresses, a movement to push through the bureaucracies of states' political power to the social power of the people appears here and there. Five years ago John Garner, the former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare of the Johnson Administration, founded a citizens group called "Common Cause". He comments:

One of our aims will be to vitalise politics and Government. The need is great.. The parties are becoming useless as instruments of the popular will.

We need good men and women in political office. But no matter how good they are, they are hamstrung by the fact that our political institutions are inefficient, irresponsible and, too often, corrupt.

To correct this, Common Cause must remain independent and free of political ties. In this way, we are able to bring pressure on both parties and to function as an outside force—a citizen force demanding that everybody shape up.

It's time to give this nation back to its citizens. Until we accomplish that we won't solve the other problems.

[*Indian Express*, February 13, 1975]

Common Cause has exposed and weakened a dangerous lobbying group, helped get desperately needed laws established, helped protect the environment and a wide range of other things. It has taken some time to gather a national momentum.

At about the same time [24 January 1975, *Indian Express*], Jayaprakash Narayan suggested a "grass roots" unit of citizens in urban areas, say a couple hundred families in a small area, who would be entrusted to solve their own civic problems and would have, if possible, their own source of revenue.

Mr. Narayan's point is that the nearness of the administration and its minimal powers of representatives would make and keep it fairer. As Mr. Gardner feels in the U.S., a decent realization at the local level would open the fluency between individual and social development.

One gets an even stronger feeling this idea is moving into many minds when noticing a quote from Vimala Thaker in the February issue of *Sri Aurobindo's Action* journal which concentrates itself around a single point: that the common people have to wake up, shed their sluggishness and deep-rooted habit of dependency toward the Government, stop blaming the Government or some political party and stretch to their

full size, rising to the occasion which only they can truly change. She closes by saying:

Let those who do not belong to any political party get together in an informal intimate way and find out what we can do rather than discuss and lament upon what "They" have not done and are not doing.

A true world, national, village unity means not only a great change in governments but also and perhaps first, a great change in the people's capacity to come together for their push on the great car alongside their government. When a government sees its people pushing on their own independent basis, we can be sure that government will spontaneously come into the full play and harmony of a great work with these people.

15th February 1975

REVIEW

Something Else, Something More : Answers to Questions of a Western Seeker, by *M. P. Pandit*. Dipti Publications, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1975. 63pp., Rs. 10.

This book contributes *something more* toward building the bridge between East and West, between the spiritual and material consciousness indispensable for world unity. Any Western seeker fortunate enough to have arrived at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram and to have attended M. P. Pandit's classes or talks will know what to expect in answer to his troubling problems: a lucidity that gives true light, a warmth of heart that opens the questioner's, enabling him to find help from the Original Source. Sri Pandit's many years of working for The Mother, his extensive and intensive knowledge of the *Shastras*, the *Tantric* literature, the teaching written and directly experienced of Sri Aurobindo and The Mother, modern and ancient philosophies, give his book a perspective and relevancy for the West that is immediate as well as eternal.

Something Else, Something More is also, unexpectedly, a "profile" of a Western seeker: his concerns are those of one trying in earnest to free himself from the slough of desire, materialistic and egoistic, the temptations and substitutes for true spiritual experience and change abounding in the West. Why is sexual expression disallowed in spiritual life? In what way is conserved sex-energy progressively converted into higher energies? How did the money and power energies come to be in the grip of hostile forces? In what way are these energies to be utilised spiritually? What are the signs of a true calling to the spiritual quest and life? How to find and recognize one's guru? What of the use of drugs that alter the consciousness? In the spiritual context, what is the nature of the psychedelic experience? What are the dangers? If one turns to the practice of yoga, will having taken these types of drugs in the past effect one's spiritual progress? Obviously these are basic preoccupations of wide segments of seekers from the West, and the cogent, illuminating answers given in Sri Pandit's book provide an invaluable guidance.

Seyril
Peace, Auroville

WORLD UNION FOCUS 3/75

WORLD UNION AIM — HUMAN UNITY AIDS BEST NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Perhaps liberty and equality, liberty and authority, liberty and organised efficiency can never be quite satisfactorily reconciled so long as man individual and aggregate lives by egoism, so long as he cannot undergo a great spiritual and psychological change and rise beyond mere communal association to that third ideal which some vague inner sense made the revolutionary thinkers of France add to their watchwords of liberty and equality, — the greatest of all the three, though till now only an empty word on man's lips, the ideal of fraternity or, less sentimentally and more truly expressed, an inner oneness

*Sri Aurobindo
The Ideal of Human Unity*

To our Members and Friends,

WORKING PAPER

The first National Convention of the World Union Centres of India will be held at Bangalore on 8, 9, and 10 June, 1975. Professor N. S. Govind Rao, President, World Union Bangalore Centre, has prepared the Working Paper for the seminar on "World Union Aim — Human Unity Aids Best National Integration." Here is the text:

1. The purpose of the working paper is to invite comments on the points raised in discussing the various topics pertaining to the development of a world union based on national integration. It will be seen that the subject discussed in this paper looks apparently different from that mentioned as the subject of the seminar: "Human Unity Aids Best National Integration." In a world union as and when it takes place, it is quite possible, nations will not be independent in the sense we understand today but will be interdependent. It is in this context, that national integration and world union cannot exist independently of each other, this subject will be discussed.

2. *A World Union of nationally integrated units—goals to be achieved:* In the absence of a single World Authority whose writ can run throughout the globe, a pragmatic way of achieving human unity is by working through the existing set-up of administration, whatever may be the form of government, it is clear that its very existence as a sovereign unit depends on its association with others who have common interests.

This is true not only of political administration but also of practically every other human activity like agriculture, trade and commerce, communications, transport and energy. Every nation has to develop these infrastructures for prosperity if it is to satisfy the national aspirations of its people. No country is self sufficient to meet fully its wants. In order to be able to get help from other countries to make up its deficiencies it must have something to give in return for what it takes. Even a mere glance at the list of exports and imports figuring in world trade statistics for a few years will make it evident that every country is trying its best to increase its prosperity by progressively increasing its trade to cover larger geographical areas and a greater variety of goods.

This is possible only in a nation where there are comparatively peaceful conditions in which its people can work to promote their individual well-being and as a consequence their national wealth and security. This presupposes a people integrated together by certain common ideologies. The effort of all nations big or small though each is working for its own benefit, results on the aggregate in a World Fair located not in any one place but all over the world and lasting all the 365 days of the year. This activity can be aptly compared to building a structure with bricks. Each well baked, sharply cut brick with trimmed edges homogeneous, of uniform colour, strong with all its constituent particles in perfect cohesion with one another, impermeable to water can be compared to a strong nation with its people well knit together repelling all aggressive force and working unitedly with determination to move towards a well defined easily intelligible goal. There are many other nations which can be compared to bricks of varying qualities. A master architect will make use of all the bricks without rejecting even a single one in the construction of his structure. His planning consists in so designing his building that every brick has a place in it and its position is such that no brick will yield or get crushed under the load designed to come on it. Just as in such a building the owner can live in peace and security without any danger of the walls crumbling under external pressure, even so a world union has to be planned. A strategy has to be worked out by which all nations weak or strong, big or small, can exist together in perfect security against its collapse and where every human being can live in dignity without fear of any kind, be it of starvation, disease, pestilence, environmental pollution, external aggression and the like. Thus the frame-work of the plan is to preserve national integrity, all nations big or small must fit into a new world order and every human being should live well physically, materially and spiritually. Keeping this frame-work or the goals to be achieved in mind, the subject of this seminar may be discussed under the following four headings which practically cover all activities pertaining to human unity through national integration.

3. Education and World Citizenship

3.1 Objectives of education: Any edifice of peace and harmony can only be built on the firm rocky foundations of national well-being. A hungry stomach refuses to listen to reason, much less to noisy lectures on code of ethics. Mere dialectics on achieving everlasting bliss through time consuming rigorous, spiritual disciplines and practices can have no relevance in countries where most live below ordinary sustenance level. Any type of education that is evolved should therefore take care of (1) the physical well-being (health), (2) national prosperity (building professional competence to earn a living), and (3) growth of mental consciousness (to enhance the capacity of the mind to think before taking in new ideas, to develop skill in using the limbs and the five perceptory senses and to act with discrimination).

These should contribute to the development of an integrated personality in a person and make him truly a world citizen. The test for having achieved this result is that education should promote in all, irrespective of differences in age, environmental background and the like, an awareness that man can lead a healthy prosperous life of peace and harmony only when he is at peace within himself, within his community, within his country and finally within his globe. He should make the nation and the globe his, in the same way as he makes his wife and children his own.

3.2 Methods of imparting education: To achieve these objectives, the curricula of education to be drawn up should take into consideration that fresh entry into the field of education should cover all, both sexes, different age groups, different social backgrounds, different powers of understanding and living both in urban and rural areas. These may have to be educated at different times of the day and for different durations. The Media of communication to be employed may be oral, visual, audiovisual, using all facilities like printed text books, pictorial charts, film strips, radio television, and the like. In addition mass contacts with the teacher and the taught has to be established to impart knowledge, to improve physical strength, health and professional skill in use of the senses and the limbs, to increase productivity either through manual labour or through mechanical devices. Similar contacts periodically between specially trained teachers and the students (persons of all ages willing to learn) to impart knowledge for increasing the power of the mind, is necessary to supplement the use of the various teaching aids.

3.3 Working of details: Whether these objectives should be achieved through schools, colleges and extension centres specially established for this purpose or should be imparted in the present educational institutions without altering much of their curricula and existing programmes of education are details which require to be worked out. So far as continuing education for those who cannot be bound to a school-going programme and discipline, a separate methodology will have to be worked out. Separate training programmes are necessary to train teachers who can effectively deliver the goods to the recipients. They

should become dedicated workers to the cause of human unity and should consider teaching the arts and the skills as only a means to achieve an end—the end being the making of a world citizen. Training may have to be different for those who are already engaged in routine instruction work and for those who intend entering newly this profession. Whether this could be done through separate institutions or through the use of the existing ones for conducting seminars, symposia, workshops and the like are again details requiring planning.

3, 4 Other methods of extension of education to promote national integrity and International Unity: These could be through fiction, poetry, drama, paintings, songs and other aesthetic arts. Since education and sports go together methods of encouraging sports in rural and urban areas, and holding of competitions at regional, national and international levels should be worked out to promote a sense of world citizenship amongst the participants, the spectators and the organisers.

4, Culture and Society: is the next subject for discussion

4.1 The word "Society" defined: The word 'Society' as used here requires to be amplified. Any group of people with a common pattern of behaviour or who have a common objective generally constitute a society. The common factors governing the formation of a society are innumerable. They can be based on age levels, all old men may have their own society different from societies of the young. Similarly groups may be formed on the basis of sex—ladies having their own societies; on commonness of profession like doctors, engineers and teachers, on commonness in an ideology like that of socialism, communism and capitalism. Groups can also be formed to achieve certain objectives like establishment of a new world order based on peace and harmony in a world free from want and fear; only the groups which can directly or indirectly contribute to world unity will be considered here.

4.2 Types of Societies best suited to promote world unity: There are a number of societies consisting of workers dedicated exclusively to the cause of humanity. There are other international societies who meet periodically but not for the purpose of promoting a world union. The persons attending these societies far outnumber the world union workers. It should be possible to use these other societies as instruments to achieve world unity. This can bring quicker results as all that has to be done is to give a new orientation at the intellectual level to the members of these other societies. The activities of the several types of societies now existing can be reviewed with a view to examine the feasibility of using them also as instruments of peace. These can be classified broadly as follows:

4.3 Organisations aided by all nations of the world and world unity: The United Nations Economic Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is a fine example of an international organisation working in its own unique way, bringing together different

peoples, with different attainments from different nations to meet on a common platform to exchange ideas on subjects of common interest. It has 2300 organisations under its wings. These meetings unconsciously develop a spirit of oneness in consciousness amongst all present. There are hundreds of meetings in the form of congresses, conventions, conferences, commissions, committees and their associates, seminars, symposia, workshops, study panels held at periodic intervals of a year or more. These meetings have helped to spread knowledge quickly and effectively, and have made a significant contribution to increase the material well-being of the common man. While it is true, the resulting increase in prosperity has not been uniform in all the countries, it is equally true there is no nation which has totally missed sharing the benefits of modern technology. This itself is a great achievement. Practically all these meetings are technically oriented and as such the delegates attending them have hardly any conception of the motivation that prompts the UNO to finance their expenses. If one of the sessions in every one of these meetings is devoted to a discussion of the contribution that a particular meeting can or has made or can make to achieve any one or more of the principles embodied in the U. N. Charter, it can go a long way in forging world unity. In addition it will be a happy idea if it insists before the grants are renewed on a similar review of its contributions to the principles of the UN Charter being written up in any of the issues of their journal or in any of the volumes of the proceedings of their meetings.

4.4 *Unofficial intellectual organisations and world unity:* Another type of society, is one which is supported not by contribution from all states, but by voluntary payments. World Union under the auspices of which this seminar is being held is one such example. This society consists mostly of highly intellectual and cultured people contributing to the cause of world unity through intellectual discourses. This Union has many centres both in India and abroad. They meet periodically and in their own way, slowly but steadily build up a mass consciousness which in course of time can develop enough strength to compel leaders to realise that in the ultimate, world union is a must for human survival. This society by itself, by its activities has hardly made a dent in increasing world unity consciousness. This is true of many other societies working with similar objectives. The contribution made by each one is distressingly small. Even the sum total of the work done by all these is insignificant. Other factors, mainly political, economic and social are playing a major role in veering the leaders round to tread in paths leading to a common goal of a world union. Administrators at the apex when they take policy decisions these days, apart from considering their effect on preservation of internal stability, have also to consider their repercussions on other nations of the world. It is knowledge of interdependence of one nation on another for its stability and prosperity that compels top executives to think and act more with a global vision and less with an eye on chauvinistic gains. It is this that is unwittingly producing oneness-consciousness in the world. If societies like The World Union are to play a more dynamic part, their activities require not only to be accelerated but also to be enlarged to cover up countries of the world. More effective use should be made of such administrators who do have truly a global vision of human unity. Recently

there was such a meeting of mostly administrators with a global vision who have formed themselves into a society of world federalists. Association of the World Union with this association is a move in the right direction. Other steps necessary to accelerate and give more pep to this movement have to be planned.

4.5 *Social service organisations and world unity:* These while working at an intellectual level establish mass contacts through social service. The Rotary and the Lions clubs are fine examples of such institutions who work both at national and international levels. In these institutions, there is hardly any intimacy between the donor and the receiver. In a free dispensary established in the name of somebody or the other, patients that are the beneficiaries hardly remember the name of the donor and even if they do it does not help to build an edifice of goodwill, as both have had no personal contacts. Such acts while they are good in as much as the self of the donor gets enlarged to cover a wider circle of humanity instead of only himself and his family. But this is not enough to build universal brotherhood based on equal love for all. This can be achieved only when both the donors and the beneficiaries are drawn towards one another by bonds of love.

4.6 *Service institutes where there are personal contacts but no mutual love:* Examples of these are to be found in orphanages, houses for beggars, the disabled and the sick and the like. These are financed partly by the public and partly by generous grants from governments. The supervisors and especially the staff who come in daily contact with the inmates have had no training in social service. These are run mostly like jails where there is hardly any rapport between the warden and the prisoners. Mere training in service is not enough; what is more essential is that this service should be done or at least supervised by those who have faith in the brotherhood of men. Some associations like the Red Cross, the St. John's Ambulance Association, have built up international goodwill through their dedicated workers. Goodwill of all fellowmen is then the base on which a world union can be built. More such associations working at national level are necessary to promote national integration.

4.7 *Religious missions of Service and world union:* Examples of this type are to be found in missions run by Christians, Muslims, Parsis, Hindus and the like; most of these missions offer service only to their co-religionists but some offer service to all. A good many of them have been used as instruments for proselytizing under cover of doing social service. There are however exceptions where heads of missions have worked wonders in promoting international goodwill which as already remarked, is a sound base for forming a world union.

4.8 *Social reform and world unity:* While societies offering service can prepare a foundation of goodwill, other societies which work for religious tolerance can help in erecting a structure of peace. A secular state or a casteless society is a good base for promoting

human unity through national integration. What part a state can play in bringing about social reform is a difficult question to answer. It can effect social reform by compulsion, by legislation which will gradually bring about a casteless or a secular society or by persuasion using all the well-known methods of propaganda. But then the effort should be largely from unofficial bodies. Then only there will be emotional integration between the reformers and the followers necessary for a firm national integration. Social reform is not merely removal of caste barriers and promotion of religious tolerance but also removal of all social evils like colour discrimination, (apartheid) use of slave labour, untouchability practices and inhuman exploitation of labour in the name of management efficiency in factories and encouragement of all practices which can build up a healthy nation, like family planning, removal of environmental pollution from industries and transport and slum clearance. These activities can play a positive role in blasting the ugly structure in society which makes men unhappy, raising in its place a lovely garden of flowers of variegated colours breathing out the ever-lasting scents of peace and scintillating harmony on all men of all nationalities and creeds. It will facilitate the establishment of a world union in a reformed society of this type.

Next we pass on to the subject of culture.

4.9 Culture Defined: Culture is essentially the cultivation of the mind to control and act so as to cause the least annoyance to others. Culture can exhibit itself in characteristic group behaviour like the Jains, the Christian Quakers, the Sufi Muslims, the Indian Sadhus.

Men of culture do the right action at the right time. The norms for right action may vary with time and circumstances. But all the same men of culture are known for their good conduct. Many saints in the past Jesus Christ, Buddha, Manu, Mahomed and others have laid down certain codes of behaviour expected from men of culture. A few of these injunctions may have no relevance to modern times, but the basic principle that every one should act in such a manner as to help the integration of a healthy society was as much true in the past as it is true today and as it will be tomorrow. Whatever the methods of teaching adapted, subjects and skills taught and whatever else education is expected to accomplish, one thing it has to do is a must, and that is—to produce at the end of it all a man of culture. It is only then that education becomes a powerful tool. Just as a numerically controlled shaping machine in a sophisticated workshop, carves out precise contours of the part that fits perfectly in a machine, so also education should shape men to fit themselves in society with perfect grace and competence. A society with an ever-increasing number of such educated men can bring about national integration through promoting human unity.

5. Politics and Economics: Political systems have also been effective in bringing

about national integration over varying periods of time. It is interesting to analyse the various systems that have been in vogue.

5.1 *System of Monarchy and Integration:* This is the oldest of all the systems. Loyalty to the king, forced or free was the binding force. So long as the king had the power to enforce his will, this integration lasted. This bond was most often fragile getting ruptured from outside forces exerted by kings of other countries. It also split due to forces generated from within created by misrule. This political system is practically dead because the belief in the divine right of a dynasty of kings to rule no longer appeals in this age of science and reason.

5.2 *Oligarchy and Integration:* There are other ideologies prevalent today which have resulted in national integration. In the republican system, sovereignty rests in a few who are liable to be changed at the end of every election. Every one is guaranteed a right to have freedom and justice in a society founded on brotherhood of men. While this ideology is universally accepted its application has not been able to cross national barriers. It is because this system is always mixed up with other ideologies, some of which are mentioned below:

5.3 *Apartheid or colour discrimination used as instrument of national integration:* In some countries people of white colour and European origin have knit themselves into an aggressive national group. Since the world consists of peoples of other colours and geographical origins, this ideology, even where continued with a limited democratic set-up, cannot give international acceptance. Even the national integration achieved rests on a deceptive foundation of laterite that looks like a rock sheet which becomes slushy under hydraulic up-thrust from below. This integration can always blow up when the thrust from the black people gains sufficient pressure.

5.4 *Theory of Divine Right of a particular nation to rule over others:* Hitler with the help of this theory and by laying emphasis on the greatness of the so called Aryan Culture was able to bring national integration to Germany, causing genocide of Jews in the process.

5.5 *National integration through hatred of an ideology:* Hatred of communism, capitalism and the like were the tools used by the leaders of some countries to unify their own people. Along with promoting intense hatred of other ideologies, there has also been an equal amount of effort put in to instil belief and faith in the minds of their people on the unique benefits they derive from following their own ideologies. This kind of war of ideologies has only spread disunity in the world.

5.6 *Fear of aggression used as a tool for national integration:* Pakistan, China and many other countries have worked on fear of external aggression to unite their own people.

5.7 *Religious bigotry used for national integration:* Israel has been founded on the basis of Judaism. Pakistan is based on Islam, while modern China is founded on Maoism.

5.8 *Language as an instrument of integration:* Integration of regional areas in India is based on the commonness of a language spoken in the area. Most nations have only one particular language called State language, in which all communications from the Centre are made. This has helped national integration by crossing barriers against common understanding caused by the use of too many dialects.

5.9 *Human Unity not possible through limited ideals:* All these devices discussed above suffer from the fact that the means used for achieving national oneness are such that they do not lend themselves to be extended to cover the globe. The result is that this has caused more disunity rather than unity in the world.

5.10 *Integration of groups of nations:* Instead of a single nation, groups of nations have been built on similar ideologies. The Panislamic movement, organisation for African Unity, Union of all Arab Nations, European Economic Community, the Warsaw Pact countries, NATO, SEATO are but a few of such examples. These have only engineered counter groupings creating more chaos than harmony.

5.11 *Integration at global level through force:* Alexander and others tried geographical integration by naked aggression. Many countries like Spain, Portugal, Turkey, China, Russia, France and Great Britain tried in the past to compel integration of territories by the might of their arms. They had no concern for the hearts of the people who were thus forced to be constituents of an empire in the capacity of a servant to a master. Hitler was probably the last of this series to make this attempt at world domination by military conquest.

As long as the motivation behind integration is one of selfishness there can be no human unity. It does not matter if the "Self" takes the form of an individual, a nation or even a select group of nations. The result is the same schism in oneness and not unity.

5.12 *Integration at the global level through united efforts of all nations:* The League of Nations was a good example of an attempt to bring political unity on a global scale. The United Nations Organisation (UNO) is the latest of such attempts and has been planned on a more comprehensive scale to cover not only political activities but also all other activities which can enhance the material well-being of man. It is trying to abolish war as a means of settlement of disputes between nations. At the Security Council and the General Assembly, major discussions concerning peace and war in all parts of the globe are taken. The men who are chosen as delegates represent their

countries and are directed mostly by their masters to work only for strengthening their country and if in the process of doing so, a larger region covering many countries is benefited they are credited with having acted with universal vision. Though no major war has taken place these last thirty years, the tension inherent in disharmony is prevalent all over. The leaders are anxious to preserve each his own sovereign power and do not want to contribute a portion of this power to build a super sovereign power, which should be representative of all nations big or small, poor or rich. This has resulted in fear and suspicion lurking in the weaker countries, that such a sovereign super power when established may become vested in an ambitious few out to establish a world dictatorship. If the formation of a world union has to happen it will, but only when there is a common urge in all parts of the world for such an institution. After all, leaders who control governments and their delegates reflect what they think is the common desire of those electing them. Efforts should therefore be directed towards moulding the opinions of the common public and through them of their leaders towards the urgency of a world union being formed, without giving any chance for another global war to break out.

6. *Economic structure and World Unity:* National well-being is measured in terms of increase in G.N.P. and per capita income and not by the extent of peace and harmony prevailing amongst the people. Actually more people suffer from blood pressure, heart attacks, diabetes, cancer and the like in comparatively richer countries. Accumulation of more wealth in a country is equated with more happiness. It is pertinent to examine the various means adopted by nations to become wealthy and their repercussions on world unity.

6.1 *Nations which accumulate wealth by exploitation of science and integration:* A good many nations have exploited their knowledge of science and processing technology. There are countries which do not have even a kilo of any industrial material like iron, copper or even aluminium but still have one of the highest standards of living. As an example, it may be mentioned that steel and other materials to alloy with them are bought at absurdly low prices. After application of appropriate technology, the same material is processed into watches and sold at dizzy levels of profits. This kind of prosperity has brought about national integration even in small countries which speak many languages and are of different ethnic origins. This kind of national integration cannot last all the time as it is based on ruthless exploitation of the under-developed countries possessing raw materials; no attempt is made whatever to give a fair and just share of the profits to those who own the very basic materials on the supplies of which their economy is based.

6.2 *Nations which build up wealth by cornering supplies and integration:* Opposed to the above, are countries which are building or have built up economic power by cornering and restricting supply of materials in great demand like gold, diamonds, copper and mercury. South Africa, Spain and Congo are but a few examples of this type. Recently oil supplies of the Arab countries, Iran, Venezuela and others are being regulated by forming

a cartel amongst themselves. Its price has registered a hundredfold increase. These restrictive practices create economic imbalances and heart-burning amongst other nations.

6.3 Nations which build up wealth by close preservation of national resources for exploitation: Economic wealth has also been built up by unabashed reservation of the vast physical resources of a country fertile with lands assured of water resources, forest and mineral wealth, etc. by a select minority. This has been one of the reasons for economic prosperity in Australia, certain parts of South Africa and some other countries. While this has brought national integration amongst the beneficiaries, it has created envy amongst those who have been denied access.

6.4 Wealth by exploitation of man by man and integration: Amongst the many other devices used for aggregation of riches, that inhuman exploitation of human labour like those of the Negroes, Indians, the Chinese and the like has occurred in the past. Exploitation of man by man is still being continued but has now taken a different shape. Under the name of efficient management and increase of productivity, men are huddled up in factories and forced to do the same repetitive jobs day in and day out. They are housed in slums or caged in apartments sky high. There can be no true national integration as these create two distinct mutually antagonistic blocs—one consisting of merchant kings in capitalistic countries, dictators in army-controlled governments or a few at the apex in communistic countries determined to keep themselves in affluence and the other bloc consisting of those suffering from want and intensely jealous of the privileged few. In such countries, internal revolutions causing social upheavals take place periodically indicating that while there is geographical integration there has been little of integration of the human hearts. United Kingdom, France, Russia, China, Egypt, many South American countries to name a few have had to face many internal revolutions in their several periods of history.

6.5 Effects of developing affluence: A study of history shows that political power and economic power are inseparable like the Siamese twins. Simultaneous development of both has produced affluence. With every increase in political or economic power, the fear complex of losing them through external aggression grows, desire grows for more and more of "luxuries" of life which become common necessities with their daily use. It is hard to keep one's mind in equilibrium tossed as it is amidst anxieties of losing and anticipations of gaining more like a lone boat caught in the vortex of a maelstrom. The affluent man caught in the midst of an ever-increasing pull and push of the stress and strain of modern life soon realises that more wealth is not more happiness. It is really more misery as he is like a lone wolf the target of attack by the many hungry have-nots. If this is true of a single man it is equally true of a single nation. World Unity cannot be built by a select few economically and politically powerful nations.

6.6 UNO and World Unity: What then is the answer to bring about a world union? The UNO has no doubt moved one step forward in this direction by successfully

bringing to a common platform all nations of the world with different political ideologies with varying economic strength. The main body, the UNO like the sun in the solar system is able to keep world peace in dynamic equilibrium under a set of forces from all nations, each individually or in groups trying to pull it one way or the other. In addition there are as its wings the UNESCO, FAO, ILO, the World Bank the IMF, the Hague Court of Justice and many other such organisations working with international jurisdiction. It is true, these steps by themselves have not brought the desired human unity. Many more steps have to be ascended to reach the plateau of peace where there is no unevenness to resist the smooth flow of life.

7. *Science and Spirituality:* Science reigns supreme in the realm of reason through exercise of the mind using the scientific methodology of investigation, analysis and codifying experience of natural phenomena perceived by the senses. Man has been able to harness the forces of nature to increase his physical and material well-being. By adopting the same scientific methodology in the pursuit of the Truth, it is possible to release cosmic energy, sometimes called superconscious power, in man. This is said to be more powerful than the energy that can ever be released either by fission or fusion processes, that occur amongst the galaxies of stars in space.

7.1 *Role of Science in promoting integration:* It primarily lies in training the mind to think rationally and to accept only such phenomena as real which can be perceived by the senses. Dogmas and promises of awards and threats of punishment after death can find no place in this age of science. Spirituality now lies buried, stuck in the mud of irrelevant religious practices and precepts. It should be taken out, cleaned in a lotion called rational understanding or scientific reasoning and restored to its rightful place in the mind of man. Spirituality is largely a relation which every man establishes between himself and a Super power by whatever name it is called or the form in which it is recognised. Science has helped religious tolerance. [Adherence or non-adherence to religious faiths have not come in the way of establishing national integration in countries where science has advanced. As science marches on, superstition and dogmas, the twin enemies of man's freedom, retreat with increasing deceleration.

7.2 *Advance of technology promotes integration:* Technology is the art of increasing the physical skill of man to create things which satisfy the senses. Good music, fine food, sweet scents, beautiful paintings, soft clothes to wear are but a few of the myriads of things which give joy to the mind through the five perceptory senses. There has always been an interplay of science and technology each helping in the development of the other. Both science and technology have been responsible for bringing forth to an increasing extent creative skill and thought power in the mind of man. The creative activities of scientists and technologists have helped national integration whenever they have enhanced material well-being and security of the State.

8. *Spirituality:* The role spirituality can play in forming a one-nation called the world is next discussed after analysing the causes that are impeding progress towards human unity.

8.1. *Want of spiritual strength in the intelligentsia—cause of failure to achieve world unity:* As has been aptly remarked, people get the leaders they deserve. The leaders who run the government are those who can successfully overcome all opposition to their way of thinking and actions that follow such thoughts. If the present leaders have failed to establish human unity the fault lies with the intelligentsia who mould mass opinion, generally known as public opinion. They also regulate the conduct and action of the leaders. The remedy lies therefore in creating a superconscious power amongst all the intelligentsia compel the evolution of a new order with new leaders or with old leaders forced to act with a new vision.

8.2. *What is this super-conscious power?* It is already there in every one of us. The word Super-conscious power requires to be explained. Like other forms of power, electric power, magnetic power, steam power and the like it can exist both in its latent and active forms. To the eye, an electrically charged copper wire looks bare and is indistinguishable from similar wires sold in the market. Put on the switch, the electric bulb starts shedding light, the motor starts turning the wheels of machines and the radio starts giving music bringing out the latent power in the wire to a dynamic form. In a family, the mother loves her children. This love builds up a potential Super power in the mother. She has only to speak out a wish like putting on a switch, the children immediately become active to fulfil her wish. The potential Super power of love finds its expression in the dynamic activity of her children. A great saint like Christ built the potential of a Super-conscious power of love for all in the world. The spoken word from him, even today, long after he has given up his body, acts as a switch to spread his message of love. This power is neither time-based nor does it suffer from the constraints of geographical boundaries. The Super power need not necessarily be built on foundations of love; it can as well be built on hatred. The centre from which this Super power radiates need not necessarily be a single person. It can take the form of a mass movement. A Super power of hatred built by the French against the British or by the Christians against Muslims lasted several centuries, resulting periodically in wars of great ferocity and ruthlessness. Wars are the dynamic expression of the hatred potential of Super conscious power built within the minds of men.

8.3. *No limit to Super conscious power:* There is no limit to the extent to which this Super conscious power can be built. It can be built in the mind of a single individual or in the minds of a group of individuals so that it can be made to act with its aggregate effect. This is sometimes called universal consciousness which by its very nature is everywhere in all. The actions of men with this Super conscious power will become clearer by the following analogy. Consider a shallow tray of syrup with big and small crystals of sugar-candy in it. All that the presence of the bigger crystals does is to super saturate

the entire syrup by diffusing their sweetness around them. This enables many of the smaller crystals to grow in size only to diffuse their sweetness in their turn when placed in other trays of syrup. Men who are repositories of this cosmic energy, are the big sugar lumps in the tray and are like powerful transmitters converting their potential energy into kinetic energy to transmit waves of peace and harmony, covering the entire globe. These are like the elementary particles, electrons, protons, neutrons, mesons, etc., of energy filling space. The smaller leaders are like the smaller lumps who grow in stature receiving energy from their master or masters like the growth of crystals receiving the sugar particles diffused through the solution (syrup) in the tray. Groups of common men are like the syrup in the tray. Just as a weak solution of sugar becomes a thick viscous honey with increasing absorption of diffused sugar, so also the minds of men coming under the immediate influence of these leaders, get an increased capacity for stability with increasing absorption of this transmitted energy. The mind is then better able to retain its equilibrium without getting disturbed by every passing wave of passion which impinges on it like a passing breeze not disturbing the placidity of the honey in the tray. Thus leaders activate sub-leaders to grow, and the sub-leaders energise the men around them to grow into world citizens, radiating consciousness of peace and harmony in the environment they grow and live in.

8.4 *Beneficiary of this Super conscious power:* This spread of Super conscious power has helped mostly the middle class millions to lead a more peaceful life after coming under its influence. The absolute poor and the starving rarely come under its influence. Their minds have no leisure or calmness to think of anything else than finding out where and how they can earn their next day's bread. At the other extreme, the minds of the vain rich, clad as it were in a steel armour of selfishness are impregnable to all forces which demand sharing of their affluence.

8.5 *Necessity for building Super conscious power:* If the minds of all men should be tuned to peace, the thought waves of the master mind or minds should be sufficiently powerful to reach them to work in their own way for human unity. The technique for building this power is through transcendental meditation (meditation that perfectly stills all activities of the mind). Whatever techniques are used to practise this meditation, the result should be a rebirth as it were, a complete change of personality in the man. He becomes the repository of a Superconscious power of varying strengths. In the ultimate, a few become the very embodiments of this power, which as remarked earlier, far exceeds in its potency, all the energy released by fissions and fusions that take place in this cosmos of dimensions which baffle human understanding.

Instead of waiting for the advent of such a being let us not forget that this power can also be built by the united efforts of all thinking men.

8.6 *Using Super-conscious power to build concrete forms:* What is equally

essential is that this Super-conscious power should not remain only in its abstract form. Its energies should not be fittered away in intellectual debates. It should be converted into dynamic power to express itself in concrete forms. This can be achieved by encouraging activities which remove all kinds of barriers, be it of the selfish interests of an individual, a community, or whatever exclusive rigid form the 'self' puts on. When once the barriers are broken, the dimensions of this power in man, which to start with is limited to promote selfish interests of only that which is confined within the physical contours of his body, expands to envelope within its orbit, the interests of his family, then his community or village, his country and so on and finally the entire globe. Men with this superconscious power exhibit universal love, making no distinction between man and man. To them to serve is divine.

Service to the poor, the sick, the uneducated, and in fact to all who are in need of something or the other to make them materially happy is one of the many methods of bringing out for effective use this power conscientiously built up. It can also be used to take away from the minds of men coming under their influence, all bad thoughts and fill in their place such thoughts as will ennoble them to radiate peace and harmony. These enlightened men can also start new types of schools to train others to become repositories of this Super-conscious power, new cities and homelands where persons of all nationalities can live as loving friends, new organisations or strengthen existing organisations working for world unity at the government level like the UNO and its many wings and non-official organisations like the World Union. In other words, these leaders can engage themselves actively to make their influence felt at all levels of human activity right down to the common man.

9. *Conclusion — What is necessary for a World Union:* Running charitable institutions, service-based organisations, bringing about social or religious reforms are not by themselves sufficient to bring about either national or international integration. It should also not be forgotten that the effect of this Super-conscious power is now being felt only by the middle-class people who mostly come under its influence. If this movement is to be effective, there should be a parallel movement for removing the present imbalances in economic development. This is equally important as no talk of integration can reach a hungry stomach. It is equally true, the sick and the weak can have no interest in a world union. Care is necessary to develop physical health in a pollution-free environment. The uneducated, who do not think and act, are an obstacle to all paths of progress.

For building a World Union three things are therefore essential (a) Physical health and vitality to house a healthy mind, (b) right type of education to promote spiritual and material well-being, and (c) development of Super-conscious power in all thinking men, to radiate harmony and peace.

World union cannot be built in a day. It can only come, step by step, through the

co-operative efforts of all men of all nations.

The first step is to prepare sound bricks for building a structure. These are the nationally integrated units built to cover the three essential constituents mentioned above. These nations should then come together, like the bricks each occupying its appropriate place, to make up an ever-lasting structure—called the World Union—where man, for all generations to come, can be in ever-lasting bliss, secure in the knowledge of his oneness in a Super power for common weal.

Bangalore Convention

Sri P. Krishna Raju, the Convener of the Finance and Souvenir Committee of the Convention, wishes to inform all concerned that a Souvenir number will be released at the Convention and will contain articles from eminent writers besides advertisements from industrialists and businessmen. The articles will be on various subjects relating to world unity, providing interesting reading and the advertisements are expected to bring the necessary fund to meet the expenditure of the Convention. The Souvenir number will have a fairly well circulation throughout the country. The tariff fixed for advertisements is:

Full Page Rs. 250/-

Half Page Rs. 150/-

Quarter Page Rs. 100/-

Front Cover Inside Page Rs. 500/-

Back Cover Outside Page Rs. 500/-

Back Cover Inside Page Rs. 350/-

The organisers will be grateful if you can secure as many advertisements as you can for helping to make the convention a success. Advertisement matter and blocks (if any) together with charges thereof by cheques on scheduled banks or demand drafts may be sent to the Convener of the Finance and Souvenir Committee of the National Convention of World Union, 268, II Jayanagar, Bangalore-560011, not later than 30 April 1975. Cheques to be drawn in favour of the Convener, National Convention of World Union Centres of India, 89, Diagonal Road, V. V. Puram, Bangalore-560004. The blocks will be returned after the printing of the Souvenir.

New World Union Centre

World Union Alipore Centre, was organised on 1 January 1975 by Dr. Sukumar Mukherjee, 702-A/1, Block 'P', New Alipore, Calcutta-53. The Centre has started a mobile library. Dr. Mukherjee writes that the response, specially for the library, is quite satisfactory.

World Union Centres

World Union Risra Centre held its 4th monthly meeting on 16 January 1975 at the house of Sri Prafulla Kumar Basu, Sri Kania Prasad Dutta presiding. The meeting commenced with a group concentration. Sri Samar Basu spoke on Sri Aurobindo's philosophy with special reference to World Union. He asked the members present and others to join the Convention to be held on 9 February 1975 at Bhupendra Smriti Bidyapith, Hind Motors, Near Railway Station, to discuss matters concerning the Bangalore National Convention.

World Union Konnagar Centre held its 5th and 6th monthly meetings at Dhyananada Ashram and at the home of Sri Satyendra Nath Roychoudhury respectively. Srimati Ratna Roychoudhury and Srimati Rekha Some presented the opening song. Sri Samar Basu gave an exposition of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and the Ideal of Human Unity. Both the meetings were well attended and the talks of Sri Basu were highly appreciated.

World Union Tatanagar Centre combined with Sri Aurobindo Society Centre to organise three days' celebrations, including a seminar and an exhibition, from 22 to 24 November 1974. Talks were given on subjects such as "The World is Preparing for a Big Change. Will You Help?"

World Union Chakradharpur Centre informs us that with the joint efforts of World Union and Sri Aurobindo Society sports were held on 12 and 19 January, 1975. Sports for students from 6 to 16 years of age were held in the compound of Sri Aurobindo Society with 190 competitors. These sports were conducted by the English Channel swimmer Dr. Bimal Chandra. After garlanding the portraits of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, prizes were distributed by Mrs. Das Gupta, wife of Sri S. R. Das Gupta, Branch Manager of the State Bank of India and Chairman of World Union Chakradharpur Centre. Dr. Bimal Chandra spoke on sports and the role of physical education in Sri Aurobindo Ashram. Sri S. R. Das Gupta mentioned during his speech that sports was included as one of the various activities of the Centre.

Sri N.S. Pathak, Chairman of the World Union Poona Centre, has sent a report of the Centre's activities carried on jointly with Sri Aurobindo Society Poona Branch. From 27

to 30 January, 1975, Sri S. G. Amin of Sri Aurobindo Ashram visited Poona and on 29 January he spoke on an introduction to *Savitri* to a meeting arranged in the Fergusson College Hall by the Socrates Association. In the evening he spoke on Sadhana and the Adventure of Consciousness in Sri Aurobindo's Yoga. On 30 January, at the request of students, recitations from *Savitri* were arranged in Fergusson College. The same day in the evening he spoke on "Sri Aurobindo on Evolution — the Next Step" to a meeting arranged in S. P. College on behalf of Philosophers Association.

World Union Chaisabasa Centre has been holding regular weekly meetings on Sundays at 9.30. A.M. at the Centre's Place. At these meetings they read from Sri Aurobindo's writings after a brief meditation.

A Convention of the World Union Centres in West Bengal was held on 9 February 1975, the report of which will appear in the next Focus.

World Union Uttarpara Centre held its 28th monthly meeting on 1 February 1975 at the house of Sri Amiya Sarkar Nandy, Sri N. K. Roy presiding. After a devotional song by Kumari Anita Nandi and group concentration the meeting commenced at 6.00 P.M. Sri Samar Basu spoke on Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and its relation with World Union. Sri Somen Chakravarty asked if the appearance of Superman might be made possible by scientific process (genetic code), a subject in which Dr. Khorana has been conducting research. The answer was that the manifestation of a higher consciousness could not be effectuated by external scientific process. The appearance of Superman, the possessor of a higher consciousness, was not dependent on genetic code. Physical science has nothing to do with it.

World Union North Calcutta Centre held its 10th monthly meeting on 28 January, 1975 at 18-A, Ram Dhona Mitra Lane, the residence of Sri Susanto Mitra, Sri Baidyanath Mullick presiding. The devotional song by Sri Hemendranath Kar, Smt. Sati Das and Smt. Protima Das was followed by group concentration. Sri Tripti Kumar Sinha gave an inaugural speech on the basis of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy.

The meeting then turned into a symposium on developing humanity on the basis of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and yoga. Sri Gour Mohon Chatterjee, Sri Tripti Kumar Sinha, Sri Samar Basu, Sri T. K. Sinha participated in the proceedings. It was announced at the meeting that a general meeting of the North Calcutta Centre would be held on 2 February, 1975 to give consideration to the activities of the Centre, on 18 February, 1975 Conference at Pondicherry, on the Bangalore Convention in June, 1975 and on Hind Motors Convention on 9 February. The meeting terminated with a devotional song by Sri Robi Ghosh.

World Goodwill.

World Goodwill, with the head office in New York and other offices in London and Geneva, looks after the interests of World Union in U. S. A. and is well known to our readers. Its activities include work for promoting right human relations, the strengthening of the U. N. O. so that it fulfils the aspirations and needs of humanity and is able to establish world unity and peace and the evolution of the human race to a higher destiny. Variety of activities are undertaken for the fulfilment of these and other ideals. The management of World Goodwill issues an appeal every year for the celebration of three spiritual festivals. We are asked to give publicity that the three Spiritual Festivals in the year 1975 are full moon day before Easter begins, Vaishakhi full moon day, and the full moon day in June, which are the days of Restoration, Enlightenment and Reconstruction respectively. The 24 May 1975, the Vaishakhi full moon day will be observed as the World Invocation Day and men and women of goodwill are invited to join in its observance. Literature in this regard is available from World Goodwill, 866 United Nations Plaza, Suite 566-67, New York, N. Y. 10017, U. S. A.

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- | | |
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**WORLD UNION
PONDICHERRY-605002**



**General Secretary,
18th February, 1975**

WORLD UNION

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*BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

SEMINAR ON NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Principles of Approach and Implementation*

For any social programme to be meaningful and effective the individual must be accepted as the key. Secondly the orientation of life must be changed; it should proceed from within outward.

Individuals who accept this discipline of inner change should organise groups of like-minded individuals for the preparation of the needed climate and the means for the execution of the programmes. These groups or centres are to be autonomous bodies deriving guidance directly from their source of inspiration—the Mother.

The background of this work is the spiritual vision of India as the soul of the world. The aim is to rise out of the various imperfections, deformations and deviations that characterise the present society towards an increasing enlightenment, progression and perfection. The endeavour at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram is the working model for this purpose.

These centres, as they develop, should have distinct wings for the development of the youth and of women. Facilities should be provided for a sound programme of physical education since a strong physical base is indispensable for a total growth. Apart from studies, exercises in self-discipline etc., there should be a dedication to social service for the Divine.

Naturally the main motive force for this movement is spiritual. But this spirituality is not anything that touches only the soul or only a part of oneself; it is the central truth around which everything is to be organised. Each individual must exert himself to awaken in himself his soul or psychic

*Statement issued by the Seminar held at Pondicherry from February 18th to 20th. (Vide World Union, February 1975.)

centre, utilising all means that are available—study of spiritual literature, especially that of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, elevating association, satsang, practice of psychological disciplines like prayer, meditation etc.—to deepen and heighten the level of one's consciousness. It is equally important to normalise these elevations of consciousness by expressing them in day to day life.

Studies must be undertaken in order to recover the spiritual bases of religions and ethics as they have come down to us; side by side explorations into the future expressions of spirituality must be promoted. This endeavour—both individual and collective—is best carried on under the guidance of the Ashram.

Application of the teachings of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother on the lines attempted at Auroville for the integration of personality, resolution of the conflict between the individual and the collectivity, integration of values of the different civilisations of the East and the West, must be given priority.

The importance of the right type of education that alone can help in an organised realisation of these ideals cannot be gainsaid. A total change in the attitude to the child who is to be educated, a radical change in the role of the teacher and in the relation between the teacher and the taught are called for. The ideal education is that which is imperceptibly woven into every detail of the day to day life of the student. Taking advantage of the breakdown in the current systems of education in the country, the encouraging results of the modes of integral education developed in the Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education must be propagated. Teachers from elsewhere who are open to new ideas and feel the need to revise their methods must be encouraged and helped to imbibe the spirit and learn the techniques of the new education. Orientation camps in the Ashram may be provided under expert guidance. A cell may be created at the Centre of Education to keep contact with teachers and groups who are interested in the new education and to guide them. A periodical bulletin on the subject may also be considered for a larger propagation. A small committee is recommended to be set up to maintain the link between teachers in the Ashram and teachers elsewhere who are trying to work out this programme in their respective institutions to the extent that is possible.

Lastly, the state of the economy in the country is in a state of self-perpetuating drift. A breakthrough has got to be effected and that can be done if: 1) a positive will to achieve is developed in the people; 2) a professional

collective management system is allowed to replace the existing, outmoded system of proprietary management; 3) the individual is educated to identify himself with the collectivity; and 4) there is a change of attitude toward wealth, and money is recognised to be a power of the Divine to be used for the manifestation of the Highest in all walks of life.

The individual should change—in his attitude and living. He must create an area of influence around himself and generate action. Existing models of such enterprise should be publicised.

It should be recognised that problems cannot be solved at the same level of consciousness that has given rise to them. One has to rise to a higher level and seek their solution.

There is much in the writings of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother that could help in revolutionising the attitude and creating new dimensions in the field of economics. Committees must be set up to collect apposite passages on these themes and present them in an effective manner. There should also be a kind of clearing-house committee to receive queries from those interested and to provide them with the right answers from the teachings of the Masters.

It is strongly recommended that to guide and direct such a many-sided movement of regeneration as this, a Central Coordinating Committee be set up in Pondicherry with a representative each from the participating organisations and a convener from the Ashram. This Committee may co-opt members for specific assignments as and when necessary. The Committee must meet periodically and review the developments.

Joint Seminars of the type now held must be organised at least once a year to take stock and to prepare programmes for the following years.

TALKING ABOUT THE ENERGY CRISIS

Suman Dubey

It is the bane of so many international seminars and conferences that in spite of the well-meaning intentions of their sponsors the best that can be said of them is, "So much they talked, so very little said." This has become the hallmark of conferences which have to do with economic problems in particular.

It was pleasant, then, to attend a short time ago a seminar which managed to elude this barrenness. The second international seminar of economic journalists organized by the Forum of Financial Writers succeeded because it did not set out to solve problems, in spite of the contrary assumptions of the Indian Ministers who were invited to have their banal say.

The seminar was a workshop where 100 odd participants from 24 countries came to learn and to understand, or in the words of one of the organizers, even possibly to confuse themselves. Happily, the confusion was kept in control and the seminar, which became a stamping ground mainly for European, Iranian and Indian ideas, succeeded in unfolding some basic trends which are rising because of the international crisis of energy, inflation and growth.

The first lesson we learned from the discussions was that the oil producing countries have managed to achieve, by seizing the initiative through the unity enforced by political circumstances, what years of talking

in various forums had failed to: a just price for a primary commodity. As Mr. Claude Cheyssen, Commissioner for Development in the European Economic Community, said, "Developing countries, where they stand together, can build up strength and bring about some degree of equality between industrialized countries and themselves."

The oil producing countries managed in the space of just three months, to rid themselves of what Mr. K. B. Lall, India's special envoy for economic affairs in eastern Europe, called "economic serfdom" and in the crucial area of energy, put an end to the transformation of cheap raw materials into expensive finished products for exports especially to the poor countries.

So the lesson of unity has to be learned in the poor countries. Then Mr. S. Boothalingam of the National Council of Applied Economic Research said, "The same logic would require a readjustment of prices not only of oil but of many other similar materials." Mr. S. Ramachandran, chairman of MMTC, went so far as to express his confidence that the price of iron ore would double before the end of this decade.

With the writing on the wall, the industrial countries are having to concede what they have fought tooth and nail against in the international forums. Mr. Cheyssen revealed that the EEC has plans to enter into long-term agreements with its associate

States to guarantee primary product prices "with a degree of reference to the prices of other products, be they manufactured goods or others". To judge from some of the comments made by European participants, their expectation is that the initiative "will move back to the advanced industrial countries in five, eight or nine years". But something more than lip service is required in the meantime at least, if the industrial economies, especially those of Europe which lack space, markets and raw materials, are not to sink into depression, taking the whole world down with them.

This led to the second lesson to emerge from the seminar, that the poor countries, especially those who have in no way been responsible for the perpetration of the international economic crisis and have no ready way of overcoming it, should be compensated for the burdens put on them. The root of this acceptance lies in the warning given by Mr. Lall, who, referring to the MSA countries, said, "Should the international community fail to undo the damage to their import capacity...we will have brought into being on our planet a vast popular depressed area capable of transmitting to the centres of power and affluence, both new and old, only negative impulses of depression, discontent and disorder."

Now, no one wants to have to contend with such impulses, especially as they would refuse to confine themselves to the national boundaries of these countries which generate them and would threaten to disrupt the world order. Most of the population of the MSA countries lives in south Asia. The oil producing countries, especially Iran, who are close neighbours, would probably be led by their sense of self-preservation, if nothing

else, to do all they could to avoid a depressed area.

So, the concept of compensation, which too has in one way or another been stoutly resisted in the international forums these last two decades, has been given to the poor countries to keep their heads above water. The oil producing countries, taking their responsibility with an admirable, if also expedient sense of responsibility, have come forward with offers to help the poor among whom they were themselves counted till yesterday. They have pledged them 10,000 million US dollars in the very first year of their new wealth.

The industrial countries have been far slower in this effort and the real value of their help has declined. But they can argue that their own economies are in a perilous state and in any case their people are a little tired of "giving aid". But Mr. Cheysson was quite optimistic that in Europe various sections of public opinion such as trade unions, bankers, industrialists, students and the press were all beginning to realise that they would have to take a longer view of their problems and recognize that they could not be solved in isolation of the problems of the rest of the world.

And this led to the third lesson of the seminar, the necessity of what Mr. Cheysson called a "conjunction of means". Again, after paying lip service to the need for global cooperation, the rich industrial countries of Europe at least have begun to propagate actively the idea of global cooperation. Stung by the payments crisis, they have begun possibly to see the injustice of the old philosophy of the owners of capital which said, in Mr. Lall's words, "Those who do not have the money to buy what they need should tighten their belts and do

without."

The industrial world cannot tighten its belt and do without energy. In the US—which unfortunately went unrepresented at the seminar—this has led to talk of armed intervention. Some people have a hard time learning from their past. In Europe, no such subterfuges are possible and the reaction has been more candid. Mr. Cheysson put his finger on it when he said, "Our industrialists were very much afraid when they felt that they could be strangled. They are more decided now to look outside. They are anxious to enter new markets because they want to sell more and the new markets are in the developing countries." To make sure we had not missed the point, he laboured the argument, "We have to compensate for the small size of our own markets, of our own states...and the money floating around the world in search for investment possibilities needs your markets."

Translated into concrete terms, this means a triangular approach which would make use of the space, raw materials, labour and markets of the poor countries, the funds earned by the oil producing countries, and the technology, know-how and markets of the industrial countries. As Mr. Lall put it, the crisis "cannot be overcome by means of horse-trading between a limited number of nations". Without cooperation everyone has something to lose: the oil producers their new wealth, the industrial countries their standards of living and the poor countries just about everything. And the loss of any one of these can be a serious threat to the world economy. But what exactly is this conjunction of means? In Mr. Cheysson's view, it is the growth of investments in poor countries, going hand in hand with a reorientation of aid and trade policies to

facilitate the creation of a "new order" in which private individuals like bankers and industrialists will have a much greater role to play than national governments and public institutions. In Mr. Lall's words, "it is necessary to restore to capital its true function and to devise new ways for its transfer from those who have it to those who need it so that all available capital is efficiently used in the service of global growth and social justice". These he described as the new rules of the game to replace the old rules which "violate human dignity and national self-respect".

And this led to perhaps the most important lesson of the seminar, that with all the eagerness that the oil producers and the industrial countries are showing, the poor countries have still to fight for a change in the rules of the game. The separation of the right to dispose of capital, which now rests with the oil producers, and the knowledge of what to do with it, which still rests with the industrial countries, have made it necessary for a broad-based decision-making process, unlike in the past when economic decisions were the monopoly of the industrial economies and the multinationals they spawned.

But which way will the oil producers tilt as they flex their newly acquired muscles? Iran is already being described as an industrial country in the 1980's. Will Iran recognize that it would be simple for it to fall into the old economic syndrome against which it protested when it joined hands with the Arab oil producers and raised the price of oil? Taking three times the amount of iron ore for one barrel of oil compared to the past or extending short-term credits to buy oil do not so far point to a new order.

And, what of the industrial countries?

Would the keenness they are showing to guarantee prices, open their markets and offer know-how remain for long if some of the poor countries chose to be selective and, in an effort to try and insulate themselves from "economic serfdom", deny the industrial countries their markets?

Perhaps Mr. Kouross was being a trifle hasty when he expressed his confidence that in the new order "the sigh of agony will be replaced by the show of self-respect and integrity".

(Courtesy of: "The Sunday Standard".)

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

Sachchidananda Mohanty

When we look at the topographic map of India, what strikes us immediately is a blaze of colours depicting variously a spectrum from an arid-brown temperate to a lush green tropical, from the milk white, snow-capped heights in the far north to the carpet-green of the Indo-Gangetic plain and, still below, the thick woodlands of the Deccan. A land peopled by equally colourful archetypes from the tall, fair "Aryans" of the North-West to the meticulously chiselled, dark brown southerners. Sandwiched between towering peaks and majestic seas, India is almost a world by itself, a veritable museum of flora and fauna, a perennial fair of colourful and melodious pageantry. Looking closer you will notice the slender blue ribbons hugging the neck of the mighty Himalayas like so many fresh garlands. Yes, India is a fascinating land. To a casual visitor from the jet set world it almost looks like some lost civilisation where life has mysteriously come to a standstill. For in the remote heart of India, life is still slow, the tempo is leisurely like the turning wheels of the bullock-cart or the oxen drawing them.

Now look at the political map of India and you will perceive even more picturesque and strange shapes, most exquisite but baffling geometrical patterns, like the *alpana* in a Bengali courtyard. These are the states of India; sometimes called the

"nation states", such is their great diversity of geography, culture and life style. They look like rebellious limbs of a sick organism constantly falling apart through perpetual strife and animosity. And so not seldom do we hear the view that says: "Let us remove this unaesthetic anathema which is an eyesore to logical finesse and create instead a structure more appealing, economically viable and politically stable like the simple 'rectangles' of the American States."

Most of the evils have come in the wake of the creation of the linguistic province, therefore it is argued, let us abolish it. But, we might ask, is this really the main cause? Is it not rather a fallacy of what is called in logic, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*? Should we have a few states and a strong union or vice versa? Is it really true that many units lead to a weak centre? Can we not instead have a strong centre with many states? What would be an ideal basis? A mechanical administrative or one cultural, linguistic? And further still (though it is actually beyond the scope of this article) we might enquire into the issue of language itself: should we have one national language or many? does a variety of languages serve any other purpose than providing a mere picturesque satisfaction? should we abolish English as a stigma of alien domination for the sake of a native tongue, say Hindi, or should we have both?

what is the wisdom of the three language formula? These are questions more readily asked than answered, but nevertheless an attempt must be made and the historical background grasped before we hazard any answer to these perplexing issues.

I

The British, it is said, conquered India almost in a fit of absent-mindedness. Though an overstatement, it aptly sums up the coming of the English power. Here facing them was a spectacle of bewildering magnitude and staggering complexity. Never had they in their entire course of global jogtrotting glimpsed one so magnificent in its striking vivacity, an incredible plethora of states, both insignificantly small and monstrously huge, piled up helter skelter like the farflung pieces of some enormous jigsaw puzzle. Awed by this breathtaking sight the East India Company chose the only expected course. With their typically shrewd and calculating business acumen they set out to fashion a mammoth edifice purely suited to their commercial interests, strategical considerations and practical exigencies, the sole exception being the hundreds of odd "Native" states scattered like islands in the vast sea of British India.

In imposing a direct authority over far-flung but strategically important and rich areas, common affinities and economic interests became the first casualties. No doubt the administrative convenience itself called for a certain measure of homogeneity but this was always perfunctory. With the rise of the political consciousness,

however, there now entered a new element: the policy of "balance and counterpoise" later known as the infamous policy of "divide and rule".

Despite some provisional changes willfully made, this ungainly monolith continued to drift until Independence. But the coming of Independence actually saw little change in the administrative set-up. The abolished princely states either merged with the various existing provinces or constituted new centrally administered units.

It is quite incorrect to say that language did not count in the British rationale and objectives of reconstruction; it did. But it was always toeing the mark to the dominant consideration of administrative and political expediency, as was proved by the artificial demarcation of Bengal on purely communal grounds. From Lord Curzon in May 1903 to the Montagu Chelmsford Report in 1918, from the Indian Statutory Commission in 1930 to the J.V.P. Committee¹ in April 1949, the linguistic principle was reiterated to varying degrees, reflecting the corresponding socio-political trends of the times.

The demand for provincial reconstitution was often seen to be equated with the demand for linguistic states. This is because the rise of the political consciousness synchronized more or less with the cultural resurgence of the composite units. Tilak in Maharashtra, Bipin Pal in Bengal, Lajpat Ray in the Punjab, all ardent nationalists, were, for instance, more influential spokesmen of their respective cultures. Little wonder therefore that the Indian National Congress was all along pledged to the linguistic province.

¹ Comprised of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramay

But with Independence in the offing, the close touch of reality soon made the Congress leadership sober. So that on the eve of freedom, the sweeping unanimity and the nebulous idealism of the earlier armchair statesmen gave way to the cautious, close-step approach of the practical politician. The apprehension that language could be a veritable Pandora's box might well account for the modification of the linguistic principle for the first time. The fears were not unfounded. By the time of the J. V. P. Committee, the separatist menace was fast getting out of hand.

But despite the various pitfalls, reorganisation was a foregone conclusion. Over the years, public opinion had been allowed to be built up irrevocably to a feverish pitch. Any attempt forcibly to close the lid at this late hour would have only led to some abortive cataclysm, a prospect horrifying even to imagine in the infancy of the tender nation.

While considering any territorial change, an important factor to bear in mind is the constitutional relationship between the Centre and the principalities. Since the Indian Constitution is largely federal, it follows that the units must be somewhat autonomous.

Unity and security must be the primary aims of any sound organisation. Usually unity is thought to be achieved best by a unitary form of government. In India the states were set in a federal pattern. The question therefore is: How far is the regional free play a contributing factor to the unity of the country?

II

These issues may be studied in many

different ways. In the first place it may be argued that:

1. In the past India could never attain a political unity because of the divergence of the regions based on disruptive factors like race, religion and culture, factors which promote an aggressive intolerance and a chauvinistic outlook at the cost of a greater good. If old mistakes are to be avoided in new forms, India must be founded upon some values other than these.
2. A linguistic division of the country would surely lead to an uneven growth of languages. Without a uniform national policy, education would merely become a deadly weapon in cultural warfare.
3. The nature of modern economic planning involves issues like capital income ratio, energy, raw materials and employment possibilities; factors which seldom, if at all, coincide with the linguistic frontiers.
4. Fatal repercussions like the "doctrine of the homeland" and "sons of the soil" theories would foster a mass of conflicting loyalties.
5. A heterogeneous community will successfully prevent any dominant group from usurping the reins of power. It would, at the same time, usher in progressive harmony through mutual appreciation and understanding.

Similarly it might also be argued that:

1. In a federal union the composite units must be at least moderately homogeneous to allow the successful workings of democratic institutions whose very *raison d'être* is decision by consensus. Language is clearly one of the most effective aids towards that end.
2. In administration, a single medium of expression instead of a babble of

confusing tongues helps minimise any waste of energy, duplication and inefficiency.

3. Universal literacy and mass education without the growth of the vernaculars is a vain chimera.
4. The argument of the so-called scientific school that a conglomeration of diverse peoples normally leads to a mutual harmony can hold true only if there is a real intermingling. In practice, however, it is seen that nothing of the sort happens. The segregating tendency of the linguistic minorities often breeds communal tensions in a polyglot area, tensions more explosive than any imaginable in a unilingual State.
5. The linguistic promise had been inextricably bound up in the vicissitudes of the freedom struggle. Any backtracking now would be popularly interpreted as a symbol of national failure.

These arguments had apparently a greater sway even though it took quite some time for the states to be reorganised on a linguistic basis. Of course, adequate guarantees and safeguards were made to protect the interests of the minorities. But the best of these have not succeeded in preventing the flames of secessionism. The flames are fanned by obliging fuels: political opportunism fishing in troubled waters, religious bigotry and disgruntled chauvinism; all these creating an atmosphere of anything but sanity.

III

Both the sides of the argument, the

various pros and cons, seem to an impartial mind to have considerable force and one might almost say that they are so equipoised that no decisive action could follow from such a stalemate. But we may ask whether these arguments have truly gone to the heart of the problem. They no doubt refer to the question of the need of national unity, of efficiency and prosperity, but are they supported by a more intimate study of the issue of cultures, the essential factors of unity, the real meaning of language and the persistence of varieties of languages at large? Is it not necessary to go much deeper and ask ourselves whether language is merely a means of communication or something more profound and significant: a natural, spontaneous expression of the psychological growth of the people? And further, is it not necessary to determine if language has not a justifiable place in correlating the free growth of the people with their unity and prosperity?

A nation is not merely a sum total of its individuals living on a piece of land any more than a number of cells lumped together would constitute a living organism. Each nation in truth is a group-soul with a governing mission in life. In the inmost recess of the nation there stirs a hieratic design.

Look at the mushrooming growth of the European nation-states based on the rise of their respective languages and cultures and you will appreciate what Toynbee once said: "The growing consciousness of nationality had attached itself neither to traditional frontiers nor to new geographical associations but almost exclusively to the mother tongues."²

2 A. J. Toynbee, *The World after the Peace Conference*. London, 1926, p. 18.

And in the case of India, it is not an agglomeration of so many races dissected by distinct geographical frontiers. Such a prolific abundance, in tune with the stupendous national elan, was not "a confused splendour of tropical vegetation under heavens of a pure sapphire Infinite" as it might look to a myopic eye but it is "the teeming of the Infinite within her. She lavishes her riches because she must as the Infinite fills every inch of space with the stirring of life because it is the Infinite."³ Crisscrossed by an immense riparian network, the lush cultural landscape throbs like the pulsating arteries of some mighty Being.

When you look hard you will see that the reason for this throbbing life-spirit in moulding many a splendid form and shape is not far to seek. It has been unfalteringly present in those periods when regional life and culture were at their apex; paradoxically enough, periods of great political disunity. On the other hand, there have been other periods no less known: of the Mauryas, the Guptas and the Cholas. Eras celebrated for their well-ordered life, attractive symmetry, discipline, stability, peace, wide-spread security and material prosperity. But all these have not been culturally great; their gift to the store-house of human civilisation has been disproportionate to their mammoth stature. It is because "the individual, the city, the region sacrifice their independent life and become mechanical parts of a machine: life loses its colour, richness, variety, freedom and victorious impulse towards creation".⁴

Cultures can be likened to a garden in different seasons. Like the changing hues

and colours in nature, the culture or the characteristic life-modes, habits, values and behaviour vary according to the group-souls. Well-groomed and nurtured by a diligent gardener of faith, the cultural garden will weather any fury of frost and snow and emerge unscathed to bloom refreshingly anew in the springs of life. But without this, the best of sunshine and the sturdiest enclosure cannot prevent the lovely garden from turning into a shocking wilderness!

Culture is thus a perpetual interaction between the soul of the nation and her people, the gardener and garden. It is the mirror of the group consciousness, the pivot of the body-social. It epitomises the cumulative achievements and blazes forth a trail for future aspirations.

Culture is the life line of a nation. It is the moral, religious and spiritual fodder on which countries thrive. It is thus the most sensitive and vulnerable spot of a collectivity, the nucleus of the human cell. Without it there may be everything else and yet nothing. A cultureless nation is a sanctuary without the deity. A cultural sterility therefore always precedes a biological death.

For his purpose the gardener uses many tools. Language is one of them—one of the very best. But its use involves a complex mechanism. Only a competent gardener can work that. For unless skillfully handled, instead of rooting out the parasites, it may ravage the Beauty. If language has helped men to unite and coalesce, it has also been the greatest source of division and disruption.

Language is a milestone in the evolution-

³ Sri Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*.

⁴ Sri Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*. Centenary Edition, p. 265.

ary trail, a journey from the subconscious to the superconscious. It is a vehicle and embodiment of thought. "It creates and determines thought even while it is created and determined by it."⁵ It is thus, "the cultural life of the people, the index of its soul in thought and mind that stands behind and enriches the soul in action".⁶ Even a random survey of history will bring home this truth to us.

It has been argued that language is one of the greatest causes of division. And therefore in the past, common universal languages like Esperanto have been attempted by idealistic thinkers. But in Nature we see that while there is an emphasis on the commonness, great attention is also lavished on the principle of variety.

How far a language is valuable in the evolution of a nation and what a crippling blow its absence would produce might be gauged from the plight of a world power like the United States in quest of a cultural identity or the Irish Self-Determination that was unavoidably handicapped. All because historical accidents had turned one into a cultural colony of England, and the other was also until yesterday when Ireland discovered her long-lost soul and the nascent nationalism countered the alien tide.

It is the very stuff of the spirit to manifest in infinite unfoldings. In fulfilling itself, it follows not the straight line of logical reason but the difficult process of nature, from a simple to a complex oneness. Even the most jarring and discordant notes are turned into a single harmonious symphony.

"Diversity of language is worth keeping because diversity of cultures and differentiations of soul groups are worth keeping, because without that diversity, life cannot have full play."⁷ Therefore in the words of Sri Aurobindo, "no unification which destroyed or overshadowed and discouraged the large and free use of varying natural languages of humanity can fail to be detrimental to human life and progress".⁸

But we must also guard ourselves against an undue exaggeration. There is a point beyond which differences cease to play a healthy role. Like the legendary tower of Babel they merely create confusions and discords. But, "separatism is not the same thing as particularism which may well exist with unity, it is the sentiment of the impossibility of a true union that separates, not the mere fact of difference".⁹

Our question of a choice of basis—whether cultural, linguistic or mechanical and administrative—therefore depends not so much on the pros and cons of practical exigencies as on our very attitude towards life and culture. We must know our priorities rightly before we venture out to discover the solution.

In the last reckoning, the question of the linguistic problem cannot be solved in terms of mere guarantees and safeguards. Devices like the Integration of Services, Special Development Boards etc. are only meant to be correctives. They cannot be substitutes for a genuine goodwill and a broad outlook.

The linguistic hydra cannot be slain with the mere abolition of the linguistic states.

5 Ibid. p. 389.

6 Ibid. p. 496.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid. p. 491.

9 Ibid.

They will promptly reappear in some other forms. Forces of anarchy and turmoil would see to that. Rather, by disfiguring the spiritual genius of India based on a healthy diversity in oneness, they would put her future seriously in doubt. The mistake has not been in the formation of the linguistic state but the failure of stressing the deep-rooted spiritual urge and destiny of the nation. What is to be focussed upon, therefore, is the spiritual mission of India, her spiritual motivation of life and her bright future that makes us all common aspirants.

Once admitting these truths, the questions of one national language and the role of English or Hindi fit into their proper places. It is true that for our practical purpose a single national language is as essential as its importance as a symbol of national unity. And left to itself, a major Indian language by virtue of its simplicity, power of expression, resilience and adaptability is bound to become the lingua franca, as Hindi was becoming until recently. We have seen that all attempts at a forcible imposition must lead to a recoil, and defeat the very purpose for which it was created. Whether the national language is going to be Hindi, spoken by the majority of Indians, or any other language like Sanskrit, perhaps only popular acceptance and time can tell.

But mere vernaculars, however important they may be to raise the masses of Indians from the mire of poverty and backwardness, are not enough. No doubt they are the best medium to express the feelings, the characteristic hues and traits of the diverse peoples; but beyond these there is yet the need of a greater vehicle, the carrier of thought and idea. And here on account of the basic and inherent lacunae for intellectual intercourse, the regional tongue is naturally disqualified

and must give way to one having a universal appeal and acceptance. The greater part of men might rest satisfied to pursue the drudgery of life but no progressive nation or group can afford to break away from the cross-currents of the creative idea-forces. The drive of the social, political and economic forces have turned the dream of our Vedic forefathers of one world into a concrete reality. No longer can we live aligned with obsolete concepts like national hegemony and cultural supremacy. Today is the era of mutual help and interdependence. Feeders of the different groups and peoples must learn to merge in the great universal culture that is in travail or they risk being bypassed by the victorious momentum of Nature. And here too, as in the national sphere, the able and the advanced of the lot will gain ascendancy. Historical circumstances have favoured us by granting a developed language like English which is the singular contribution of the British. A language that has produced some of the finest literature of the world, not to mention the great pleasure which countless people all over the world take in speaking it. It would be a sad day indeed if blinded by a narrow egoistic exclusiveness, we were to throw away this unique privilege and miss the opportunity of coming to the vanguard of the nations in the coming age.

Besides, as I said before, India too has a mission in the world for which Seers like Swami Ram Tirtha and Vivekananda dedicated their entire life. This also explains why Sri Aurobindo chose to write in English rather than any Indian language, over a few of which he had considerable mastery. It is because spirituality is not bounded by geographical frontiers, it is the heritage of the whole of mankind.

But meanwhile, where is the way out? How to break the vicious circle of linguistic intolerance and strife? Should we try another system, perhaps some new "ism" hitherto untried, a novel doctrine of religious brotherhood or some noble humanitarian gospel? increased education and rational enlightenment? But then there is something vaguely familiar with all these! Haven't we already tried them and, let us have the courage to admit, failed? Has civilisation as we understand it really elevated man so that he may outgrow his primeval crudities, his lust for power or has it merely assuaged them, making life more tolerable? Has it not equipped man merely with an efficient camouflage to look outwardly urbane and chastened? The days of physical barbarism may be over, those of slavery and apartheid may look to be near their end, but despite the best of lessons from history, the human fascination for evil does persist in a worse if subtler form of economic colonialism and slavery. Even the best minds and a near fool-proof framework have not prevented the

superpowers from turning the United Nations into an impotent monolith.

The issue therefore is really not confined to the narrow peripheries of the linguistic problem alone, it involves a larger and greater issue as well. This is: How far, if at all, can a system help man in solving the problems of life, which is everchanging and elusive like Proteus? In other words, can reason be a successful governor of life? The answer Sri Aurobindo gives is a firm negative. Nothing short of a reversal of consciousness, he declares, is the final remedy, a radically new principle so far absent in all our habitual thinking. For it is only in the spirit that there is a true fraternity, the brotherhood of the soul, an alliance that none can sunder, that can establish a true peace, harmony and tolerance and not the makeshift devices of the human reason which are born really out of mutual disadvantages as an uneasy interlude between recurring conflicts. This is the crux of the issue, the heart of the problem, solving which the rest will be solved.

STILL PLACES

Four Poems

*Moved simply to the rim of an unbordered silence
Not unlike the hush rarely heard between persistent waves,
Pulled in a carriage of breath drawn by sweet yearning
Clarified and single aimed, delight swells and outflows.*

*

*At times retiring to move in those gardens
Austere in their utter and combed beauty,—
Like mountain rills or a Japanese poem,
Unmarred by wanderers or impatient winds—
One chances upon the moment of a flower opening
Or the intersecting magic of streams of light.*

*

*Through a door opened in a room of silence,
Issues the flame grown a holocaust of red
And relentless love; passioned by a white desire
Whose mother conceived the flower and the sun,
A gyre serpentine ascends to lift the face of each.*

*

*The wind is still,
A veil is blown aside.*

Tatsat

THE MODE OF WORK WITH AUROVILLE*

Ronald Jorgensen

What immediately follows is an attempt to briefly work out the charge given to the Spiritual Committee for the task of work with Auroville. The charge is:

Spiritual: the sense in which this Philosophy and Yoga represents the fulfilment of the various spiritual traditions of India; India's role in the spiritual evolution of the world and the part that the Ashram and the community abroad that accepts this Ideal of a new man in a new society, have to play.

This philosophy and yoga represents the fulfilment of the various spiritual traditions of India in its synthesis of all tendencies and elements, its rejection of none; so that it contains the essence of each spiritual tradition's colouring and relationship to the others in the integration of a white ray that is both pure and rich. Thus, in this plastic immensity, it offers India as the soul of the earth, as the mother to all that comes from each degree of the planet's traditions and nations: what Sri Aurobindo has done to unveil the diverse oneness of Indian spiritual tradition, India may do in unveiling the diverse oneness of the earth in Sri Aurobindo's light.

The Mother's development of the Ashram, then of Auroville to their present level of realization, reveals to me a way India may do this work. That is, suggestions and guidance from the Ashram offered to Auroville as the wider, more direct link to collaborate with India and the world in works are the potency of Auroville's *dharma*.

Many of us feel it is no accident that the first national pavilion going up in Auroville is that of India, the *Bharat Nivas*. Possibly it is no accident because the current of India's reconstruction may flow through the building of Auroville. Not Auroville as a model or example—Aurovilians are far too sharpened by the perspective woven out of seven years' maladroitnesses to feel like a model or example—but as a focus of the reconstruction something like a catalyst. And then those who work with Auroville will discover three processes developing all at once: the elaboration of Auroville and its power of catalysis, the

*A paper presented to the Spiritual Committee of the Seminar on National Reconstruction (vide Editorial).

current of that elaboration coming to the surface of Indian reconstruction, a change in their own capacities of work and ego-less service to the nation soul.

*

Some suggestions are offered for the consideration of interested Auroville and Ashram persons. They are not intended to be an elegant dissertation, just a cluster of rough ideas as a starter of discussion that might lead to a program of immediate and practical action.

I. Preparation

- Reprint and utilize two brochures:
 1. the white, untitled second edition of "Auroville, The Cradle of a New Man". (for the ideals)
 2. "Auroville, The First Six Years: 1968-1974". (for the people and history)

and any other more up-to-date material on what is currently happening in Auroville as background for all potential collaborators in Auroville-India-World work. These would form part of the initial correspondence with interested persons or groups.

- Where outside groups are working on projects in harmony with or relation to Auroville, request *their* background material for our orientation.
- Two copies of all the foregoing: one for a central Auroville information and coordination file, the other to the community or communities or Auroville group (e. g., the Green Belt) concerned.
- One full-time action person, as a starting minimum, to handle this central information file and coordinate with communities and others when necessary. This person may be a correspondent with outside contacts on occasion or until direct contacts have been established with the Aurovilians concerned. An additional qualification for this person: fluent, positive, wide-ranging contacts in both the Ashram and Auroville. (He or she is called "channel" for any references in following remarks.)

II. Areas of Work: Communities; International Zone; Crafts, Industries; Agriculture, Environment; Nutrition, Health¹

¹ Education would presumably be dealt with in the Education Committee.

Before going into the details of this, some might ask just how the contacts with potential outside collaborators will be made and where these co-workers might be found. This whole approach is based on the feeling that there are many, many people and groups who know about Auroville and would like to help but, other than contributing money, have no idea what they could do and what is happening and needed in Auroville. If even the thousands of Sri Aurobindo Society, Sri Aurobindo's Action, World Union and Navajyoti centers (not to speak of the people gathered here for this seminar) were to have background information on Auroville as suggested above and to know what possible ways they could work *directly with Aurovilians*, as described below, it may be we would discover a tremendous potential tapped.

Communities

This would involve direct collaboration between an outside individual or group and a community in which there was interest. For this to be done each community might want to have one person as their representative-cum-contact-cum-liaison with the outside so there would be a point of responsibility on each end: the specific outside group, a specific point in a specific Auroville community. (This Aurovilian contact is called "kuja"² for any reference in following remarks.)

The "channel" (the name for the central information contact person described in I. above) would be in regular and frequent contact with each community "kuja" for any desired exchange of information or intimation on potential or actual matters or projects. After this direct relationship was established between the community and outside group, the channel's only work would be to keep informed and be sure the information is made available for all others in Auroville by his or her maintenance of the central information file.

Several instances already exist where a community has established a relationship with an outside group in funding a specific project like a village health center or a bore well and irrigation system; or contributions in kind such as books for a library. In the other direction: a community's solar energy or algae cultivating technique sent to a collaborating commune or community in, for example, the USA.

All these are only beginnings on the material, technical and mental level. Deeper ranges and higher levels could develop from these, which can be viewed as occasions for much deeper contact which in some cases might lead to involved persons coming to visit or join Auroville.

² A kuja is a receptacle which receives, stores and pours out water as needed.

International Zone

Contacts for work in this area may be made as in "Communities", i.e. from the channel to kijas at the construction site or among the architects; or, in an entirely different way. It is only important that some linkage for contact possibilities be thrown into play.

In India: collaboration financially, in physical labour, in cultural research from those outside groups in each state on that state's pavilion within Bharat Nivas, the House of India. The physical labour contribution could be arranged for those who are able to visit Auroville more than a couple of days. The cultural research contribution could be done where they live via correspondence. It would be to help clarify the character of each state's display in books, art objects, textiles, music, traditional materials, etc. More, it would contribute to the effort in reaching the state's essential quality—its soul—and finding a way to express that in the pavilion.

For other countries: this would involve a similar but larger scale of contributions in cultural research for each country's pavilion from those living in that country. Of course, physical labour could be arranged in cases where "caravans" of people might want to come.

Crafts, Industries

There are at least three ways friends outside can contribute:

- by becoming individual customers, cooperative markets, wholesalers or agents for products of Auroville crafts and industries.
- by drawing on Auroville's technical adaptations and breakthroughs and use of inexpensive materials for craft or industrial enterprises in their towns, communities, groups.
- by their sending to Auroville new innovations in these fields that could be applied here which otherwise may not be known for some time. This might include sending newsletters, magazines and technical journals, etc.

Some of the craft and industry developments in Auroville that may be of interest and whose principals may be interested are:

Toujours Mieux (Aspiration) — leather buffing machines and other sophisticated products

Auropolyster (Aspiration) — furniture, objects d'art, etc.
Handmade Paper (Aspiration) — a wide range of stationery papers, cards, etc.
Bakery (Aspiration) — Aspiration biscuits: jaggery, sesame, groundnut, ginger
Auroshikha Agarbhatthis (Udavi) — about six fragrances, no use of toxic chemicals
Fraternity (Fraternity) — many crafts: Japanese style lampshades, baskets, weaving, crochet, grass mats, hammocks, woodcraft and electronics
Auroshri and Aurocreation (Pondicherry based) — clothing, leatherwork, large scale employment arrangements with village women, retail shops and exporting

Agriculture, Environment

Agriculture and Environment are placed together because environmental, and particularly ecological, concerns are intimately related to agriculture in the sense that agriculture is directly, completely, dependent on them unlike industries and crafts, communities, international and other aspects.

Exchanges and contributions of ideas, discoveries of approach and technique, new mechanisms or tools might be made—through the channel and kijas or through key persons in the Green Belt (which consists of eight mainly agricultural communities in Auroville) and in the Ashram agricultural department with the Center for Environmental Studies (Auroville) or its functional equivalent with professional and community groups in kind in India and abroad. Some areas now active in Auroville which are certainly decisive in Indian development and so also in a very wide range of areas in the world, are:

- biological and labour intensive agriculture—This is done without chemical fertilizers and pesticides (both very expensive and very dangerous ecologically), without the machines (like tractors) used in extensive farming; yet yielding superior efficiency³ production (per acre over a sustained period of time) and quality (in terms of mineral, vitamin and protein percentages compared to the total weight of the harvested crop) then can be had in the conventional modern (chemicals, machines) approach.
- reforestation—This has been done in Auroville to increase regular rainfall, to moderate tropical temperatures, to increase soil fertility, diminish monsoon soil erosion and increase the rains' contribution to the underground water table.
- water use, conservation and re-cycling.

³ Efficiency measured in terms of total units of heat energy expended to produce the total harvest of heat energy provided by the food—measured in calories.

- waste re-cycling for composting, drawing on all surrounding industry.
- alternate sources of power—So far the sun and wind are being worked with; the sea and tides and monsoon downpours are additional possibilities.
- alternate modes of transport—Nothing has yet been done beyond thinking of producing vehicles for experimental use based on the inventions of engines which can run on water, pig manure or benzine instead of petrol or diesel.

The suggestive power of this area is obvious, particularly for India and other agriculturally pressed countries like her. Aurovillians are courageously going ahead to create a biological agriculture—difficult to *begin* anywhere—and a spark of encouragement and exchange from the outside might light a great fire for the country.

Nutrition, Health

Contacts in this area may be through the channel and kijas in some of the community kitchens and health centers, but there may very well be a better linkage for this area. There are a number of doctors and persons interested in this field who inhabit several systems of thought in the Ashram and Auroville: allopathic, ayurvedic, homeopathic, acupuncture, Bach's flower treatment, etc. and Western, Indian, macro-biotic and experimentally new diets.

Examples of exploration being done in Auroville where collaboration in exchange of information and ideas, visits and training might be possible are:

Nutrition—cultivation of new, simple, highly nutritious foods like fresh water algae and experimentation of fundamental changes in diet (contents of meals, number and size of meals per day, combinations of foods at meals, etc.)

Health—study of the world's major systems of medicine in attempting to identify their secret principle and develop a practising synthesis of them, research in new (particularly indigenous) plants for medical benefit.

*

Although this paper is not concerned in the classic sense with the spiritual, it has been offered to the Spiritual Committee for two reasons:

Auroville was founded with a spiritual destiny and, as it is the most awesome example of an attempt to apply the spirit to matter regardless of its still very early stages of development, seems a good focus for the spiritual dimension of the reconstruction of India.

Since Auroville is such a diversified reality and would overflow the banks of any of the other three committees' areas, and since a plenary office of true spirituality is an integral view and working through all of life, it seemed inevitable to me that these suggestions on working with Auroville could only go to this committee.

*To work for Auroville is to hasten the
advent of a more harmonious future.*

— The Mother

THE PREPARED ENVIRONMENT

World Union Consciousness—XIII

T. Govindarajan

(In the twelfth article of this series, Dr. Montessori's system of education was recommended for universal adoption as part of the programme of education for a World Union Consciousness. The financial outlay will be large indeed, but only a tiny fraction of what the world now spends on armaments. The Montessori system is based on the general characteristics of life proper to all organisms. Children everywhere in the world, in their pristine purity, behave in identical ways. They absorb the environment in which they live and grow without the intervention of any teacher. So too they learn their mother-tongue. The various stages of the physical and mental (and even the spiritual) growth of the child were listed. The first period from birth to three years is the period when the child, without being "conscious" and without any tangible will of his own, learns, rather absorbs, what is in his environment without any effort or fatigue. It is a very natural process, the law of nature working itself out. He is a tireless learner. He constructs a tiny universe of his own and orders it in his own way—the way of nature.)

The next period of *three to six* years of age sees a further development of the faculties which have grown or have been created in the first three years. But it is different in the sense that this period of construction is a "*conscious*" period. The child now takes in consciously from his environment. All that was gathered and stored "*unconsciously*" in the first period from birth to three years is now recalled, often slowly, often rapidly, and projected into the present. A new pattern is being shaped. Contacts and identifications get established. Along with it, the *will* also begins to intrude and function. The hand is coordinated with the brain. New images are formed, stored and even recalled. This coordinating process is the beginning of the conscious learning process, and life for the child becomes more and more enriched. Purposefulness also begins.

In this period from birth to six years, the child builds his future as a human personality.

As pointed out earlier, part of it is unconscious and part conscious. He is still not yet a social being with a social consciousness. The child needs guidance, not direct "help" and intervention by the adult. He wants freedom to grow, and this freedom is of primary importance. It is in this context that a prepared environment becomes absolutely necessary, so that his freedom can be naturally and at the same time properly exercised and his social contacts established in an edifying way. In the specially prepared environment, he makes rapid progress under favourable conditions. This progress has been called "the revelation of the child". Writing, reading, mathematics and many other things are learnt without any constraint and hence without fear or fatigue or tears.

Educational experts before Montessori, except Froebel, averred that we should not begin teaching the child before he is six or seven years old. (In India, the age for admission to the elementary school is 5 plus.) They were right in their own way, for it is at the age of six or thereabouts that the teacher can address himself directly to the child's intelligence. That is, only at or after that age can the teacher establish some sort of intellectual communication with the child. But a fact of nature which they have missed and which it was given to Montessori to discover and proclaim was that education can and ought to begin much earlier, and with great advantage to the child. This discovery is based upon two related factors: (1) the absurd mind from birth, and (2) the potentiality of a prepared environment. Placed in the prepared environment with freedom to live and move in it and absorb and even utilise it, a child does begin the most fruitful part of his education well before he reaches six or seven.

We shall first answer two fundamental questions that would arise about the prepared environment:

- (1) Is a prepared environment necessary?
- (2) What are the aims or rather the functions of this prepared environment?

Once we accept the cardinal fact that the child is not a miniature adult, the need for a prepared and suitable environment naturally arises. The home is an adult environment and the tempo and rhythm of the home are set by the adults. The general arrangement of the home and its activities are fashioned to meet adult needs and hence set by adult standards. The child as a child cannot fit into this environment, in just the same way as Gulliver was unable to fit himself into the environment that he found at Brobdingnag. Imagine our being asked to live in a house built in giant proportions, with chairs and coatstands eight feet high, tables twelve feet high and so on. This giant house would not be built and furnished for our proportions. Extend this metaphorically to the spheres of mental activity. How would we feel? That is how the child feels in our adult environment devised for our physical and mental needs.

So the child's physical and mental needs are clearly different than the adults. Very often we live in surroundings which are cramped. Most homes in thickly crowded cities do not even have a garden for the child to play in. Quite recently an investigation was carried out regarding the environmental effects on children living with parents in multi-storeyed apartments. Such children always live much above the ground level and do not even know what mud is or what a cow is or a dog. The psychological effects of such "high" living were none too healthy either for the body or the mind of the child. The upper stories become prison houses for the child whose life should be built primarily on the freedom of physical movement and action.

Further, the ordinary elementary schools where children above six are admitted have nothing approaching a special environment for children. Here it is a mere pupil-teacher relationship, a communication from teacher to pupil involving very little movement or freedom to explore. Any room serves this purpose; a little better, a shady garden in summer will do. But where the child is under six and his intelligence cannot be directly contacted by the teacher except in an immobile situation, the predicament is much worse. Through a prepared environment alone can a teacher contact the child or communicate with him. The teacher (or the directress or director as the teacher is called) guides or directs the child in the prepared environment with as little intrusion of her personality as possible. So to say, the child becomes related to the directress only through the prepared environment. This linkage is as important for the child on the one hand as for the teacher on the other. In such a civilisation as ours, the need for the prepared environment becomes all the more compelling and relevant.

The first aim of the prepared environment is to "render the growing child independent of the adult". The child's freedom of movement and choice is ensured, without the (albeit good-intentioned) intervention or intrusion of the adult. The child is active, the teacher has to be "passive" but exercise a loving vigilance over the child. Self-effort and initiative mark the child's activity and bring to the fore the child's potential capabilities. When the dependance on the adult is removed and the child feels a full freedom, he develops according to his own nature and at his own rate of natural growth. The child begins to love the environment and identifies himself with it; more, he begins to love the directress in the background.

The learning environment is scientifically designed and highly selective. Everything is there that would help development; everything is removed that would obstruct or vitiate development, especially the love-laden interference and anxiety, sometimes even the good-natured impatience of the teacher. And those things that have no relevance to the child's growth are not present. This ensures that the limited capacities of the child are not scattered or diffused in irrelevant or neutral activities. It is, so to say, an intelligently and scientifically chosen protective environment providing the right mental nourishment for the child, rich in "motives of synthetic activity".

Now, what are the contents of this prepared environment? How is it planned and organised? The genuine nursery school will be built and organised on principles that form the basis of child-growth—in body, mind, heart and spirit.

Needless to say, it is a first requirement that the environment be beautiful. "A well-equipped Montessori Classroom is indeed a beautiful sight, with its many low windows, adorned with bright curtains, its gaily painted tables, and cupboards decorated with its vases of flowers. Even the other materials themselves are beautiful: witness the colour tablets with their sixty-three different shades, the ten different colours in the bead-stair (numbers 1 to 10), the shining golden decimal system of beads, the bright grammar symbols and so on. Colours are everywhere, bright and harmoniously blended; and everything kept spotlessly clean and shining."

The central principle on which the whole design is made is that everything is constructed in proportion to the child's needs and his physical stature. This principle applies to the structure of the whole building as much as to the furniture. Windows have to be low so that the child sitting in his chair can look out and see the garden and the flowers therein; the staircase has to have shallow steps easily negotiable by the under six year old children; the doors, handles, cupboards and their doors, wash-basins, lavatories, cloakroom, kitchen etc. have to take Lilliputian proportions. There should be no strain involved in opening doors, cupboards etc. Local variations will, of course, be permissible. The whole structure and the furnishings of the school should conform to what Montessori herself designated as *casa del bambini*, a children's home.

The aim of the prepared environment is not merely to give freedom of movement, physical and vital, but also to help liberate the spirit encased in the child. So it contains not merely minifurniture but also materials which may be grouped under the following heads:

- (1) Materials needed for carrying out the exercises of day to day practical life;
- (2) The sensorial materials — for touch, sight etc.;
- (3) Materials for the three R's, for history, geography, art etc.;
- (4) The atmosphere and things necessary for the development of the spirit.

Without giving a detailed catalogue of all the materials, we shall present a general statement of the principles involved in the preparation and maintenance of the materials.

Order is of the essence in the prepared environment. This order must be pervasive throughout the children's house, down to the minutest details. "A place for everything and everything in the proper place" is what makes the two or three year old feel a sense of security, comfort and joyous satisfaction. The maintenance of this order is one of the primary duties of the directress. As a matter of fact, a child accustomed to this order becomes so familiar with it that any change or anything missing can bring his

self-activity to a frustrating halt. Progress is hampered; confusion can then overtake the child so that he loses his moorings. The rhythm of activity loses continuity and the child becomes helpless with bewilderment. Not only may all these consequences follow, but the limited energy of the child is wasted in non-fulfilling activity. Hence the imperative need for order in the prepared environment. In this protected and confident security of order, the full capacity of the child bubbling with activity is being transmuted into active experience registered in the child. All energy is carefully channeled and made to flow and irrigate the fields of fulfilling activity. With order in the environment, the child, with the unobtrusive guidance of the directress, establishes a living rapport with the environment. The child begins to love order and delight in it. And when there is some disorder or disarray, the child at once creates order, if he possibly can.

This love for order develops the child's capacity to handle the sensorial materials not merely carefully but intelligently. The sensorial materials have an order of their own. For example, the colour tablets have to be sorted out and arranged on the principle of the order of colours—identity of colour, shades of colour etc. Similarly with respect to the other sensorial materials, the order inherent in them intuitively enters the child's mind. The same principle of order pertains to the materials leading to the three R's. The child *discovers* reading, writing and numbers. A trained, patient and sympathetic directress oversees the whole activity and guides the child. Minimum assistance or guidance is rendered. The child is allowed to explore, learn and progress. All this is self-activity without any fatigue but with the joy of fulfillment. The directress is the dynamic link between the child and the environment. But small improvisations can always be made keeping in mind the freedom of the child.

Children in such an environment with a trained directress is what alone constitutes a nursery school grounded scientifically in child-psychology. Dr. Montessori compares the prepared environment, with its manifold activities to "stairs leading upward towards a richer personality and a fuller life". She continues to say, "The child is that indefatigable being who mounts continuously from step to step. His spirit finds support on the stairs, as he finds objects there which permit him to exercise himself with those mysterious energies which are in him which oblige him to ascend continuously without pause—to become an adult."

We shall conclude this part of the statement by summarising certain practical rules to be followed by the directress in relation to her prepared environment. (Much of what follows is an adaptation from the relevant part of the book on Dr. Montessori by E. M. Standing.)

- (1) Scrupulous care of the environment; keeping it clean, beautiful and attractive;**
- (2) Teaching calmly and graciously the use of objects and their occurrence in practical life;**

- (3) Once the child is put in active contact with the environment, become a "passive" over-seer and guide;
- (4) Continual watch over the children in need of guidance;
- (5) Responding quickly and with enthusiasm to the child's call for help and guidance;
- (6) Respect the child; revere life; allow the child to do the work;
- (7) Teach and do not correct;
- (8) Respect one who is resting and watching other's work without disturbing him or obliging him to work;
- (9) Teach those who have not learnt and who continue to make mistakes; this requires sympathy, skill and keen understanding;
- (10) Speak gently, as one who loves;
- (11) The seeker ought to be attended to; the active need not be interfered with;
- (12) Become invisible to those who, having finished their work on their own, are offering it up as a spiritual thing.

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY: THE NEXT HUNDRED YEARS OF WORK FOR HUMAN UNITY

A. Kannan

The Theosophical Society and the World Union are components of a great spiritual endeavour for human unity inspired by adepts, religious leaders and yogis. There are several world organizations, both official and non-official, working for human unity. ¹ In this article it is proposed to view the work for human unity from a broad perspective keeping in view the fact that the Theosophical Society has completed one hundred years of such work. The Theosophical Society lays emphasis on the spiritual basis of this work and it enjoins its members to partake of and give to others complete freedom of thought, belief and action. Hence the next hundred years of work for human unity can be fruitful if the same principles could be adopted for free association among organizations working for unity, while maintaining the integrity of a spiritual basis for such a movement. So the first part of this article will try to focus attention on how the spiritual basis of work for human unity has been emphasized in the Theosophical Society, and in the latter part, the trends in the present work for unity through other organizations could be considered for more useful work along these lines.

Human Heritage of Essential Truths

Although the Theosophical Society was

founded in New York in 1875, it was soon after shifted to India from where most of the activities were directed in the early days. The founders, H.P. Blavatsky and H.S. Olcott, consistently pointed out the wealth of knowledge contained in religions, to start with in Hinduism and Buddhism, which should form the basis of human unity. At that time Indians were dispirited by the yoke of alien rule and its adverse influence on their culture. However, the pioneering work of these founders, to be soon followed by Dr. Annie Besant, provided a spiritual ground on which to work for unity among the Indian people. Similar was the case with the Ceylonese where much encouragement was given to Buddhism and a new strength was gained among them. It is not possible to detail here the various practical steps that were taken during those days in founding schools and colleges, associations for unity among Buddhists, Hindus, etc. But it must be stressed here that although the immediate problems before these nations were political, in order to overthrow the foreign rule, the first steps taken by these pioneers were to spiritually strengthen these nations in their work.

H.P. Blavatsky was convinced that sustained action towards human unity would be possible only if the people were made to

be aware that although races and nations were separated in the world, they all had a common heritage in the essential truths which were given to them in the form of the various religions at various epochs. She was able to establish this through her monumental works, *Isis Unveiled* ² and *The Secret Doctrine* ³. Although she was not a scholar in the ordinary sense, she possessed remarkable occult powers. The result was that she was able to delve into the human memory of past ages to draw attention to rare and ancient works, the quotations from which were later verified as correct. The essential truths of all religions were shown to be the same.

It was also pointed out as an evidence of the spiritual unity of mankind that these truths were given by World Teachers of Religions who were drawn from a united body of adepts and their messengers. This hierarchy of adepts is the custodian of truths which were never lost to mankind. This knowledge added to the efforts of the pioneers in strengthening the work for the unity of mankind. This is again a spiritual factor in the work for human unity because until humanity at large realizes the futility of remaining ignorant about the essential truths and also its own responsibility in forging unity, these occult facts cannot be made use of effectively. The strength of the unity of religious foundations cannot help mankind until it realizes that the core of essential truths in all religions is the same, and until it resolves to shake off the divergences.

This was also proven to be true in a remarkable correspondence which took place in the early days of the Society when two Englishmen in India wanted from the adept founders of the Theosophical Society a demonstration of their occult

powers. The adepts materialized themselves on a number of occasions and also wrote and delivered a number of letters by occult means. They contain a number of instructions on the path of discipleship and teachings of a metaphysical nature. But the fact remained that the work for human unity and brotherhood must be undertaken as a primary objective by the sensitive among men, and no amount of theoretical knowledge of occult laws could help this cause. It means that work of not only the Theosophical Society but of all organizations in the cause of human unity must be based on altruism throughout. So the first Object of the Theosophical Society is to form a nucleus of the Universal Brotherhood of Humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or color. This objective is based on the spiritual nature of understanding and living the essential truths of religions and of all human knowledge, which is further strengthened by the fact that those who know for certain about these truths are able to help mankind in a spiritual manner as explained above.

Human Evolution Basically Spiritual

Man is essentially spiritual and so it follows that if any work for human unity is to be basically sound, it must fall back upon this fact in nature. *The Secret Doctrine* is both an exposition of the spiritual evolution of man and a confrontation with the nineteenth century scientific views of the biological evolution of man. The exposition of the spiritual evolution of man was based upon the fact that man is unique in his spiritual consciousness, so different from the animal and at the same time capable of unfoldment of his latent faculties in terms of his psychic, intellectual and spiritual

powers. An elaborate scheme of man's journey through the different states of consciousness and the physical forms which he had passed through is given in that book. The work for human unity will be remarkably strengthened if more people become enlightened about the process of unfolding consciousness in the different races and sub-races of man. It shows us that underneath the conflicts and wars recorded in history, there is this remarkable evolutionary force working to bring together mankind and make it more and more united. At the same time it is a pertinent fact that human evolution is achieved along individual lines unlike many of the animals which evolve collectively as groups. This brings in one more aspect of the spiritual nature of the work of human unity, because each individual through proper understanding of his own essential nature and his relationship with others is capable of accelerating this process of evolution. The adepts to whom reference was made earlier, and similar personages referred to in ancient Indian and other scriptures, stand out as evidence of this remarkable fact.

The work for human unity was largely impeded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century because of the findings of science, especially about the biological evolution of man. The descent of man from the apes ignored the fact that in addition to the evolution of the human form in its biological nature, there must be a corresponding evolution in his psychological, intellectual and spiritual capacities. Although science did speak of his psychological and intellectual evolution, its origin was always related to the biological factors in man. The biological factors in evolution are basic no doubt, but are remarkably inadequate to sustain the growth

of the various sciences which have the potentiality of working for human unity. Psychology is based largely on the subconscious states of man, behavioral sciences on the physio-neurological data and social sciences upon the data of the two foregoing sciences.

But the situation has changed within these hundred years and this change could be effectively used for the work for human unity during the next hundred years. Typical of the change in the approach of scientists is that of Dr. Jonas Salk: "To understand and deal with mankind as an organism, new kinds of scientists are needed and new kinds of thinkers—those trained not only in the conventional disciplines but trained also to address themselves to questions related to the many interrelated facets of human existence. A new form of scientific and cultural education will be required as it becomes clearer that man is partly a physico-chemical machine and partly a *being* alive in the cosmos."⁴ There are other eminent scientists who have clearly expressed themselves with supporting evidence in favor of the view that the whole being of man must be taken into consideration in order to understand his functioning in full and help him in his onward evolution.

Work for Human Unity and Education with a Spiritual Outlook

Work for human unity involves a change in the individual, out of his own volition, and an understanding in accordance with the spiritual unity of life. All the principles of ethical living are derived from this cardinal principle. Non-killing and kindness towards animals, refraining from unnecessary destruction of plants, all humane

consideration and benevolent treatment of children, of downtrodden people, of the aged and the infirm, have been upheld by theosophists, but these do not form their creed. So in India and in the rest of the world, theosophists have been pioneers in educating depressed classes, in the remarriage of widows, in the discouragement of child marriage, and in promoting concord and amity between the ruling classes and the ruled. In particular, there has been the insistence on refraining from violence and breaking laws of the land in the struggle of Indians for freedom as advocated by Dr. Annie Besant. Today's experience shows clearly the depth of her spiritual vision in advocating such a policy.

The work for human unity as envisaged in the objects of the Theosophical Society calls for a deep study of the quintessence of human experience and a constant inquiry into the spiritual ground of man and the universe. This essentially means that education, different from what we have at present, should be spread throughout life in order to bring us closer to our spiritual nature. This is a platform from which all those who are engaged in work for human unity can unhesitatingly forge their united efforts and at the same time keep their separate identities in the methods of work. Although the Theosophical Society may have pursued certain particular lines of work to effectuate this spiritual outlook in the work for human unity, the rest of the associations and organizations may have other lines of work. But the focus on education throughout life to enable the individual to find his spiritual ground is so much needed at present; it will take humanity directly into the future.

Perhaps it may be thought that the present times are ill suited for an effort of

this nature. It may be pointed out that the Theosophical Society itself was founded one hundred years ago when the prospects for its work for brotherhood were far less promising. But the work was continued because of its spiritual motivations. Education for human unity is only a different phase of the work for universal brotherhood. Such a work can only be justified by a similar motivation of spirituality. Spiritual motivation should result in practical work, and some of the principles of such work have already been explained. The reasons for not drawing the attention of people to religion in the educational field may be many. Still it is only the bedrock of essential truths in religion, so different from the outer differences which separate sectarian religion, which can sustain the work for human unity. Similarly, although attention is drawn to science in the educational field, there are many altruistic and humanistic aspects of scientific work which need to be emphasized in the educational field. We may recall what Dr. Salk has said about "a new form of scientific and cultural education". Scientists are gathering strength in assuming social responsibility and are trying to channelize their efforts through international bodies for the purpose of keeping science free from violence, injury to the environment and animals and so forth. The new generation must be grounded in these aspects first before they gain factual and technical knowledge which could be otherwise used for any purpose.

The principles of human evolution as spiritually envisaged must form the basis of education of the individual. Within the limited objective of material gain and the encouragement of competitiveness in the scheme of present education, the scope of

work for human unity cannot be sustained. These must be changed. The potentiality of the individual to evolve in accordance with his spiritual nature must be kept in view. Such an individual will be guided towards integration in his particular environment. If he is surrounded by physical uncleanness and disease he must be shown the correct way to deal with it and not to escape from it. Similarly the situations of impulsive and emotional setbacks and mental prejudices must be dealt with. The spiritual nature of man is such that he can find resources from within him, and whatever man has discovered as outer remedies can be usefully employed. Education for human unity must also form a continuity with the present system of education. Whatever skills are being taught must be viewed as an outward expression of man's inward spiritual nature working according to enduring principles of eternal value. The teaching of universals can be elaborated with respect to language, literature, history, philosophy, religion, science and the arts. This will give the individual the confidence that he can be a beneficent force in nature provided he understands and acts according to the spiritual ground in himself and the universe.

The Next Hundred Years

The world's problems today are outwardly economical and political, but the foundation for outgrowing these problems must be laid in an educational system for human unity, even as the spiritual basis was laid in the work of the Theosophical Society one hundred years ago to form a nucleus of Universal Brotherhood. In this brief recapitulation of the work for human unity it has been stressed that such work should be spiritually based and channel-

ized along educational lines. The World Union is, according to my understanding, attuned to such principles and lines of work. The spiritual background is provided by the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, and its reports of work also emphasize education for human unity.⁵ The views elaborated here for the next hundred years have been considered along similar lines before.⁶

In sum, the next hundred years can be the period of forming a *nucleus of educators for human unity*. They may not necessarily follow a prearranged program of action. When a well thought out program is followed and it becomes necessary that the program be modified or even abandoned, the nucleus has to go on with the idea to make it an effective ideal. The program may be anything from setting up or collaborating with an international university, to the creation and practice of a school prayer along the lines of human unity. But the nucleus must pursue its work in depth. I hope it is not long before such a nucleus is formed, cutting across barriers of interest and organization.

The education for human unity movement should be based on the spiritual unity of man and the universe. All sources of knowledge, ancient and modern, should be effectively utilized to teach the essential truths underlying man and the universe, ultimately spreading to all grades of institutions; and methods of instruction and training should be extended throughout a life permeated with the spiritual fact of unity, to bring about the same outlook in the educated individual.

Footnotes

1 "World Union Focus" has listed ten such organizations (*vide* Nos 2,3/72, 2,3,5/73

and 3/74). The editor has remarked (*ibid*, May 1972, p.4): "*Organizations working for world unity*: Some lay emphasis on the spiritual basis of their work, while others rely on political, administrative or legal arrangements for realising their goals. Some affirm that problems such as the population explosion, pollution of earth resources, prevention of war, disarmament, etc., cannot be adequately solved without a world government. Others are dedicated to the United Nations and its growth for safeguarding world peace and security, but a number think that the United Nations is not inherently capable of fulfilling the needs of the world now or in the future and it is therefore essential to find ways and means to bypass it in order to create a suitable world authority. ...Many believe with World Union, that the representatives of all such organizations should periodically meet to supplement and synthesize their work."

2 2 vols. Theosophical Publishing House, Wheaton, Illinois, USA.

3 6 vols. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

4 *Man Unfolding*, p. 10. Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1972.

5 The working paper for the World Union Conference in December 1973 states: "To free the minds of all people, and more especially perhaps of our students and our political minded adults, from all prejudices based on race, religion, social status, historical background, nationality and political and other ideologies, a radical reform in education at all levels in all countries is a first requirement, a reform that must

ruthlessly challenge every fundamental assumption that belongs to our way of life and so is built into our philosophy of education. ...This fundamental change in our historical perspective can be achieved only if our history books are completely rewritten by responsible, one-world conscious clear-thinkers, who are themselves dedicated to the task of presenting history as the true story of the unfoldment of human life throughout the world, and who are themselves free from the regional prejudices that have made history into a defensive, pseudo-educational campaign, which because of its bias is polluting the world's psychological atmosphere by endorsing man's self-centered, aggressive attempt — often under the guise of universal brotherhood — to dominate and exploit his fellowmen. ("World Union Focus", 4/73, pp. 8-10. Cf. *ibid*, 6/73, p. 2-6, "Education for One World".)

6 "The first practical step must be to cooperate whenever possible with other individuals and organizations working towards the same ends at whatever level and in whatever sphere they may be operating, e.g., whether it be for creative harmony in the home, in the factory, in national affairs, or in the promotion of unity at a world level; the second step will be to initiate activities to extend the knowledge-through-experience of individuals and groups, so that those people who are ready and willing to participate more effectively may be given the opportunity to extend themselves in the service of the community, so that the community itself may later become an active unity in the campaign to achieve world union." (*loc. cit.*, p. 12.)

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Some Crucial Terms of Reference

(Continued from the issue of March, 1975)

C. V. Devan Nair

When Western Europe and Japan lay badly battered and bleeding after the Second World War, massive infusions of industrial capital and technology from America brought them to where they are today. So much so that American-based multinational corporations (MNCs) no longer monopolise the field. West European and Japanese based MNCs are also entering the same field in increasing numbers. This all to the good. MNCs, like anything else, and those at the receiving end of their operations, are all the better for competition. The dangers of cartelisation in international trade and industry are to that extent diminished.

The other point to note is that the bulk of technology transfers still take place between the developed countries themselves, and relatively little, in global terms, trickles down to the Third World. So the heated debates and discussions on the regulation of multinationals is between the developed countries themselves. There is a symmetry in the relations between the developed countries, say between the United States on the one hand and Western Europe and Japan on the other. Both of them are at once host countries for foreign-based MNCs, as well as base countries for their own MNC operations.

On the contrary, there is an asymmetry in relations between the developed and developing countries. In the very nature of things, less developed countries (LDCs) are inevitably host countries for MNCs. But they are not base countries for their own MNCs. There is much less inter-penetration and interfusion, therefore, between the developed countries and the LDCs. The divisions and dissensions between the two worlds, therefore, tend to be sharply exacerbated. Two quite recent conferences, one on the Law of the Sea and another on Population Control began, proceeded and ended in disarray, bringing into sharp focus the divisions between the developed and developing worlds. This talk of two or three worlds is, of course, a confusion in terminology. In fact, there is only one world—not several; and it is in everybody's interest that the imbalances between the "haves" and "have-nots", between nations as well as within nations be redressed.

The next two years will probably be extra difficult ones for both developed and developing countries alike. The oil price hikes, periodical threats and pressures for further hikes, worldwide inflation and monetary instability, have resulted in an intensification of "beggar thy neighbour" policies among and between the developed countries. GATT (the organisation, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) has already warned of a resultant capital shortage, cutbacks in consumption, lower growth rates, and a temporary fillip, perhaps, to the forces of neo-isolationism in the U.S. and protectionism elsewhere.

The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has sown the wind. With their greater capacity to absorb those shocks, the developed countries will no doubt somehow manage to ride the wind. But, as usual, the developing majority of mankind will reap the whirlwind. Uncle Sam has lost much of his desire to be the global policeman. He has also given notice to the Third World that neither is he keenly interested in playing the role of the rich uncle. This is what the new Ford Administration's announced priorities amount to.

The OPEC countries, with their oil weapon, have succeeded wonderfully in seriously ruffling and unsettling the advanced industrial nations of the Western world. But in the process, tens of millions in the non-oil producing countries of the Third World seem doomed to die of starvation, because oil-based fertilisers for agricultural production have been placed quite beyond their reach. In short, the more obviously inter-dependent the world becomes, the more self-centred every nation seems to get. Nonetheless, I do not accept the Doomsday syndrome. What the logic of interdependence fails to persuade the international community of, the inexorable logic of shattering circumstances must eventually enforce. For interdependence means that, willy-nilly, we must partake of each other's folly. And this will prove painfully uncomfortable all round. And, equally willy-nilly, we must eventually choose to partake of each other's wisdom. My own bet is that the international community will survive this aberrant phase in the history of the modern world, much bettered perhaps, but much wiser as a result, and with a greater capacity to ensure the mutual accommodation of another's interests.

And once again, the same problems we failed to grapple with in our folly, we will be obliged to grapple with in our wisdom. And the essential problem is that of a more equal and a more just world society.

Pressing on our consciousness for a solution will be the search for ways and means for rapid development in the Third World. Like Voltaire's God, if MNCs did not exist, something like them would have to be invented, if transfers of technology and the processes of development are to be effected on the enormous scale required.

But not MNCs as we know them, unsubject to social and moral accountability

of any kind, which is clearly essential, whenever and wherever there is exercise of any concentration of power. A mutation of MNCs, rather than their maturation in their present forms, is probably what will be eventually called for.

Suggested alternatives to the MNCs could, however, be fairly easily laid to rest. They include the alternative of a world made up of purely national enterprises, producing only in their home country, and run only by their own nationals. But what happens then to the international transfers of technology? Can we imagine Bangladesh or Sri Lanka having the wherewithal, in terms of capital, technological and managerial know-how, and skilled labour, modernising their economies on their own? Surely, this is not on the cards.

In terms of social performance as between MNCs and purely national enterprises, there would appear to be little to choose. Before the Second World War, the national enterprise model was the prevailing one in the more developed countries of that period. I. G. Farben was largely German in its interests. ICI was clearly British, and du Pont indisputably American. Yet there was no evidence of a greater concern for social goals on their parts. Professor Raymond Vernon of the Harvard Business School, who made a study of this subject, has some caustic things to say about the supposedly superior virtues of purely national enterprises:

The appetites of local predators in the poor countries seem no more restrained than those of the foreign denizens. In fact, where valid comparisons are possible, the big foreign-owned enterprises generally rate ahead of their local competitors in some critical respects; for instance, in sheer operating efficiency, as well as in promoting exports and training workers. A choice between management by local robber barons and management by their foreign counterparts will seem no choice at all.

Public ownership and management, especially in the highly concentrated large-scale industries, has also been articulated from time to time as a more attractive alternative. The very first observation which springs to my mind is that, in terms of capital investments, technology transfers, management know-how and training of workers in industrial skills, the MNCs have contributed infinitely more to the LDCs than have the giant state-owned enterprises of the communist world.

Next, state-owned enterprises in the Western world, like British Petroleum and Renault, are indistinguishable in policies and practices from their privately-owned rivals when they do business outside their home country.

Where the LDCs are concerned, Professor Vernon makes the cogent observation:

Many of these countries have had a chronic problem with their state-owned enterprises because they were smothered and half paralysed by bureaucratic controls; others have had a problem with public enterprises that were flaccid and parasitical; and still others support enterprises that are secretive and uncontrollable, or in some cases self-indulgent and corrupt.

On balance, and all other things being equal (which they are not), the MNCs seem to have the edge compared to the purely national enterprise or to a state-owned enterprise. To quote Professor Vernon again:

A reasonably strong case can be made for many multinational enterprises, for instance, in terms of sheer economic efficiency. The data are not altogether beyond challenge, nor is the case equally strong for all industries and enterprises; but the weight of the evidence seems to lie on the side of such enterprises. The apparent capacity of many multinational enterprises to mobilise information, expertise and money, as well as their capacity to spread their risks over many markets and sources, appears to pay off in efficiency terms.

But one must still ask, "Who gets the benefits of their efficiency?" The answer to that question is complex, but some aspects are clear enough. With an efficiency dividend to be shared, all parties could conceivably benefit: host country and home country, as well as management, stock-holders and labour. There is no inevitability in such an outcome, of course.

We now come, inevitably, to the serious reservations on the part of many LDCs to MNC operations in their territories, which deserve active consideration by the United Nations and other international agencies.

One major contribution which the international community could usefully take on would be to equip host governments in LDCs to deal on a more equal footing with MNCs. For example, there is a considerable lack of professional and experienced experts who can speak confidently on behalf of LDCs when they negotiate with the MNCs. This lack of expertise in most professional areas means that plane-loads of high-powered executives, corporation lawyers, engineers and accountants of MNCs descend on an LDC to negotiate agreements. And, without question, they prove markedly intimidating to the LDCs. Someone who is intimidated tends to put up a very strong front for fear of losing face among his peers. And a frequent result is that the MNC simply walks away because it is impossible to reach agreement with a particular country. There is urgent need, therefore, for the LDCs to use an international agency on a consultant or other basis, with impartial

international personnel who are realistic enough to see the technical and business aspects from both sides. Such an agency does not yet exist, but it should be set up.

If MNC contributions to developmental efforts in the LDCs are to be maximised, the international community, and the MNCs themselves, must come to terms with what seems to me to be a number of sensible objections to their present operations.

The most frequently articulated of these objections are:

- i) MNCs sometimes do not train local inhabitants in entrepreneurial, as distinct from operative and executive skills;
- ii) The very nature of MNCs—often manufacturing parts in one country and marketing them in still another—constantly subjects them to the charge that they cheat on taxes.

In this context another student of MNCs, Mr. John Diebold, has warned that, "Somebody soon is going to print an 'expose' of the way in which intra-company transfers are used on some MNCs accounts to make profits appear mainly in countries with low taxes. The result of such 'exposes' might mean an abrupt shift from the present situation, where some big MNCs are getting away with murder, to equally undesirable witch-hunts where MNCs are murdered instead."

- iii) Market forces in several countries are not ones that operate to meet the most vital local needs, e.g., nutrition, education, health, provision of shelter, etc., but draw scarce local skills and resources into making products for the rich.

It will clearly not do for MNC capital and skills to be deployed in a country like India, for example, where there are currently around 84 million unemployed, able-bodied male adults, to do nothing more than produce after-shave lotions and cosmetic luxuries for the thin upper crust of a desperately poverty-stricken nation.

Generally, the Indian radical Left is more distinguished for their vocal chords than for their powers of cerebration. However, one cannot but respond sympathetically when they denounce the enterprises of certain MNCs in India, which do precisely this kind of thing.

MNC skills and technology are certainly needed in some of the vast and populous countries of the Third World, but a technology modified and adjusted to the special needs of these countries, especially to the pressing need for labour-intensive technologies.

Here too, one cannot be rigidly dogmatic. For there are areas, like the extractive industries, including exploration for mineral resources, which require the kind of high-risk capital and technological capacity which only the MNCs are able to provide.

Mr. Diebold has also suggested that programmes in LDCs to raise nutrition standards, health and education, "often require precisely the skills which MNCs possess, e.g. capabilities for research into what sort of seeds could best be used, advertising skills to persuade simple people to do certain things in new, hygienic or productive ways instead of accustomed unhygienic or unproductive ways, organisation of capital-intensive systems as substitutes for skilled personnel who are desperately short in poor countries, e.g. mass X-rays in place of scarce doctors, audio-visual and radio-based and even computer-assisted instruction in place of scarce teachers, etc.

"One of the most beneficial actions for mankind in the next decade might be if rich countries tied aid programmes to giving performance contracts to new sorts of MNCs which contracted to raise protein intake in some African country by X per cent in the next five years, to raise literacy standards by X per cent, even to operate birth control programmes. We would then at least get what is presently (perhaps temporarily) the most dynamic force in the world, corporate multinational business, working on the most important problems in the world."

The major debate now going on in the Western world is on the desirability or otherwise of formulating international regulations to govern the operations of MNCs. Here too, expert opinion is sharply divided. Indeed, the 1973 Dusseldorf Conference on MNCs, attended by high-powered scholars and experts, discussed precisely this subject. The conference was unable to arrive at any consensus on the matter, not least of all because of the suspicions of several LDCs that international regulatory mechanisms would be dominated by the developed nations, and would work in their interests.

It is a curious situation. The LDCs would seem to fear that an international agency would seek to restrain their actions in regard to foreign-based MNCs. And this attitude neatly balances the worry of business that any international agency would fetter rather than free the MNCs.

For widely disparate reasons, then, there was a consensus at the Dusseldorf Conference against any major attempt at an international organisation to oversee the MNCs. This does not mean that no new effort or extension of existing activities should be considered.

Ideological prejudices against MNCs will most likely diminish in several LDCs. For we already see beginnings of industrial and technical cooperation arrangements between the Western and Soviet blocs. This will involve large capital investments of Western countries, for the exploitation of resources and sale of sophisticated Western technology to communist-bloc nations. Already several major projects have been implemented in the Soviet bloc countries with large Western enterprises on the basis of long-term industrial cooperation contracts.

When the communist countries themselves are pragmatic and flexible enough to borrow private capital and technology, I do not see developing nations continuing to shrink from doing so.

In spite of the disasters and tribulations of our own time, forward-looking thinkers are of the opinion that the industrialised one-third of the world will increasingly feel that both economic and social logic are impelling it to move into the post-manufacturing age, and to increasingly shift manufacturing output down to the poorer southern regions of the world. This is referred to as "the southward transfer of manufacturing".

The most favoured mechanism for this will be the MNCs—but MNCs which have undergone an evolutionary mutation, in accordance with a yet-to-be worked out international consensus, relating to their methods of functioning, and to the forms of social accountability to which they ought to be subject.

Organised labour in developing countries can play a crucial role in the evolution of such an international consensus. How effectively they play this role will depend on the character and quality of their commitment to the Future, and the terms of reference they employ. I have submitted that the terms of reference cannot be narrowly national or regional. They have to be global.

It is a change in the quality of our awareness of each other, of countries and cultures other than our own, of the fact of the interdependence of nations, that will be increasingly called for. We might live in different societies, cultures and nations, but we live in one world. Nothing less than a change of consciousness, from the present self-bound, past-bound, family-bound, nation-bound, or region-bound consciousness, can meet the requirements of the future.

We will postpone this effort, nationally and internationally, only at our common peril. I might end with a quotation from Kenneth E. Boulding, who wrote:

Nevertheless, in spite of the dangers, it is a wonderful age to live in, and I would not wish to be born in any other time. The wonderful and precious thing about the present moment is that there is still time—the Bomb has not gone off, the population explosion may be caught, the technology problem can, perhaps, be solved. If the human race is to survive, however, it will have to change more in its ways of thinking in the next 25 years than it has done in the last 25,000!

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY—IV

Pratibha

My first psychology professor was teaching for the last year before his retirement. He was among the founders of the behaviorist school; so was I introduced to the inexorable positivism I fervidly craved. I could understand the method of evaluating behavior with the precision and accuracy of a physicist or chemist. I was satisfied with the notions of nerve and muscle reaction-time, sense perception of electromagnetic waves, heredity, conditioning, and other physiological processes.

Of the several other courses, the one which concerned me vitally was English. That teacher was one of the three in my stay of five years with whom I was unable to establish rapport. His first assignment was to write a five hundred word paper on one's experiences upon closing one's eyes. I closed my eyes before beginning to write it and unexpectedly discovered that I was terribly tired that evening. Without a second thought I wrote six or ten brief sentences about how tired I felt, and went to sleep. Within a few days everyone in the large class had a mimeographed copy of my paper upon which they poured copious criticism. As I happened to re-read that paper recently, I was taken by its immediate impact of realism. I repeated the same performance for the final exam when we were given a small newspaper article, without the author's name, which said how degenerate rock and roll music was compared to the minuet that the founding forefathers of our country danced. Again I was unable to summon up one or two hundred words and wrote instead a terse comment to the effect that only a politician could make public such inanities. Surely, I thought, the early pioneers didn't dance the minuet. Later I learned it had been a statement by General Eisenhower.

On the whole, I applied myself assiduously to my studies and had success in all my courses. The foreign language of my choice was German; only the solid strength of my love for its sonority withstood the onslaught of its unbearable grammatical idiosyncrasies.

I had little solidarity with my young American peers. I felt they were lacking a certain political awareness of the historical role of our government abroad, which had been made known to me in my long stays out of the country. I rarely spoke to anyone, as culturally I was more in touch with European than with American customs. In fact I was required to attend a speech class because I had a strong Spanish accent which no one believed would disappear shortly, as I had assured them it would.

At the end of the year I received a telephone call from my gym teacher saying I was the first in the history of the college to fail bowling; she asked if I would kindly take the exam again. It happened that when I was a child my uncle daily prepared long multiplication and division exercises for me before we were taught them in school. The result was that all my life I've had terrific difficulty adding numbers, which explained why I had failed at scoring my bowling results.

At home my father and his mistress ate separately from me. Each evening I would prepare my dinner, put it in the oven to cook, return to my studies, and after an hour or so I would rush out of my room when the house was filled with the fumes of burning food. My father owned, along with his partners, a small chain of tropical food restaurants which catered to the Cubans and Puerto Ricans who lived in the poorer sections of the Bronx. He installed his apartment as close to the restaurants as possible, thus I had a two hour ride on the subway every day for five years. There is nothing quite as dehumanizing as the New York subway: it is at once the largest, oldest, filthiest and noisiest system in existence. There I practiced the art of making myself "invisible"; each year I wore larger and larger sunglasses, which many people had never seen me without. Between intensive reading, cigarette smoking, and the devastating air-pollution, my eyes were in a state of chronic fatigue. I'm one of the rare exceptions in that I was in no way molested during all my hundreds of underground hours. That summer, as well as all the consecutive ones, found me again in Mexico City, I can't say resting as much as I needed, for my aunt kept me active with her social functions. She had no idea of how taxing student life is.

The second year of college marked a decisive turning point in my life. With a course in psychological statistics I was able to recognize that my spirit was not really that of a scientist. The head of the department, who had already taught me another course, could hardly believe how I could be so incorrigibly inept in this particular field. He went as far as tutoring me extra hours to verify that it was truly something inherent in me which revolted. For the final exam I handed him an untouched sheet of paper; I was incapable of applying even one single formula although, as he knew, I was thoroughly familiar with the textbook. My mind had turned to the more intangible elements of the psyche. I would continue undergraduate psychology instruction to gratify a basic curiosity, but I would never be a member of the experimental team on the graduate level which was considered the most reputable in the country. Simultaneously I accelerated my literary pursuits.

At that time I had three of the most eventful encounters in my experience. One was my second English teacher. He placed before my vision the wideness of the miraculous wonder world of poetry. In my poetry papers, which all qualified as excellent, I saw ample evidence of effortless abilities which were nowhere else patent. He was himself a poet, one of the foremost, if not most famous, in America. I conceived a deep admiration and love for him, and the thought of his forceful sincerity was the

sun that brightened my solitary life. Shortly after, in the midst of a course in ethics, I met the person who became the second greatest influence. At the student-center cafeteria I made the acquaintance of a young Lebanese who was working on his doctorate in philosophy. As a semantics logician he was making a deeply heartfelt declaration in his thesis which was entitled, "The Meaninglessness of the Concept of God". He and I and the third member of our group, a Syrian doctoral candidate in economics, spent several hours a day together during the next few years. At no time did we speak about philosophy, since I knew nothing of it or of formal logic. Yet the persistent and untiring quest for the meaning of life was the implied tenor of our interminable discourse.

Lastly, one fine morning during an experimental psychology session I met one of the strangest people imaginable. Washington Square, where I studied, is in the heart of Greenwich Village which is traditionally the bohemian section of the city. This area boasts of having been the home of many of the greatest American literary figures. In the fifties it was the center of the "beatnik" movement, as bohemians were called then; and with the advent of the recent decades it was a life-source and germinating focus of the "hippie" movement. It can well be fathomed that my eyes were accustomed to the sight of odd dress and mannerisms, but this strange young man I came upon was outstanding even in that milieu. Although his father, a prominent fund-raiser, was vastly wealthy, he wore a pair of shoes that had been thrown away by one of the destitute alcoholics that populated a famous nearby area called the Bowery. Inexplicably he engaged my conversation in one of the experiment cabins where we were working together. He said casually, "Last night I had a revelation", and proceeded to extemporize the details. When I left the class to join my inseparable companions, I revolutionized our customary mood of critical skepticism. Adel, the philosopher, would proclaim as a sad joke after hours of daily world-situation review: "The universe is getting on my nerves." He then would sip from his tenth or twentieth cup of coffee, and smoke the perennial cigarette in his hand. But that day I had revolutionary news: someone had just told me he had a twentieth century revelation!

Accordingly, Steve, the mystical comrade, joined our company; within a short time by dint of argument he persuaded me to become his girlfriend although I originally esteemed Adel most highly. From time to time we would gather at the apartment of one of them. Together with other students from several Arabic countries, we celebrated the sheer happiness of our friendship with numerous delectable Arabic dishes and wine in plenty. Then we all sang our favorite songs, danced our native dances or in modern style. But above all, we took boundless delight from each other's presence. Only on Steve did alcohol have adverse effects; while not becoming altogether cheerful, never was there a significant dispute even though he was the only Jewish member of the assembly.

Upon reaching the age of twenty-one I began to consider that it would be in accord with the liberality of my opinions to actively manifest sexual freedom. But the requisite affective impetus had precedence over any mere rationalizations. Steve comprehended all parts of me, while others knew only one fragment or another; his universal mentality ably seized my composite being. Steve's immense abstract understanding was matched only by his unspeakable material disorganization. He lived uniformly surrounded with dozens of desks and filing cabinets, typewriters, cameras, pianos, uncounted disparate articles of clothing and assorted gadgets, none of which were ever put to suitable use. I, on the other hand, while evidencing immaculate pulchritude in all that I possessed, was beyond doubt entirely helpless in regard to the dynamics of survival. In effect, my only fields of efficient activity were reading and writing. It was undreamed of that I could drive a car, give street directions, or consider manipulating money in a more creative way than spending it on books and clothing.

The last two undergraduate years were predominantly a question of formality, so to speak, inasmuch as a well-rounded education had to be methodically prepared. Most often I studied the subject one or two nights before the finals, keeping myself awake by drinking cups of coffee of a nearly viscous consistency. My father was prevailed upon by my aunt to remove himself and me to a new apartment, as his mistress Lola had seen fit to go to such extremes as to perform bits of untoward magic when I went for my tests. He was a simple, peace loving, quiet man. He was in no position to apprehend the character and complexity of my evolving mental and emotional interests, but we always shared a harmonious silence when we lived together without a third party's interested interference, before which we were both defenseless. On Saturdays I would usually spend the morning listening to recordings of all Beethoven's symphonies or two or three operas at peak volume. It may be considered intense, but for me it was rather the only period of relaxation. I strummed the guitar at times, not devoting the time it required for a rendering of progress. That which captivated my heart wholly was poetry. I began to write poems as a conscientious novice touching upon an excellently polished jewel. As I wanted an adequate grounding, I took courses in English, Spanish, German and French modern poetry.

My last psychology professor was also teaching for the final year before his retirement. He familiarly referred to the "behaviorist fathers" by their nicknames. He spent each two hour class uninterruptedly writing statistical data on a great blackboard, much too advanced in years and wisdom to be annoyed by the fact that no one paid attention. For my experimental exercises I consistently selected figures at random, 3,6,8,2—such was my attitude then toward measurement of human activity. At the end of the course he told us he didn't believe in exams and we didn't have one: victorious transcendence over a lifetime's testing occupation. I graduated with a good grade average.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

LONG MARCHES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

Without any commentary, *The Hindu* of last 16 December featured a report of a most unusual event. The headline was "Aggression Defined after 51 Years of Labour" and most of the article was absorbed by the 350 plus words of the eight article definition. Reaching back 51 years takes one to the days of the League of Nations; work by "learned political experts" was started in the League and continued after its collapse in the infant UNO. Near the end of 1974 the fruit of this labor was adopted in the General Assembly without a vote; an irony of ease after the half century of struggle—averaging about seven words' progress per year—to agree on such an archetype of political experience.

The fact that it could only be achieved now suggests conditions were not receptive earlier. But to say they are now indicates a great progress. One can confirm this by reading over the document, particularly article five:

No consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression. A war of aggression is a crime against international peace. Aggression gives rise to international responsibility. No territorial acquisition or special advantage resulting from aggression are or shall be recognised as lawful.

It does not take much consideration to realize this kind of planetary consensus can only be made in an atmosphere presaging world government.

*

As if to remind us that such things as the document on aggression are fulfilled in the ripeness of time—a ripeness of time for working in many harvests—the same issue of the same newspaper carried another story nearer the front page.

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 15.

After protracted negotiations lasting nearly 30 months, the U. N.

General Assembly has adopted by an overwhelming majority a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, hailed by some developing countries as an 'Economic Magna Carta'.

Voting on December 12 was 120 in favour, six against and ten abstentions.

The direction the opposing votes and abstentions came from, the affluent industrialized countries of the West and Japan, makes one suspect the Charter provides rights and leverage to rebalance the economic world away from its present distorted weightings. Some of the 34 clauses declare each State has the right to "freely exercise full permanent sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources" which includes, in explicit language, the right to nationalize foreign property; has the right to "equitable benefits" in international trade (which certainly does not now exist in the in-group patterns of "most favored nation" trade arrangements); has the right to control the activities of trans-national corporations within its boundaries; and many others.

In a paragraph that sounds like the echo of the UN's aggression article five in a more developed fugue, the Charter provides that :

no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights.

In another long march the U.N.O.'s World Health Organization assures us that its eight year efforts against the source of smallpox have succeeded. India's Bihar state, considered the last battleground, is reporting 300 cases of the pox compared to last year's 50,000. WHO expects to have completely eliminated all cases in the world by the end of 1975, which they claim is the first disease that will have been completely eliminated by human effort. [*Indian Express*, 29 January 1975]

When the momentum toward human unity collects it should make itself known in diverse fields and aspects, like the eradication of worldwide diseases, if it is a truly integral momentum. It will be very interesting to see what else develops this year out of a 1974 widely felt to be the evident beginning of a new era.

OIL AND WATER

The shadow of just how interdependently the human race has become aware of itself in this baby-reach of the new era was dramatically expressed by a senior American official

in the 16 February issue of the *Indian Express* when, asked about the effect of a possible 100% oil embargo by producers, he admitted the State Department was only preparing for a 50% embargo at worst and said that a complete embargo would hit with an impact

that could be something very close to nuclear warfare.

As ominous as this sounds, the positive indication of great mutual dependence that now includes the third world along with the first and second is much more welcome than the phrases of the cold war years when it seemed much easier for some nations to tell others or do to others what they liked.

Such interdependence through the assertion of Nature has even surprised the parties in the Israel-Arab negotiations. During the warmup movements to final negotiations for peace involving delicacies like the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River (and Jordan nation), Israeli geologists have discovered oil in large enough quantities to meet their country's entire needs for years. Israel has no oil and has been meeting at least part of her needs from captured Egyptian wells in the Sinai. Where do you think this oil has been discovered? In the West Bank, which the Arabs want returned to them. [*Indian Express*, 29 January 1975] It is hard to imagine how the point could be more directly made that, unstintingly difficult as it may be, there is no way to come part way to a resolution; even the land itself insists on a freely flowing and peaceful interdependence.

On a larger scale—the earth's seas and oceans—the World Association of World Federalists sailed into the same principle in a surprising reversal of the press releases on nations' off-shore fishing rights in the past year or so. The *Indian Express*, attending the association's five day congress in New Delhi, reports in its 22 January 1975 issue that no nation should have exclusive economic rights for a distance of 200 miles off its shores, according to the strong feelings of the World Association of World Federalists. Their spokesman is Dr. John Logue, director of Villanova University's World Order Research Institute.

Dr. Logue said it was unfair that sea-bed resources worth 20,000 billion dollars lying in the 200 miles offshore should go to only 16 developed and 16 developing countries....

A common world heritage fund should be created with a major part of the constitutions from rich coastal States.

TRADING, MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES, THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES

I don't suppose there are many fans of the GATT talks who can recite figures and conclusions the way cricket, baseball or soccer followers can yield an encyclopedia of

wins, injuries and records of their favorite teams and players. Suffice it to say what *Newsweek* did on February 24, 1975: that the Kennedy Round of the Gatt (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) removed trade barriers by nearly 33%, in general, several years ago; and that the Tokyo Round, now meeting in Geneva after preparatory talks in Tokyo during 1973, is fondly eyed for further progress by careful observers. (The Tokyo Round was originally named the Nixon Round; the understandable change was made recently.)

But, like the obstacle to Near East negotiating success we discussed earlier, the world's economic situation has poured into the talks. *Newsweek* comments:

...The real issue confronting the negotiators is to prevent the current recession from inspiring a new round of protectionism... Sir Christopher Soames, the head of the European Economic Community negotiating team in Geneva, says: 'It is just when the pressures to close ourselves up against the world make themselves felt that we need more than ever to open further toward each other in mutual cooperation.'

The shadow and sunlight of obstacles and progress toward unity move into a more and more strikingly powerful contrast, it seems. One man who has tried to decide how East-West trade appears in a longer historical perspective is Mr. Zygmunt Nagorski, Jr., for years the director of meetings for New York's Council on Foreign Relations. According to *Newsweek's* Peter Grose, Mr. Nagorski is considered an extraordinarily knowledgeable and sage observer with as fine a series of contacts as the field could provide one man. He has finally written a book about it, *The Psychology of East-West Trade*, in which he summarizes that the long historical curve's result is

bound to be a gradual convergence of interests that neither side admits to desiring, yet from which both will ultimately benefit, despite themselves.

That may sound a bit academic until it is possible to get some concrete indication of just what is going on between the East and West, or the communist-socialists and Capitalists: possibly far more than most of us dare to expect. In an article for *The American Federationist* by Elizabeth Jager [*Indian Express*, 17 October 1974] it becomes clear that a startling change is sweeping through Soviet bloc countries: they are rapidly synthesizing the opulent and diverse multinational manufacturing and marketing capacity of the capitalist West into their state-ruled economies. The color and range of examples makes it irresistible to quote the description:

A Hungarian corporation now makes miniaturised batteries in Britain

and exports them to Western countries. A Romanian tractor assembly plant in Canada is selling tractors in the United States. Polish, East German and Yugoslav companies are building luxury hotels in Western Europe and elsewhere. A Romanian food company is operating a chain of restaurants in West Germany. The Soviet Union has joint ventures with companies in Scandinavia, Belgium, France and Nigeria. Soviets are selling TV sets in the U.S. and soon hope to export cars there. Moscow has banking operations in several countries. Seven American-based Yugoslavian firms make everything from steel to processed frozen foods.

While American multinationals are moving into other countries, foreign multinationals are moving into the U.S.

A closer and less purely economic view of convergence between Eastern Europe's collectivism and the West's individualism is evident in Poland where, it is reported, 99% of the population is Polish—making a strong national consciousness and expression possible in the midst of socialist bureaucratism. The *Weekly Guardian* [11 January 1975] goes on to say that religion, mostly privately operated agriculture, a 10:1 wage spread blossoming a literal class of "nouveaux riches", audacious cultural activities replete with titles, social distinctions and protocols—all these are co-existing with the socialist hegemony.

Edward Gierek, their leader, has earned the unanimous gratitude of Polish citizenry for his simple, direct, on-the-spot style generated by a vigilance to never again allow the twin demons of the socialist system, bureaucracy and inertia, to emerge. The article concludes by saying that

the age of "co-existence" is indeed past. An example is an agreement with the U.S. to set up a Polish branch of International Harvester and sell the tractors to the third world by Polish and U.S. marketing experts. Easterners or Westerners, we're all in the same boat.

10 March 1975

REVIEWS

Altar and Flame, poems by *Amal Kiran*. Aspiration, Charlottesville (Virginia, U.S.A.), 1975. 41 pp., Rs. 20.

First a word about criticism. It is easy enough to write down one's opinion about someone else's poetic work, much easier, to be sure, than it is to write good poetry. It is easy enough to add to one's opinion a few "well-chosen" quotations from the work considered or a few ill-chosen quotations from *Savitri* or *Paradise Lost*, to make a few generalizations, pronounce a few pronouncements, wrap up the whole in coloured string and call it a review—but there is perhaps more to criticism than any or all of this. I have been thinking that a true critic has to have most of the qualities that go to make a *siddha yogin*, his intuitive eye and ear, his mind perfected in *viveka*, his sensitive, pure, strong and equal vital being and, along with many other difficult to attain perfections, an instrument of expression which can set forth the truth of what is seen, heard, felt and rightly discriminated in a true, beautiful and evocative way.

I am not a yogin, siddha or otherwise, so it was after some hesitation that I agreed to review this book, the third collection of poems by Amal Kiran (K.D. Sethna). I will not be able to do more than record some of my own subjective impressions (and because subjective, therefore necessarily vitiated by my limitations as a reader of poetry) about the book. If the reader is to make his own intelligent judgement he will have to go through it himself—and should go through it, for this is true poetry of a quality that is rarely published today.

It is a mellow Amal Kiran that shines out in these pages. We do not find the concentrated intensity of *The Secret Splendour* or the less concentrated but still sometimes revelatory progression of *The Adventure of the Apocalypse*; it is a ray as of evening sun, subdued but clear.

In the title poem we find expressed a dichotomy which is of the greatest importance to the writer and reader of mystical poetry (and Amal Kiran is a mystical poet, genuinely so), the distinction between the true spiritual inspiration and mental imitation:

Not with new altar-plan but with new flame
Life lays on Godhead a king-coloured claim

It is not with the mind's straining and arranging but with the soul's impetuous fire that we can pull "The great invisible Sun into earth's heart", that we can bring down the truth above the mind into the range of our physical awareness and sensitivity or, if we are the poet, that we can bring down the inspired and revealing word from its high secrecy into our evident but unsatisfying lower atmosphere. And we find in the poem itself examples of both kinds of workings. In a line like, "And slashes the skies of secrecy hung between", in spite of its somewhat disturbing alliteration, or in the first and especially in the third* lines quoted above, we have that mingling of confident and expressive rhythm with imagery that is both extraordinary and clear, the mark of great poetry. Other phrases like "king-coloured claim" or "visionary vehemence" seem to fall towards the other extreme. It is the dynamic spirit that we need, not the "chisel's art" which can at best "cut the marble shape more beautiful", but generally succeeds only in disfiguring the poor stone.

Nevertheless form is important, and Amal Kiran knows how to use it to good effect. The form-deaf reader will miss in "A Prayer for Ignorance" the subtle suggestion of the rhyming triplets. They are at first humorously (but not vacantly) ingenious:

I have mastered the antimonies of Kant
And the four-dimensional continuum
And the daedal scheme of Joyce-wrought *Ulysses* —

Of Dali's wierd signs I am the hierophant,
And how through Narcist quiverings they come
I have learned by subtle psychoanalysis.

Then, suddenly, they give way to bare sincerity:

Now, Lord, I pray make me most ignorant,
Drown in huge sleep the ever-dancing hum
Of knowledge so that like a strange abyss

and then richly imaged significance:

Of waveless water I may brood intent
The ineffable Truth — then suddenly find room
For Thy thousand-petalled lotus-break of Bliss!

Gold core; packed poise of the infinite Permanent —
Silver leaves: world upon world in magic bloom —
Light's lone rapt self, Light's all-enkindling kiss!

*This third line is very fine. Since I finished this review it has recurred to me many times, and the more I hear it, the more I like it.

It is a delightful achievement.

Amal Kiran is a poet of word and image more than of rhythm and music, an A.E. rather than a Yeats of the mystical imagination. The last two stanzas quoted above or a line like

A Sun grown soft and small

as a description of the soul are examples of his image-seeing power. His rhythms walk mostly in the iambic metre, and when he leaves that well-beaten path he is not at his best. But in such lines as "O the rare fall for the flag unseen..." or the refreshing

**In the body's crowded city,
In the hubbub of life's town**

or in the lovely choriambic variations of

Pallor of glass mingles with diamond fire

we see that Amal Kiran can be a master of his metre. Sometimes a whole poem is rhythmically (and visually) satisfying, for example "Escape from Tartary":

**I am one who seeks on hidden hills of trance
A wideness free from barbs of iron speech,
A golden life free from the ravener's reach,
A beauty brooding in some blue expanse**

**Beyond the long bows of the Tartar Khans.
Nothing they see but hunger to draw nigh
And grasp in their red hands where the blood's fire
Leaps in ten flames that would devour the sky.
Far from the arrows screaming ever higher,
O for a Yonder to the abysmal eye!**

**Carrying within their hearts a sputtering hell,
Sleepless the gaunt black-bearded archers scan
Night for white wings that with serene waft span
The distances that keep me mortal man.
May those rapt swans merge in the Ineffable!**

These poems should be read. They should be read slowly, carefully, several times over with an eye and ear not satisfied with surface dallying, but intent to penetrate into the depth and richneess which all of Amal Kiran's poetry can reveal to the reader with the capacity, the *adhikara*, to feel and respond to the verbal touch of the spirit.

The get-up of the book can only be called superb. The text is flawlessly printed on ribbed handmade paper which it is a pleasure to see, feel and smell. The cover and end papers are also of handmade paper. It is evident that a great deal of care has gone into every aspect of the production. That such a book is being sold for twenty rupees in these days of skyrocketing paper costs is inconceivable.

Peter Heehs

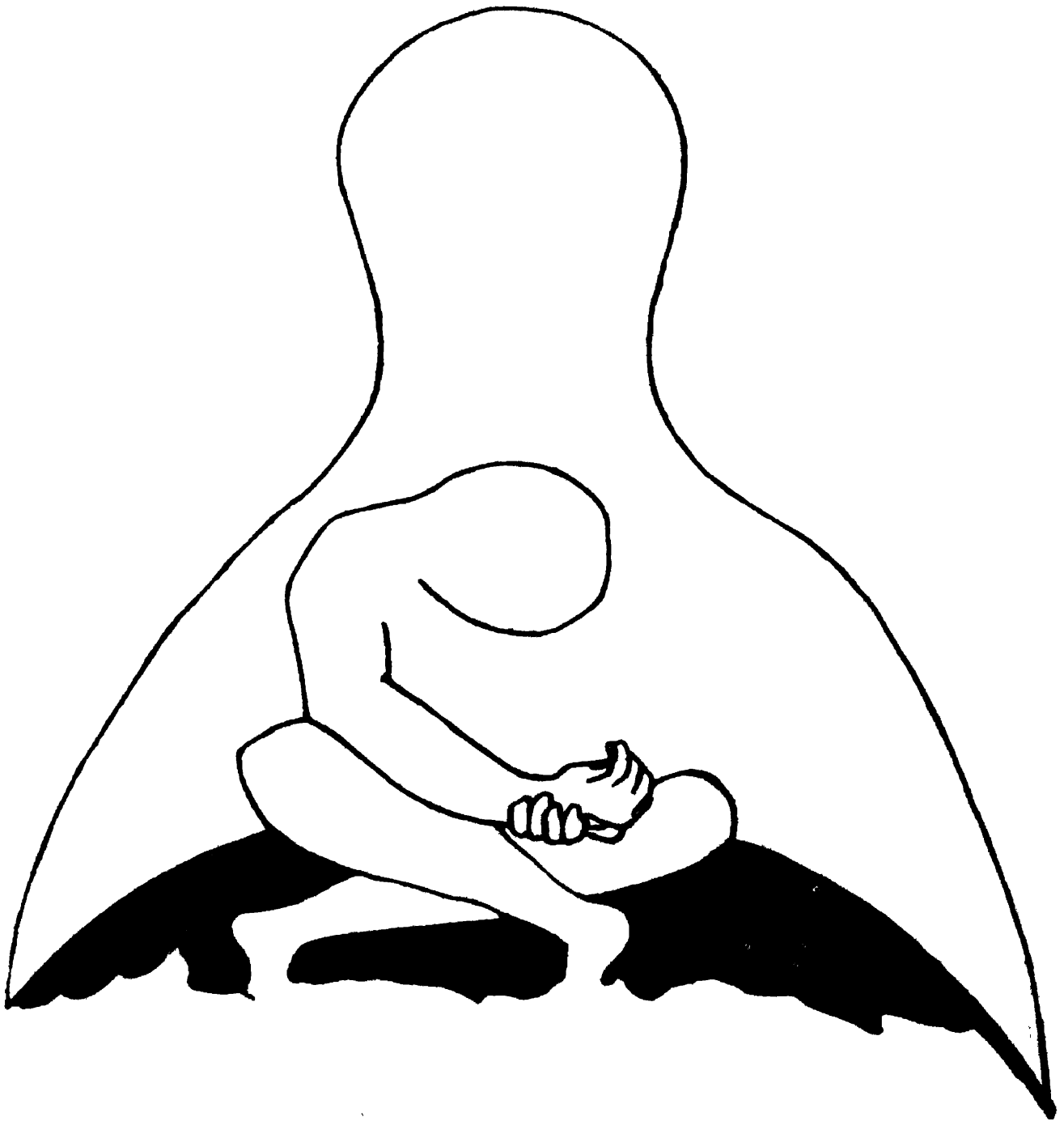
One World, poems by *Shashikar*. Dip Sahitya Sansthan, Chakradharpur. 31 pp., Re. 1.

What is remarkable about *One World* is the impulse which moved its creation and the vision it seeks to express. Translated from the original Hindi, each of the nineteen compositions articulates the author's earnest perception of the call that is abroad for a collective existence based on the essential truth of oneness. Shashikar's is a compelling sensitivity that cuts across the borders of conventions as well as of nations to add its voice to the cry for earth unity. Awareness of that oneness is not only the solution offered but the primal reality envisaged.

The Human Exile, by *Bela Fischer*. Philosophical Library, New York, 1974. 185 pp., \$6.

In this collection of aphoristic essays, Rabbi Fischer regards the psychological alientation of man and also a future "homecoming of the human exiles to their unattained self, realized through universal kinship and togetherness". Humanistically based, replete with truisms as well as epigramatic truths, there is a perception that the sense of separateness must end. And for this advancement, or return, "there is no alternative to the necessity of expanding the human spirit". Significantly, he has observed the indicator of integral spiritual development: "The extent of man's world-home is the closest and most accurate measure of the quality of his inner life."

M. P. Pandit



Only he longed to draw her presence and power
Into his heart and mind and breathing frame;
Only he yearned to call for ever down
Her healing touch of love and truth and joy
Into the darkness of the suffering world.
His soul was freed and given to her alone.

—Sri Aurobindo

Savitri

(drawing by Barbi Dailey)

WORLD UNION FOCUS-4 OF 1975

TOWARDS A WORLD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

We have the obligation to place the human interest above the national interest, and human sovereignty above national sovereignty.

*From the
Human Manifesto*

To our Members and Friends,

Every thoughtful person will agree that the present international order is in a chaotic condition and not conducive to the orderly evolution of a world society, being threatened by problems such as the gap between the rich and the poor nations, the absence of a just economic order on a world basis, as also the absence of a world court to arbitrate between nations whenever differences or disputes arise. In this chaos there is one hopeful and healthy sign, that there are many individuals and organisations around the world, though small in number, who are earnestly and with determination working for the promotion of World Citizenship and World Federal Government. They are working with devotion and zeal against heavy odds as represented by the entrenched established order in the national and international spheres. In the World Union Booklet, 1975, on the back cover we have enumerated 25 organisations with which we are in contact, which are directly or indirectly working for the realisation of world unity and peace. We would specially mention some of them which are earnestly working for reaching the goal of World Federal Government.

The World Federal Authority Committee, with its address:

Geitmysveien 48, Oslo 4, Norway, aims to establish, in cooperation with the governments and the support of the people of all the countries, an Institute which will engage top experts from all parts of the world to draft a World Constitution to be presented for ratification by all nations to replace the existing U.N. Charter. The Committee has a plan for establishing a democratically-controlled world federal authority, and has succeeded in

obtaining financial support from governments as well as from important personalities in public life in many countries.

The World Union movement at Frederik Hendriklaan 26, the Hague, the Netherlands has formed an Emergency Committee for World Government and is engaged in the formation of the Emergency World Council which does not have an advisory or honorary function, but whose members accept a special task. There are already fifty members of the Council consisting of prominent persons in all parts of the world, including Soviet Russia. When completed, it will set up a Potential World Government which is to launch an appeal to all the world's inhabitants to acknowledge it as their highest political authority on earth. The Council will be considered completed when it becomes reasonable to expect that its members, when speaking and acting together, enjoy the political confidence of, at least, humanity's majority.

The World Constitution and Parliament Association, 8800 West 14th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80215, U. S. A. has already drafted a Constitution for World Federal Government and circulated its copies for comments. It is proposed to modify the draft Constitution in the light of comments received and to convene a World Constituent Assembly in the year 1977 to finalise the Constitution for World Federal Government, which will be submitted to all the national governments of the world.

The General Secretary of World Union had an opportunity to attend the 16th Congress of the World Association of World Federalists held at New Delhi from 15th to 21st January 1975. The majority of the delegates came from Europe, America and Japan. Though we have no space in this FOCUS even to give a brief report of the proceedings of the Congress, we would like to refer to an interesting paper which was prepared by a group of delegates and distributed to all. The title of the paper is: "A Call for the Unity of World Citizens." We give excerpts from it: "Efforts for unifying the whole of humanity and to abolish war have been going on from time immemorial.

"There are a large number of international non-governmental organisations striving for this ideal, but the present situation is tense and fraught with immediate danger of total destruction of the world through nuclear warfare. This is because the various international non-governmental peace organisations are not having enough impact on world politics.

"Hence, it is proposed to bring all the international non-governmental peace organisations together on a single platform for better coordination of their activities for the establishment of a nucleus for world government through the United Nations Organisation or otherwise".

This group consisted of the representatives of several international non-governmental organisations and decided to establish a liaison body for the purpose of bringing all international peace organisations together on one platform. It was stated in the paper that the first convention will be held in San Francisco, USA July 20/25, 1975, hosted at the time of World Citizens Assembly. It is expected that the whole idea of cooperation between various non-governmental organisations will be carried a step further during the time World Citizens Assembly meets in San Francisco from 20th to 25th July. Many of the organisations will be represented at that Assembly.

The Time-Spirit leads humanity towards a World Federal Government. We would mention that there are efforts made by some to register World Citizens, Planetary Citizens and to issue World Passports for travel in order to create a climate of world citizenship, ignoring the national boundaries and the idea of national sovereignty, which have to give place to a world view of problems, world citizenship and human sovereignty if the human race is to fulfil its destiny.

Bangalore Convention:

The preparation for the first National Convention of World Union Centres in India is proceeding well, and all World Union Centres and members are invited to attend it on 8th, 9th and 10th June 1975. Papers for the Convention may be sent upto 24th April 1975. Rail concession is available for participants in the Convention on production of a requisite Certificate from the Secretary of the Convention. In the case of First Class, the return journey concessional fare will be equal to two single journey fares less 15% subject to a minimum of two single journey full first class fares for 400 kilometers. In case of second class the concessional return journey tickets will be issued on payment of single journey second class mail fares to persons travelling from beyond 400 kilometers from the place of the Convention. The concession is only available to persons with earnings emoluments of not more than Rs. 1,800/- per month.

New World Union Centres:

World Union Tamil Nadu Centre was inaugurated by His Excellency Sri K. K. Shah, the Governor of Tamil Nadu, on Saturday, the 1st March, 1975. The meeting was held at the Venkata Auditorium of the Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan, Madras. Sri A. B. Patel briefly introduced World Union, and His Excellency while inaugurating the Centre made a speech suitable for the occasion. Sri Rohit Mehta gave an inspiring talk explaining the aims and ideals of World Union. The President of the new Centre is Smt. Madhuben Shah, Raj Bhavan, Madras-600 022. The two Vice-Presidents are: Dr. (Mrs) Visalakshi Nedunchezian, "Ezhyil", Greenway Road, Adyar, Madras-600 028 and Smt. Rasika Kothari, "Kothari Bagh", 4-A Nungambakkam High Road, Madras-600 034. The Honorary Secretary is Sri Sidharth Buch, Flat No. 1, Block 41/3, III Main Road, Basant Nagar, Madras-600 019.

and the Treasurer is Sri Sathrasala Venkata Ram, 10 Govindappa Naick Street, Madras-600 001.

Activities of World Union Centres:

World Union Centres in West Bengal: The second convention of the members of the World Union Centres of West Bengal was held on 9th February, 1975, at 3.45 p.m. at the premises of Bhupendra Smriti Vidyalaya, Hind Motor. After a devotional song by Sri Sunirmal Bhattacharya, a tape-recorded Durga Stotra and the Mother's music with readings from "The Hour of God", and after a group concentration, the meeting commenced its work under the chairmanship of Sri Sudhindra Kumar Gupta. The young members, especially Sri Ashim Kumar Dutta of Chandarnagore, Sri Mohan Dutta of Rishra Centre and Sri Shamal Chakravarty of Uttarpara Centre, submitted concrete suggestions for the formation of study circles. These suggestions were adopted by the Convention. Dr. G. R. Mitra, the Chairman of Asansol Centre, showed slides of the Ashram activities with brief commentaries after the convention was over. The suggestions adopted in the Convention regarding the First National Convention to be held in Bangalore on 8th, 9th and 10th June 1975 were sent to Dr. T. Prasannasimha Row, the Convener of the Convention.

World Union Butwal Centre: held its meeting on 12th February 1975 to celebrate the first anniversary of the Centre, with readings from the "Prayers and Meditations" of the Mother. Sri S. K. Rattan, the President of the Centre, emphasised that the Centre would grow in proportion to the inner progress of the members. He expressed his satisfaction at the progress achieved during the last one year. The Annual Report of the activities of the Centre has been circulated and we have received a copy. We congratulate the Centre for their excellent work during the last year.

World Union Chinsurah Centre held its 3rd monthly meeting at 4.30 p.m. on 19th January 1975 at Prosad Kutir, the residence of the Chairman Sri Sambhunath Seal, Sri Durgadas Mukherjee presiding. After a devotional song by Sri Biswanath Pal followed by group concentration, Sri Samar Basu spoke on "Content of World Unity with reference to present crisis and World Union Movement as visioned by Sri Aurobindo." At the end of the meeting, Sri Chittaranjan Kar gave a song.

Sri Aurobindo's Action, Sri Aurobindo Society, World Union and Navajyoti jointly sponsored a Seminar on National Reconstruction which was held at the Ashram Theatre, Pondicherry on 18th, 19th and 20th February 1975. Many delegates representing the four institutions participated and a statement was adopted by the Seminar setting out broad principles recommended by four committees appointed on the first day.

World Union North Calcutta Centre: The general meeting of the Centre was held on 2nd February 1975 at 10 a.m. at 4, Jagadish Nath Roy Lane, Calcutta-700006, the

residence of Sri Sujit Kumar Palit, with four items on the Agenda. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Sri Robi Ghosh followed by group Concentration, Sri Susanto Kumar Mittra presiding. Sri Tripti Kumar Sinha briefly spoke on the Centre's activities, Pondicherry Conference, Hind Motor Convention and Bangalore Convention. Sri Sujit Kumar Palit spoke on subjectivity and objectivity. Several resolutions were adopted on the items of the Agenda and matters arising therefrom. We have received a copy of the Minutes of the meeting covering three pages.

The Centre held its 11th monthly meeting on 12th February 1975 at 7 p.m. at 18-A Ramdhone Mittra Lane, Calcutta, the residence of Sri Susanto Mitra, Sri Baidyanath Mullick presiding. The meeting commenced with devotional songs by Smt. Anita Bose, Smt. Sati Das and Sri Arun Bhattacharya, followed by group concentration. The meeting referred to the sad demise of the late Sukumar Dutta, Editor of "Basudhara" and a member of World Union, and wished peace to the departed soul. The proceedings of the last meeting were read by Sri Gour Mohan Chatterjee. The Secretary of the Centre, Sri Tripti Kumar Sinha, read out resolutions passed on 2.2.75 and referred to the responsibilities of members and other subjects arising therefrom. He referred to the Seminar to be held at Pondicherry in February and to the June Convention at Bangalore and the Convention of the Eastern Region on 9th February. Sri Samar Basu delivered a speech on "Subjectivity and Objectivity with special reference to the mantra of Sri Aurobindo". Sri Baidyanath Mullick spoke on "Subjective Mind." The meeting closed after a devotional song by Smt. Leena Sinha.

World Union Chandarnagore Centre held its 9th monthly Seminar of World Union on 2nd February 1975 under the presidentship of Sri Panchugopal Dey at his Barabaxar residence. The meeting commenced with group concentration and discussed the subject: "Science for Human Unity". Sri B. N. Baral, the Secretary of the Centre, opened the discussion and Sri Purnendu Ghosh gave his exposition. Sri Samar Basu synthesised the opinions expressed and explained them on the basis of Spiritual Science. The 10th monthly meeting of the same Centre was held on 9th March 1975 at the residence of Dr. Suniti Ghose, the President of Sri Aurobindo Mandir, Chandarnagore. The meeting began with group concentration under the presidentship of Dr. Ghose; the subject for discussion was "World Union and National Integration". Sri Asim Dutta, Sri B. N. Baral and Sri Panchugopal Dey participated in the discussions. Lastly Dr. Suniti Ghose made a synthesis of all opinions.

World Union Chandarnagore Centre celebrated the 97th Birthday of the Mother jointly with Sri Aurobindo Cultural Centre in the evening of 23rd, 1975. The gathering turned into a seminar. The first part of the programme was a Gityalekhya and the second part was a seminar on "Education for Human Unity: Theory and Practice". The participants in the second part were Sri N. D. Chatterjee and Sri B. N. Baral. Several members participated in the first part of the programme, Dr. Suniti Ghose presiding.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 194. Mr. Chunibhai J. Patel | P. O. Box 80605, MOMBASA Kenya,
E. Africa. |
| 195. Mr. Hassanally Mussa Jeth | P. O. Box 80261, MOMBASA, Kenya,
E. Africa. |
| 196. Mr. Hasmukh P. Patel | P. O. Box 80661, MOMBASA, Kenya,
E. Africa. |
| 197. Mr. Nagin K. Patel | P. O. Box 82827, MOMBASA, Kenya,
E. Africa. |
| 198. Mr. D. D. Doshi | P. O. Box 80549, MOMBASA, Kenya,
E. Africa. |
| 199. Mr. Gunther E. Schwarz | D 8101 KRUEN/OBB, W. Germany. |
| 200. Sri Sathrasale Venkata Ram | 10, Govindappa Naick St.,
MADRAS-600001. |
| 201. Sri Prahladbhai H. Patel | 15, Shrenik Society, Naranpura, Char Rasta,
AHMEDABAD-380013, Gujarat. |
| 202. Sri K. S. Sridharan | 27 H. B. Samaj Road,
BANGALORE-560004. |
| 203. Sri V. Ranganatham Chetty. | 23, Strotten Muthia Mudali Street
G. T. Madras-600001 |

NEW "FRIENDS OF WORLD UNION"

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 4. Mrs. Maduram Gopalkrishna | 3 UMA, Rani Chinnambal Road,
Alwarpet, MADRAS-600018. |
|------------------------------|--|

WORLD UNION
PONDICHERRY-605002



General Secretary,

20-3-1975

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WORLD UNION

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MAY 1975

*BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Is Human Unity Practicable?

It is often asked: How do you expect to realise the ideal of human unity? Man is essentially selfish; he has always been so and, it would appear from all current evidence, he will always be selfish. That is his innate nature. Scratch him on the surface and you will find the same old primitive man whose first concern is himself. True, man is severely individualistic to begin with; but he is many other things also in his state of nature. He is cruel, he is greedy. He looks upon the world as a field for his exploitation. But man is not alone, living by himself alone. He is part of a scheme of Nature and he is incessantly subject to certain compulsions of Nature, the chief of which is to grow, grow in his self-awareness, grow in the range of his movements. Even his selfishness is under pressure to grow wider and in the process to weaken. The area of his concern is widened step by step: individual, his spouse, his children, his family, his clan, his tribe and so on. The very circumstances of life compel him to see that his interests are better served by enlarging the scope of his operations and he learns to identify himself with larger and larger groups of his fellow-beings. That has been the trend of human evolution and all indications today point to the extension of the national arena of man to a still larger arena, the comity of nations. Whatever the limitations of men as individuals, as members of societies, as citizens of countries, they respond differently to pressures of international conditions. A gradual, a steady dropping off of animal instincts, a continuous process of humanisation, enlargement of interests and sympathies is unmistakable in the evolution of mankind. Apart from individuals who have been thrown up as leaders in the movement towards the unification of the world, it is a fact that the appeal of the Ideal has been widening.

It is another fact that Unity is not really something to be discovered and organised. The unity of life, unity of mind, unity of consciousness is all the time behind the veil of material circumstances. It is there ever-present on levels of being deeper than the surface exterior. As man evolves more and more in his consciousness, this fact of unity makes itself more and more perceptible and palpable. Nature, the great educator, forces us to think and see the truth under the stress of several crises that are forced upon the world

so that men may learn to recognise and accept the truth of the oneness of the human race and build their world accordingly.

It is only a question of time. The cosmic forces are pressing upon the mind and eye of man the necessity to realise the underlying unity of the peoples all over the globe, to reorientate their action in that direction and lay the foundations of One World.

What Next In India?

This is a question that is asked everywhere in the journals coming from abroad and answered differently. The situation baffles them. Each issue reveals itself to be complex and as many solutions are bandied about as the number of people who face it. The truth of the matter is that India is not just a country like England or France or Germany. It is a vast continent with a history and tradition of millenniums. All the various stages of civilisation are found represented in the varied parts of the sub-continent. Problems in one part are totally different from those in another. India is a miniature world and the problems that are posed are, so to say, projections of the world-problems. It will not do to be easily disheartened or immediately enthused. The interests and the forces that are in the fray are complex and the public nomenclatures are no true guide to their inner nature. As India moves nearer her hour of choice of destiny, the situation gets more and more complex. It is not a question of right or left or centre but a matter of a total view. Whatever the noises of the political parties, the propaganda and campaigns of the mass media, the people at large can be trusted to decide aright what they want. Their heart is sound. India will choose and follow a course that alone will suit its genius. No single ideology of the present mart will prevail. Life is complex, different solutions will have to be applied at different levels. A decentralised democracy at the bottom with a unified control at the summit seems to be the direction in which things are moving.

M. P. P.

ECOLOGY OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

Chaman Lal Gupta

Introduction

We are at a moment in history when most well accepted norms are in transition. This is probably more conspicuous in the field of "development" than any other area of human activity. In less than a decade, all focii seem to be doing a round about turn. The Gross National Product and Per Capita Energy consumption, which were considered indications of development (very frequently equated to affluence, consciously or sub-consciously), are now being reckoned in terms of a survival gap. No wonder industrialist groups like the Club of Rome and political groups like the European Economic Community and utilities like General Electric are crying halt to the growth of consumerism and the grinding advance of the all prevailing economic monster. This wind of change seems to have hardly touched India except for a few who are making speeches or conducting seminars and manufacturing more committees, and that too at a leisurely pace.

Present Day Experiments

The "primitive" or rather the prescientific in so-called under-developed societies is not really a curse. In fact, it can be an advantage and an important lead in bypassing the intermediate ills of industrial revolution and its attendant explosion of pollution,

urbanisation, dehumanisation, corruption and callousness. The native peasant intelligence of the practical Chinese mind has fully seized upon this "gap" as its central strategy for development, even though we may not agree to the initial curtailment of freedom it practised. It is indeed ironic that most research on village development for the so-called Third World is done abroad and mostly done well, whereas universities and laboratories in India prefer to concentrate on highbrow projects which can get headlines in newspapers. To cite an example, most Indian research on solar energy, wind-mills, methane gas etc., acquires respectability here only through references in foreign journals. In a more sophisticated sense, Israel is a striking example of "technology blend" and a lesson in fast development without the luxury of gimmickery and endless philosophical disputations. In the specific context of the Indian village scene it is instructive to consider:

1. How consumerism came to be linked to development.
2. What we mean by development in the Indian context.
3. What is the best strategy for this development in villages.

Unnaturalness of Consumerism

Two things seem to stand out in the march of the industrial revolution and the

consequent fostering of technocracy in present times. One is the degradation of originally commendable efforts for reducing unrelenting drudgery by adoption of economies of the scale of production and efficiency of big marketing operations. The other is the vetting of these systems by increasing consumerism, narrowly utilitarian horizons of economic theory, and increasing application of science and money to solve the problems caused by this "systematic gigantism". Even though there are controversies about the mechanics and efficiency of gigantism, it is very obvious that this is not a natural mode of development. Most natural systems, even when they are big to look at, are really distributed systems. For example, the size of a forest is not as directly an integral part of the growth of trees as the size of a factory to its production. The only exceptions in nature to these collections of organic wholes are concentrations of energy which mean disaster, e.g. earthquakes, typhoons etc.

The wholesale departure from the natural order of things has produced in our social systems concentrated problems whose solutions always cascade into more problems. If we have a big factory, which provides more lucrative employment and a little more leisure, we also have large-scale pollution, traffic bottlenecks, social alienation and the cultural mismatch which characterize most such transitions. These would have been no problem at all if they were not concentrated. Various built in checks, including space requirements of smaller units, capacities of transportation, supply and marketing etc., and the positively fulfilling measures like job satisfaction, familiar work grounds etc., would have channelled man into his natural role in the wider dimension of the whole

ecosystem. It is no longer a matter of conjecture that the price for unbridled acquisitiveness has been the sterilisation of creativity of the human race; so much so that we are in an utter state of helplessness today. Technology can, however, be used for development without our becoming its victims or being romantic and naive revivalists.

Development in the Indian Context

The clues for development in an Indian village mostly lie a little behind the surface of the time honoured practices which are derisively dubbed "primitive". Their biggest merits are their simplicity, sound regard for ecology, traditional acceptability and minimal requirement of money. The very fact that they have survived shows that they were appropriate at one time, and if they are not so now it is because of extra problems created by urban migration, population explosion, miseducated rural youth and the craze for glamorous status. However, before any development effort can be assured of success it is imperative that the villagers must participate in the allocation of priorities and decide whether they want development at all.

The most probable common requirements would be improvement of habitat, clean water and waste disposal, cheap and simple sources of power, employment or work opportunities through improved agriculture and crafts, economic capacity to obtain nutritious food, primary medical care, and increased awareness of the horizons beyond through communications and information exchange. Most experiments done by village level workers in these areas either change the skin only or have complete

disregard for psychological needs or else are beyond the economic capability of the majority of villagers.

To cite an example, the present-day trend of long life, loose fit, low energy architecture being advocated by the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, means for us only a slight modification and improvement of the traditional Indian hut, whose organic and locally available materials and low cost can afford shorter life. In the agricultural field, the traditional plough has been much derided but the fact that it can be made and repaired in the village itself has yet to be matched by a truly more productive model.

The reason for inappropriate "improvements" is not lack of intelligence, but ignorance about affairs of a village and lack of commitment on the part of those who can usually do such improvements. This is not to belittle some excellent efforts made by field workers in India, but the lag is normally glaring when one thinks of the fine implements developed in Israel and Japan and in dedicated voluntary institutions in our own country. One is struck by the wisdom of the Indian farmer in his reluctance to accept initially pesticides and fertilisers. Its advocacy by government and the economic gain through higher production at the cost of land are not enough justification for these unecologic practices being continued any longer. We would have been much better off if we had concentrated on improving methods of composting, making more efficient use of water etc., which are not only easier for us but also more complete approaches. The credibility and motivational gap on the Indian village scene can only be bridged by complete identification with the villagers themselves, not by the arrogance

of technical, social or religious do-gooders sitting on a pedestal.

The Recommended Strategy

Indian villages are usually characterised by specific local problems, even though the elements needing development change only in the degree of emphasis required. It is here contended that before any far reaching changes are made in the basic structure and operation of traditional village practices, their ecological content and wisdom must be appreciated and not sacrificed at the altar of economics. In this way, we will achieve not only more durable solutions but also create less problems of acceptability and fully utilize the available fund of experience without requiring huge sums of money. The approach has to be experiential and open and not ideologic and dogmatic or imitative.

The central issues seem to be the value systems of the educated Indian community in urban areas and the villagers' loss of respect for his self-sufficiency in an ecological sense. It is clear that if the world is to survive, the balance has to be shifted towards a low investment, ecologic and inner self-sufficiency rather than high consumption economic glamour and status. Given the right example and direction, an Indian villager need not sulk in the plight of his miserable lot but could be the harbinger of a saner order in the world society. There are pointers of the changing times all over and we can keep on flogging past fashionable horses only at the risk of complete disaster.

Some Bright Spots

Wherever in India purposeful, idealistic and intellectually trained young men have

identified themselves with villages and provided the right example and direction, some bright spots with a solid potential have emerged in a very short time. Some of these are briefly mentioned below.

Gadipalli (Andhrapradesh): It is a striking example of how the inspiration of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother coupled with the vision and dedication of a young and able agricultural scientist and the financial backing of one of the largest banks in the country, have brought work and purposefulness into the daily life of one of the most backward areas without much commercialisation and loss of regard for deeper values of life.

Tiloniya (Rajasthan): This is an example of integrated development in one of the harshest and most barren regions where again the support of an educational institution through volunteers, the dedication and organisational capability of an able young man, the support of an international voluntary agency reported to work at the grass roots level and lately the enlightened support of the State Government have brought hope, food, education, medical care and water to the people of nearly twenty parched villages.

Amarpurkashi (Uttarpradesh): It is the response of a village to one of its own sons,

who against all odds studied and yet never lost his moorings with the earth of his early childhood. He came back to fight the injustice, poverty, misery and inertia but not only through courts and words. By putting his hands and head to interact with primal matter, he has put twelve villages on the road to their destiny through a happy and meaningful life.

All the above have happened in different parts of the country with varying degrees of success, with different philosophies and employing diverse methods of work. But all have happened in less than five years and have been initiated by an able and dedicated young man with vision, who identified himself with the village physically as well as inwardly. So, it is possible not merely as an idea but actually in the field.

And lastly *Auroville*, that is yet manifesting itself at the elemental level. Here, the material progress cannot be spectacular and quick till the very central consciousness of matter itself manifests into a "Becoming" through the action of Divine Grace and the offering and invocation of a handful of true Aurovillians. The *yajna* here is truly the rendezvous of the Divine with "Matter", and the earth so eagerly awaits its finest hour.

MORNING

Three Poems

*Spilled in masterful abandon as the sun its dawn,
The quiet abundance of eternal garlands strung
With flowers of uttered light, pours down the breast
Of a rising god, morning voice of the ancient quest.*

*

*Daybreak's strata of sea and cloud and variegated sky
Presage sometimes the colours that have come to be born;
Birds crossing the morning with golden tail
Make by their path entries in a diary of the future.*

*

*Gray folded upon gray before the morning;
Unlit clouds, water and the sky extend
The view in an edgeless and achromatic
Vast, relieved by expectation and the blind
Glow of darkness. Then gradually the dawn;
Slowly brilliant it waxes and gives shape
To immensity and heavens, to ether and the sea;
From a rift of uncertain rose it opens to red
Wideness, then bursts with saffron-gold and change
Grown rapid to build a white and tranquil day.*

Tatsat

ABUNDANCE OF PEACE

An Esoteric Solution to the Problem of Peace

A. R. Heaver

Since the days of the League of Nations and the subsequent establishment of the United Nations Organisation the ideal of peace on Earth to men of goodwill has been the dominant theme amongst world statesmen. So dominant is this ideal that it might well be described as the desire of all nations. The tragic fact that the realisation of this ideal in the realm of actuality still seems so elusive has led many seekers after truth to wonder if there exists some occult law, hitherto overlooked, which when applied would provide a solution capable of transforming the mirage into a miracle.

Indeed, there does exist such an occult law and one of the ancient Seers revealed the secret in the enigmatic statement that *"the effect of Righteousness is Peace."* There are hidden depths of wisdom in this esoteric announcement which fail to be visible at first sight. But we can begin to penetrate its significance once we realise that every effect is the result of a cause which pre-determines it and if it is true that Peace is an effect of which Righteousness is the cause, then since it is Peace that we want we must discover ways and means of putting the operative cause into operation.

The prophet Isaiah was a Seer, meaning one who could see clearly by the faculty of *epopteia* which far transcends the gift of

clairvoyance which functions on the psychic level only. Like our Lord Jesus the Christ he knew what was in man being possessed of that type of perception which could penetrate the archetypal images rooted in the innermost nature of Mankind which remain fundamentally the same in every age. Now that we have an understanding of the background to this problem we can take our first step in the required direction by making the resolve that the next time we pray for Peace we remember first to pray for Right Relationship since this is the operative cause which alone can produce the desired result.

A similar insistence upon the vital necessity to observe the same orderly and harmonious sequence of cause and effect is envisioned in the following beautiful words: *"As the Earth bringeth forth her Bud and as the Garden causeth things to spring forth: so the Lord God will cause Righteousness to spring forth before all nations."* Moreover, in a parallel passage the same occult principle is emphasised inasmuch as the prediction is made that *"Righteousness will flourish with the abundance of peace"*, indicating that the so much desired enjoyment of peace in abundance is dependent upon the degree to which its inseparable counterpart flourishes. Peace is thus seen to be the fruit of which Righteousness is the bud.

Even more poetical is the imagery of another great Seer who apostrophises in the following ecstatic fashion: "*Mercy and truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.*" Of course the prophet here used the prophetic tense speaking of some event which has yet to be fulfilled as if it had been done already. Certainly the essential quality of togetherness of the dual influences involved could hardly have been more eloquently expressed. At the same time some difficulty in bringing about a fusion of these two polarities is implicit or implied. Why should a meeting between mercy and truth be so difficult to arrange?

The answer to this enigma is that most people find it very difficult to face the truth finding it much easier instead to deceive themselves by believing what they want to believe. Without a doubt the majority of people in the world prefer peace to strife for the simple reason that the enjoyment of peace is easy. This explains the popularity of the ostrich-like attitude which proclaims: "*Peace, Peace when there is no peace*", when only a counterfeit condition is prevailing.

By contrast the question of right relationship which is what Righteousness implies, is a different matter altogether involving as it does the exercise of a measure of self-

discipline, which instead of presenting itself as an attractive proposition appears to be in the estimation of the majority something which sounds too much like hard work.

So it becomes the responsibility of the spiritual minority which exists in every land—the true *ecclesia*—to "*perform this miracle of the one thing*", acting on behalf of the collective consciousness or massmind of Mankind which remains travailing in the throes of spiritual immaturity.

That peace will come to this dis-ordered and troubled world is as sure as sunrise follows sunset day by day. All the true Seers of ancient times concur with harmonious accord in affirmation of this assurance.

The Astronomical New Year falls each year on March 20th, the date on which the Solar Orb or Sun crosses the celestial equator. In celebration of that day let me end with this final message: "*Sow to yourself Righteousness and reap mercy. It is time to seek the Lord till He come and rain Righteousness upon you.*" In this uplifting and wonder-inspiring affirmation we are shown a way out of the impasse which seems at present to hold long suffering Humanity so firmly in its grip.

(Courtesy of: The Avalon Group, London.)

THE GOD ON THE PROMINENCE

Mary Alexander

Way up high in a small cave on a rocky ledge lived a boy. From the entrance to his cave he could look out to the shining sea far beyond. The cave was so high that it was above where the birds flew who loved to soar. These were the only creatures that he knew.

He was not lonely. Since he had lived alone for as long as he could remember it seemed very natural to him. He liked to watch the birds flying through the great expanse of air in front of his cave. But at that height they were usually silent and absorbed in their flight, so he just watched and enjoyed them with no thought of communication. Daily he climbed a narrow path to the plateau above his cave to gather food and the things he needed to sustain himself. There he could see over all the world, or so it seemed to him, but he had no idea what that world was like; he was far too high above it to see anything but textures in the landscape and places which shone in the sunlight.

The boy was perfectly happy. The view from his cave and the plateau was awesome in its beauty. His days pulsed with a rhythm simple and undisturbed; and he was so close to the sun and the moon and the stars. But he did wonder what it was like so far below.

One evening he was sitting at the edge of his cave watching the birds soar and swoop when he noticed that one of them was not following the others, but indeed seemed to be coming almost as high as the cave everytime he soared up. After some time the bird flew quite near and up around towards the plateau then disappeared. He found this curious, but watched the other birds awhile longer, then went into the cave for the night.

He was in the habit of rising early in the morning to watch the moon and stars, sitting quietly through the always splendid sunrise until the sun burst over the horizon and the sky turned to its daily blue. This morning as the sky was just beginning to grow pink and all the stars had not yet gone, he saw the bird again circling around and above his cave. This especially surprised him because he never saw the birds at that hour; he watched it awhile puzzled.

The bird disappeared long before the sun was up and the boy went about his routine, delighting in all he did. As usual he climbed to the plateau in the middle of the

morning and walked all around the edge looking at the view before beginning to gather the things he needed. He had only just begun his gathering when what should he find nestled in the tall grass but the bird.

The boy jumped. He could not believe his eyes. He had never come across another creature of any sort on the plateau before. Never had the soaring birds come as high as the plateau let alone landed on it, yet this bird looked quite at home where he was as though he had been there all night. The boy just stood and stared, not knowing what to do. The bird looked at him once or twice but for the most part ignored him. Finally the boy sat down. He continued to stare, but now with interest and curiosity instead of surprise. The bird was different from the others he usually saw, larger and very white. It was beautiful and certainly not nearly as disturbed by his presence as he was by its.

The bird let him look at it for a long time before turning and looking the boy directly in the eye. The boy started again, but looked as directly back. "But what are you doing here?" he finally asked. The bird said nothing. It just got up and began walking across the meadow. The boy watched it for a while then got up and ran after it. "Won't you tell me?" he cried. But the bird flapped its wings and flew off as the boy got near, disappearing over the edge of the plateau opposite the boy's cave. He ran to the edge and watched the bird become a speck, then vanish far, far below.

The boy continued his routine as usual but he was out of rhythm. The bird was constantly in his thoughts and the question of why it had come to the plateau was very disturbing to him. He looked for it among the other birds that evening, but it wasn't there. He looked in the sky again early the next morning too, but didn't see it. So when he went up to the plateau in the middle of the morning and found it walking about in the meadow, he was just as surprised as he had been the day before.

But he didn't say anything this time, he just watched the bird as it moved about in the grass. He watched it all morning as he gathered what he needed. As he sat down to make a new broom, the bird came over and sat down calmly next to him, but didn't pay much attention to what the boy was doing. When the broom was finished and he got up to go back down to his cave, the bird got up too and started walking towards the opposite end of the plateau, looking over its shoulder once to see if the boy was following. At this he did follow it. When it reached the edge of the plateau, the bird looked once again at him before spreading its wings and diving off into the air below. The boy walked right up to the edge of the cliff and watched it glide away. And as he watched, he was suddenly filled with a longing to dive off and glide after it. The longing grew stronger and stronger and it was only with great restraint that he kept himself on the ground. He watched until the bird had disappeared, then slowly returned to the cave.

Now he was really out of rhythm. He could enjoy nothing as before. The other birds circling at sunset only reminded him of the one on the plateau, and he grew anxious for the next day to come in hope of seeing it again.

The next day the bird was not there when he arrived on the plateau (perhaps because he had in fact gone a little early), but came gliding up not long after. The boy did not know quite what to do but the bird came up to him, looked right at him and started to move away across the plateau. The boy was sure that the bird wanted him to follow. He did, wondering all the while what else the bird wanted.

When they came to the edge the bird looked at him again, and again he felt sure that it wanted him to follow. With one flap of its wings it left the edge and sailed oh so gently down, down, down. The boy grabbed the branch of a nearby tree to keep himself from plunging after. More than ever he wanted to dive after the bird, but he could not quite do it and the conflict made him dizzy.

When he no longer felt dizzy he went back to his cave. But there was no longer any possibility of a routine. His mind went over and over the events of the past three days. The bird had so clearly indicated for him to follow. What if he did? What would happen? Could he too fly or would he be hurt? Would he ever get back to his cave? What was down there???

He tossed and turned over these questions all night. But with the early morning light he finally became quiet. He decided that there really was no other possibility for him than to follow the bird the next day. And although the doubts would come rushing back at him periodically, they could not disturb the calm that this resolution brought him. So he began his day slowly, ritually, going through each act carefully, putting each thing in order, as though it were the first time and the last.

He was careful not to go up on the plateau too soon that morning. When he did go the view was breathtaking—crystal clear all around. It called him to come, he knew not where, but oh how he wanted to go. He walked all around the edge before sitting down to wait for the bird. The morning passed into noon, but the bird did not come. The noon passed into afternoon and still the bird did not come. And as the afternoon passed the boy became anxious that the bird might not come at all. Would he then just return to his cave? He got up and walked around the rim of the plateau again. The call was still there. It was unmistakable. The unknown world below lay stretched before him in late afternoon colors. Much of it he had not often seen this way before. So as the afternoon passed into evening and still the bird had not come, he decided that he would go anyway. And upon deciding he felt very quiet, very light, with a sense of joy he had not known before.

He stepped up on a rock which seemed to be a better vantage point from which to leap. The sky had turned to a glorious tapestry of color which seemed to lift him even higher. With a deep breath he spread his arms out as he had seen the bird do and sprang from the rock.

The air around him carried him gently, ever so gently out and away from his plateau. He closed his eyes and let himself float and he understood why the birds seemed to love it so. It seemed that he might be content to float this way forever, but as he came closer to the earth below he seemed to pick up speed. At first he enjoyed this too, but it soon became alarming. He beat his arms wildly in an effort to slow himself down, but without success. Everything seemed to be rushing up at him now ready to engulf him. He closed his eyes in terror.

His frantic efforts to stop the fall were useless, so he gave up and just fell. And as the fear died down, so it seemed did the speed with which he fell. After a few moments he felt something underneath him, and thinking that perhaps he had reached the ground, he opened his eyes to find that the large white bird had spread its wings underneath him and was carrying him over the treetops of a forest.

A great flow of gratitude welled up in him as they glided along, but he dared not move, nor did he really want to. The bird eased gently down to a clearing in the woods, folded its wings, and rather unceremoniously dumped him onto the grass. Then without pausing or looking back, the bird flew on. As the last light faded from the air, he just sat there wondering and waiting. Nothing happened and gradually he fell asleep.

It was pitch-black around him when he woke up, his body telling him that it was the time he usually got up. At first he thought he was in his cave, but then remembered that he wasn't. He felt disoriented. He could see only a few stars dimly above; from his cave he could see so many stars and the first faint light of dawn not long after he awoke. So he waited for the light to begin here. He waited and waited and nothing changed except the location of the few stars he could see. Finally he drifted off to sleep again, and when he woke the day had begun.

Since there was no sign of the bird, he set off to explore his surroundings alone. The only familiar sound was the sound of running water so he went towards that. Not far away he found a stream. He refreshed himself with the water, then decided to follow its course. It could be his guide in these unknown parts. But it was much more difficult to follow than he had imagined, for the stream went many places which were awkward if not impossible for a boy to go. Nothing was familiar to him in the great woods in which he found himself. Most disturbing to him was that although there was light, he was not able to see the sun until it was high over head, and then it only remained there for a short time. When it started getting dark he found shelter under a large rock

and fell asleep even before the light had completely faded from the sky.

The next morning for the first time he felt alone. He hadn't seen the bird at all the day before, he didn't know where he was and didn't have any idea where his cave and plateau were. And he didn't know where he was going. He might have stayed where he was all day, feeling sorry for himself, but hunger made him go in search of something to eat.

He left the stream since he had found nothing worth eating (that he knew anyway) growing beside it. And he had not gone far when, crashing through some bushes, he came upon a cottage. He stopped short. He had never seen such a thing before. And when a little girl ran from the door into the yard to chase the chickens, his eyes doubled in size. The little girl stopped too the minute she saw him, then turned and ran inside shouting "Mommie" at the top of her lungs. The boy was paralyzed or he would have turned and fled when the next minute a woman came out of the house with the child peeking from behind her.

But the woman spoke to him gently, "Where did you come from?" She immediately sensed his fear and his wildness and began to tame him as she would a lost young animal. She did not move but spoke softly and continuously to him. After a few minutes she slowly offered him her hand, stretching it as far as it would go and leaving it there. She said something to the little girl who disappeared into the house. The child returned a minute later with a piece of cake which she handed to her mother, and then hid behind her again. The woman took one slow step and stopped, offering the cake.

The boy was totally mystified. He knew she was offering him food and he was hungry enough to take it, but he had no idea what she would do if he did. But the woman didn't move again and there was such kindness in her face that the boy began slowly to move toward her, ready to leap away if she should move. When he took it finally, the woman only watched and sent the little girl inside for more food. She brought out a tray with many things on it which the woman set down on a bench near the door of the house. Then she took the little girl by the hand and went inside, leaving the boy alone to eat.

When he had eaten all he could, he looked around. He explored the clearing around the cottage, then timidly went to the door and peaked in. The woman sat sewing. She smiled and invited him to come in, then paid no more attention to him except to glance kindly out of the corner of her eye as he explored the cottage.

Thus he became acquainted with people like himself. He stayed with this family, met other people, and learned to know their ways until he was just like them and had forgotten that he had ever been alone. He grew into a young man.

One day the man whom he called "Father" took him on a long journey to the sea. From there he saw in the distance a mesa-like prominence which seemed to rise out of nowhere and disappear into the skies above. He asked about this prominence; it intrigued him. His father only said that because of its sheer sides all around, it was impossible to climb. Then he added, "Some people believe that a god, a child, lives on top."

The young man was fascinated. He wanted so much to go and see it and to find out if there really was no way to go up, or if rather it was only very hard. Could someone really live up there? What would a god do there? Was he alone? And he could not forget about it even when they had returned to their home. He felt he must learn more about that place and the god who was supposed to live there. Soon he had decided to go, to see it close up for himself and talk to the people who lived near it. His family and friends were distressed by his decision, but he felt called to go despite their protests and so he journeyed to the village located at the foot of the great prominence.

Not very many people in the village cared much about what he wanted to learn. Some of the old women would swear that a god lived on top of the prominence. The younger ones would say that it was an old wife's tale. Then they would all laugh and tease each other and the young man would walk quietly away. Finally, though, he found an old man who was interested in telling him the story of the prominence.

Long ago, it seemed, a child had been found near the village. He had been a remarkably bright and beautiful child but no effort at locating his parents had been successful. Just when the whole village had come to love him and to feel him theirs, he had been carried away by a large bird. A tremendous search was launched for the boy and there was great fear in the village that they would only find his body, since he was really too small to care for himself. But no trace of him was found anywhere. So some of the men in the village tried to scale the cliffs of the great prominence to see if he had been left there. But it had been impossible and the men returned without hope.

"But I saw that bird carry him off", said the old man, his eyes at once grave and delighted. "That bird took him clear to the top and left him there. And the bird took care of him too. I watched it go up there every day with things for the boy. And you, know. I think he's still there! He would be a young man now. Yes, I think he's still there." The old man sat back in satisfaction as though he had waited years to be able to say that to someone.

"Why did the men give up their effort to climb it as impossible?"

"Well, you can't even see the top really, you just sort of know there is one, and who knows how long it would take to reach it even by an easy path. Then the cliffs are pretty

sheer all the way around. You can start up in many places, but they all end in an impasse." As he said this he watched the young man very keenly.

The young man thought awhile about all the man had said. Still he could not seem to bring himself to accept that the prominence was insurmountable. Suddenly, looking at him, he saw that the old man didn't believe it to be impossible either!

"But you know a way that no one else has found!"

The old man closed his eyes and smiled. "Yes," he said, "I do. I haven't been up it myself, mind you. I was already an old man when all this started. But I do know how to get past the first section of sheer cliffs to the more irregular region above."

"Why didn't you tell the men how to go up? They were surely young enough to do it. Why do you tell me now?"

"No one asked me", the old man said with a grunt. "But I didn't find it till long after everyone had given up. And I didn't want them to find him. They would have brought him back and made him quite ordinary. Who knows what he has become by now, maybe even a god!"

Now the young man felt determined to climb the prominence and see for himself. "You will show me how to go up, won't you?" he asked.

"Yes", the old man replied.

"Then I will go tomorrow."

They started out before dawn the next day and were well away from the village before daylight. Although there was no visible path after they left the regular trail, the old man seemed to know right where he was going. Soon they were at the foot of the cliffs. Above the loose rocks at the bottom, a natural path went off to the right. But the old man pointed to a hole in the cliff straight above them. "I think it's big enough for you and your knapsack, but you might have to take it off and push it ahead of you sometimes. There are plenty of rocks sticking out to get to it. I've done it many times myself."

"Where does it go? How far have you been?" the young man could not help asking.

"I've never been gone for more than two days," said the old man, "but the tunnel will get you above this stretch of cliff to where you can climb easily enough. I can't tell you what you'll find higher up though." Then, as they stood and looked up and up and up to where the top disappeared in clouds, he added softly, almost to himself, "But I think

you'll make it. But I think you'll make it."

The young man quietly thanked him and began his journey.

He realized once he had started that he hadn't thought much about the climb, but it seemed much easier than he would have imagined by looking at it. He came out on the side of the prominence again after the long crawl in the tunnel at about noon. By mid afternoon he was exhausted and, finding a grassy nitch, he quit for the day. He was eager to start early the next morning. However when he stopped midday, once the momentum was broken he didn't think he could go one step further. So although he wanted very much to continue, he stayed where he was for the rest of the day.

The next morning the young man felt even worse than before and he berated himself for not having been better prepared physically for the climb. But he forced himself to go on and although he had to stop mid morning, he continued in the afternoon.

He felt surprisingly better the following morning and proceeded with great enthusiasm for the next two days. But late in the afternoon of that second day he came to an impasse. He climbed back down a way to try to find a different route but without success, then he had to stop for the night. He spent all of the next day going back and forth over the face of the prominence in an effort to find a way to continue up. His efforts became more and more frantic as nothing offered any hope. But he was determined to try everything, even if it meant going all the way around the prominence, before giving up. Then, just before nightfall, he came across a rock jutting out a little above him from which it seemed he might be able to go on. With no other possibility visible, he decided he would try to reach it first thing the next morning.

He was so eager to go on that he began to try to reach the rock before it was fully light. But though he searched everywhere, there seemed to be nothing to help him get to it. It was so frustrating! Timidly he jumped up at it. His reach fell short of the rock, but it seemed he just might be able to reach it that way. He jumped again with a little more force and this time his hand grazed the rock. He began trembling with excitement. He moved a few steps back so as to get extra momentum, and with all his energy leapt at the rock.

He felt his fingers close around the surface of the rock. He gripped it tightly and braced himself to hold the full weight of his body. The jolt burned through his shoulders and arms. And then, with horror, he felt the rock rip loose from the face of the cliff.

He tried desperately but unsuccessfully to stop his fall on the ledge from which he'd jumped. Then it almost seemed as though the cliff moved away from him. He shut his eyes so as not to see the rush of everything around him, and he just fell. Having no further hope, he withdrew and then moved deeper and deeper inside himself, waiting,

waiting, for what he did not ask. Gradually his heart stopped pounding, the rush of air slowed and seemed to grow warmer around him. As he returned to his senses he felt not a downward movement, but an upward one. He opened his eyes and saw that a large white bird was carrying him towards the top of the prominence. Was this the bird that had carried the tiny boy to the top? Again he closed his eyes and went deep, deep inside.

When he looked around again he was alone on a grassy meadow in the shade of a tree. Beyond the rocks and bushes which bordered the meadow was sky, nothing but sky. It took awhile for the young man to remember everything that had happened, and when he did it made him shudder in awe that he was alive. After a moment he got up and walked around to see where he was.

He felt sure that he was on the top of the prominence, but when he reached the edge he gasped at the sight. Everything below was so tiny that it was almost unrecognizable. The rivers were glittering ribbons in the landscape. The towns and villages were patches of red and grey specks. There were green and gold expanses which he knew to be meadows and fields. In the distance was the great dark forest where he had grown up, and on the other side of the prominence stretched the sea, shining and blue. It was all so different from that height and yet he knew it all so well.

As he gazed out, the young man remembered the god and began to look around for him. But although he could see the whole plateau from where he stood, nothing suggested anyone lived there. On closer inspection he could find no indication that anyone had even been there, although it certainly seemed to have all the necessary elements to sustain someone. But he did find a place that went down from the plateau and he followed it to a little cave facing the sea. He found evidence that someone had lived there, but clearly not for a long time.

What had happened to the boy? No one who lives constantly on the edge of cliffs falls off, nor was there any sign that he might have died. The young man had investigated fairly thoroughly and had found no way of climbing down; the cliffs were extremely sheer, and in some places, by the cave for example, they even curved away under the surface so that standing on the edge one was surrounded by only the vast expanse of air.

The young man sat at the entrance of the cave looking out and looking deep within trying to discover the secret of where the god was. Late in the afternoon he saw some birds in the distance, soaring and swooping, and it came to him. Of course! The bird which had brought the boy had taken him away! But where? And why?

He watched the movements of the birds through half closed eyes and wondered what it would have been like to live on this plateau. Wouldn't the boy have longed to know

what life was like below? And as he wondered he remembered—remembered looking at the landscape below and not knowing what anything was; remembered being tempted by a beautiful white bird into diving off the edge to the unknown world beneath the prominence; remembered the first experiences with the life and the people there.

“I am that boy!” he thought and laughed. But he also understood that now that he knew all that lay below and all that lay behind him, it was time to turn to the task of becoming the god on the prominence so to dive again.

UNIVERSAL NURSERY SCHOOLS

World Union Consciousness — XIV

T. Govindarajan

(In the thirteenth article of this series, the questions "Is a prepared environment necessary?" and "What are the aims of a prepared environment?" were answered. The absorbing capacity of the child through the unconscious mind needs this environment. Therein, the child's freedom of movement and choice are ensured without any active adult interference. Even the schools and the furniture have to be designed in lilliputian dimensions to suit the child. Certain details of the prepared environment were also sketched out. Love, joy, freedom and a sense of fulfilment-satisfaction are ensured for the child through the directress who forms the human link between the child and the prepared environment. Certain guiding principles for the directress were also listed for observance.)

The question can be raised whether all this costly apparatus is necessary for the education of the child before beginning formal education at an elementary or junior school. Are not the parents and the home environment sufficient for the child during the first six years? In a way, this has already been answered in the earlier parts of this series of articles. Further, overwhelming academic opinion expressed by competent psychologists and child-specialists suggests that special institutions can do the work much better than — or in conjunction with — the parents. Not only is the child specially helped to grow but also prevented from forming wrong habits — of both the body and the mind. We shall examine the question still further.

The advances that have been made in modern educational psychology have placed at the disposal of man a body of principles for maximising results in the process of education. It is but meet that we take advantage of this research. As we have seen, Froebel and Montessori, among others, have revolutionised the whole process of child-education. Old theories have been scrapped and new ones have been formulated. Above all, the kindergarten of Froebel and the children's home of Montessori provide for an elaborate, scienti-

fically planned system of self-education before formal education begins at the age of six. Science and love have to join hands to raise the child. As Bertrand Russell has said, "There is only one road to progress in education as in other human affairs and that is science wielded by love. Without science, love is powerless; without love, science is destructive." The great child-educationists, from among whom Montessori stands out like a beacon, have approached the child with love and laid the road to progress with the help of what science (the science of child-psychology) has revealed to them. To profit by their studies and observations of the child and to take full advantage of their work is to manifest our love for the child. "Come, let us live for our children." Let the new makers of child-education be our guides and among them let Montessori be our pathfinder.

According to all well-informed psychologists, the art of dealing with very young children is a new and difficult one. Montessori's genius "discovers the child" for us and relates him to his needs. It is no exaggeration to state that the average parent has neither the skill nor the time to discover the child and bring him up in the natural, which is but the scientific, way. In the case of uneducated parents, the deficiency is all the more evident. Among the educated with no special knowledge of child-nature, pragmatic rules formulated for *adult* behaviour and learning are senselessly applied, with very harmful results for the rest of the child's life. Even within the homes of the highly educated who have the necessary leisure and skills, the children still suffer the greatest of all handicaps — they are not in the company of other children of the same age-group as much as they need to be. Children have to live with children and grow with them. This is fundamental. An environment where there is free association among children is essential for natural growth from childhood to maturity. With the modern advances in child-psychology, the proper scientifically oriented upbringing of children is highly skilled work which is better left to the trained specialist. This is a totally different work than teaching children older than six years. Something more than parental love and responsibility becomes necessary, and hence the trained directress assumes a place of supreme importance.

So the nursery school concept has come to stay and it has become an important element in the hierarchy of educational institutions. Though today the nursery school is a longed-for ideal for children in three-quarters of the world, universal progress towards a world-society demands the nursery school as a first imperative.

A nursery school to deserve the name and to function true to its aims should be based upon the ideas and principles briefly listed earlier. It is without doubt a costly institution by present standards of educational costs; but nothing short of this will meet the needs of those under six. Anything else is not merely a misnomer, but also a positively harmful exercise in the education of the child.

The normal active child, placed in the properly prepared environment, the dynamic and human part of which is the directress, is definitely at an advantage and is set

on the road to a bright future. The directress is the human link between the child ready to absorb and the environment that is to be absorbed. A period which may be called the psychologically creative as well as constructive period is thus encouraged in the most formative part of the child's life. In the environment of the nursery school, the child is helped to create a small cosmos out of the chaos surrounding him, and a sense of order is absorbed and registered in his consciousness. A psyche is being developed and the sense-powers blossom in a constructive way. A nursery school without a truly prepared environment is a contradiction in terms; a nursery school with the prepared environment but without a trained directress is a costly disaster.

Between the two main streams of thought on nursery school education—Froebel's kindergarten and Montessori's children's home—the latter has been preferred for certain intrinsic merits. This cannot be an occasion for a discussion of the comparative merits of Froebel's ideas and Montessori's ideas; opinions are bound to differ but the writer has chosen for adoption the Montessori plan. This does not in any way imply a devaluation of the Froebel scheme. Much of what has been discussed so far is based on the Montessori scheme and the material has been drawn from the extant literature on Montessori and her great work.

Once this position is accepted, a big practical question arises. The question is that a well-built, well-equipped Montessori children's home (the nursery school) is a very costly proposition. The buildings to house the school have to be specially designed and built, for they are *children's homes* in every sense of the term. The elements of the prepared environment and the special furniture required also need to be provided. They are certainly expensive, but there is no escaping it, for there cannot be halfway attempts in this ambitious programme of nursery school education unless we are willing to mangle beyond recognition Montessori's concepts.

A large-scale programme of teacher training for Montessori directresses and directors will also have to be simultaneously undertaken. If the prepared environment is the axle on which the nursery schools move, the directress is the lynch-pin. And the making of the axle and the lynch-pin are expensive, by our present standard of judging priorities in spending programmes. The recurring expenses of maintaining the schools in a perfect condition, are also bound to be high. A programme of action that aims at contributing to the welding together of a world where hearts and minds respond in unison to the great call of a Divine fraternity, cannot be devised and completed at a small cost. The great investments called for by a world wide programme of building a network of nursery schools, are investments made in preparing what we have called "armaments of peace".

The plans for the Montessori school which we have laboured to explain may not see the light of day. World events give us alternate feelings of hope and despair. But

even if by a miraculous effort of man and the intervention of the Divine, the armaments of war fall into disuse, there is work for all of us. The Montessori schools will have to spring up everywhere for the manufacture of the armaments of peace. Even if we take a long time to build up this world network of schools for the future, we should not lose sight of our goals.

Universal education for a new world order may be considered a definite and central function of the United Nations and of all the other organisations that aid international development. With definite allocations of money from international development funds and world financing organisations, the scheme can be launched on a global scale. The U.N. and her supporting organisations could hardly undertake a more salutary course of action than to canalise large sums of money for the developed and the developing countries (in an inverse scale) in order to help them lay the foundations for as large a system of Montessori nursery schools or children's homes as possible. This work is as important as the work of international peace-keeping in troubled spots of the world.

A start can be made even now with a parallel large-scale training programme for Montessori directresses. A network of small-scale industries can be planned in every country to produce the materials for the prepared environment. "Where there is a will, there is a way", need not be dismissed as a mere schoolboy's copybook maxim. If for example, every alternate space programme were to be postponed or sacrificed in favour of providing the funds for the build-up of Montessori children's homes, it would be going a long way.

In this context, it is rather disconcerting to note that (at least in India) a large number of mushroom organisations have been allowed to grow, calling themselves kindergartens or Montessori nursery schools. Of course, some of them may follow the principles of Froebel and Montessori. But a large number in India are merely improvised English schools; the children are taught how to speak English with an accent and nothing more. Neither Froebel's ideas nor Montessori's inform and influence the plan or process of education in these schools. To say the least, most of them are not run on scientific lines. The teachers therein have little or no training for the profession. These schools are mere institutions of snobbery, based on false fashions. The rich and the not-so-rich enjoy the sight of their children in such "prestigious" but actually imitation schools. They are unwittingly sacrificing their children's future at the altar of their petty vanity.

It will not be too cruel a judgement if most of these mushroom growths are condemned as deficient, ill-conceived, unscientific and positively harmful to the children for whom they are supposed to be helpful. The State has to inspect these institutions with a rigorous scale of norms and do what is necessary—either help them or ban them outright. It is surely no part of any citizen's fundamental rights to start a "nursery school" when the essential ingredients that go into the making of one are totally absent—

especially when harmful ingredients are actively present. Any government that is watchful of the educational systems functioning within its jurisdiction will be only doing its duty by discouraging such money-making ventures which attract the gullible and the snobbish sections of society. So much about the imitation schools.

Now, in conclusion, to the positive side of things. Bertrand Russell suggested that, "The nursery school, if it became universal, could in one generation remove the profound differences in education, which at present divide the classes, could produce a population all enjoying the mental and physical development which is now confined to the most fortunate and could remove the terrible deadweight of disease and stupidities and malevolence which now makes progress difficult."

IN AUROVILLE

FRATERNITY IN AUSPICIOUS CONTRADICTIONS

Ronald Jorgensen

She lay down beneath the stars in the midst of nine pole-pillars silhouetted in the plateau night. It marked the end of the first day's work on Sally's house in early 1972, now the kitchen of Fraternity where twelve Aurovilians and a few visitors eat together—despite the blunt evaluation of a local keet expert who couldn't understand why these Westerners were designing and building their own house. "It won't stand the first strong wind" was his forecast, a forecast successfully withstood in the December cyclone of that year.

The auspicious way that house was built seems to be the way the community was raised: in a relaxed, inborn expertise that turns what it touches to fruit. Much has been touched: electronics, matmaking, furniture and toy woodwork, Japanese style lampshades, weaving embroidery, crochet—enough to engage the capacities of about sixty villagers, from children to skilled carpenters. For Fraternity is growing replete with the significance of its name: to gather with the local villagers a working, educated, prosperous collective life.

Sawdust in a teak fragrance. The furniture is beautiful and original—enough so it could front a Danish or English display in any fine shop. Light comes pouring through the casual walls and roof—the community's

first workshop building done in the days of penury and slapdash—onto small sets of professionally finished educative toys, miniature lorries to sit and ride on, and furniture in the making. A nonchalant hum of activity resonates everywhere in the large structure.

One mat is so delicate you can begin to see through it. I had thought all reed or grass woven mats were opaque with that practical but not so elegant walking thickness. These are to hang on walls and in entry ways, permitting the entry of light through colors of subtle warm patterns.

Can you imagine a room that is difficult to see because of the lampshades populating its light and space? Shaped as a large, special-paper sphere, each shade seems to demand the attention and area of a small person. Their translucent charm is inlined with a long spiral of bamboo rib beginning and ending with circular openings at the top and bottom. Although you can feel the work is going along well you have to look carefully among the shades to find the workers. To have one of these lampshades in your own room is like being with a small planetary presence.

There are lot of clack noises, piles of just finished creamy looking bedspreads, flocks of pairs of eyes on us as we enter the

weaving building. No talk, just eyes. Again the finished patterns are in simple but very attractive, quiet and happy colors. The export quality is obvious, and it is no surprise to learn that is how much of Fraternity's products are being sold.

Exuberant and happy colors, women comfortably positioned Indian style around the floor, a snake writhing into place on a large bedspread with his head coming into shape last—the embroidery section has its own style of working. Often several persons concentrate on a single large piece, sometimes with a Tamil design, sometimes a Western one.

Between the weaving and embroidery you might almost miss the crocheting which is small, just beginning. This morning one person. It appears this is the unapologetic way everything in Fraternity develops: a hardly noticeable rivulet one day, soon after a river.

The community of Fraternity is like our six previous touring paragraphs of its working departments, a bit diverse and maybe bewildering on an introductory visit. It has just grown, one thing after another being added as it happened—fast. Even more, it is like the beginning of Fraternity itself: three or four young men and women wrote the Mother a letter asking to start a settlement next to the village of Kuilapalayam on the three-phase principle of cultural integration—handicrafts—prosperity and were told yes, call it "Fraternity" and establish it on 2.2.72. That gave them two days! They took her word into action and things continue to go rapidly from words into action.

Among the new turns of activity are a

freshly finished interior called the "gathering place", which extends the community's education process beyond their well-established kindergarten to the level of young adults; a show room—now being fitted with shelving—for smoother sales to visitors, not only for Fraternity's products but for all Auroville communities who wish to collectively exhibit here; and a just finished algae* tank which is initiating nutritional experiments next to the community kitchen. Other things have not come over the horizon far enough yet to take the shape of discussion.

One reason the kindergarten is so well established is its body. Funded by the Federal Republic of Germany, intelligently and playfully designed for three to six year old friends and solidly, pleasingly constructed, it helps form a true child's garden (the meaning of *kinder garden's* German root). The same financial grant was responsible for raising similar buildings of clean-lined beauty for the gathering place, show room and many of the working departments, but what they have done seems peculiarly appropriate for the children. The network of three rooms is joined by a small Japanese style bridge over a concrete basin water pond for splashing baths and play near the outdoor area with "monkey bars" and other adventurous things.

Although a beautiful body often seems to have nothing to do with a beautiful soul—

* Fresh water algae, cultivated in enormous quantities in a small tank of liquid, is claimed to be a complete food needing only carbohydrate supplements for a bulky balance and having about three times the percentage of high quality protein as the richest meat.

remember the many superbly equipped school systems where students were very successful at being unhappy or bored—the mostly Tamil children on tricycles, with building blocks, doing drawings and just making up games with each other and the teacher seem to be purely delighted to spend themselves here. Some of the older village children and the teacher, although they recognize a kindergarden is considered a place to only prepare for school, have been exploring a delicate emphasis on drawing and language activity with the children; this surfaces the learning expectations parents have even for three year olds—cooking, washing, construction trades and farming—and any higher whisp of aspiration the child might harbor is very difficult to detect and nurture. It has become an invisible challenge, an unmarked adventure for the teacher.

In fact the most penetrating aspect of Fraternity is its ingenuous touch with the ancient Tamil culture in the midst of which it blossoms. Not the least of difficulties for a foreign born and bred person in Auroville—as hundreds of funny to formidable anecdotes remind us—is the finding of a happy, true, progressive relation with those living here hundreds of years before us. One opener for Fraternity is their economic link: all wages and profits go to villagers and villages, to villages in the form of water supply, education, and other general benefits. And when one looks closely at the community's facilities it quickly becomes evident that the only demonstration of wealth is in the architecture used for the children and workers—even the two leading members of Fraternity

live in afterthoughts of rooms above the work areas instead of the removed luxury occupied by a full house. Yet the community is completely self-sufficient. Each work-section is even responsible enough to be self-sufficient, and community-wide expenses are shared by several collective sets of solid shoulders—which eliminates the possibilities of mistrust that often go with centralization.

Beyond the economics there is a cross-hatch of approaches, ways of dealing with people, traditions, situations. Not only does another community (which also has very good relations with its neighbor village) follow exactly the opposite line of conduct in social relations with its workers as Fraternity does, but in Fraternity itself two leading figures handle the language gulf, for example, in diametrically opposing ways. But these extremes bend us back into the secret, the secret of the growing warmth in relations, of the happy harmony in the working atmosphere, of the high quality shining through products made in a seeming bedlam of organization, of the progress continually pushing openings through yesterday's ceilings of achievement: the steadiness in the the pulse of Fraternity is in the attitude towards all these things—aspiring, profoundly respectful toward all, young and barrierless, possessed by faith—and on the ocean of that attitude any variety of techniques, experiments, approaches, even so-called contradictory methods in that most delicate area of human relations can succeed, thrive together, even constitute a fraternity of triumphantly bewildering unity.

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY — V

Pratibha

Though Steve and I were adherents of differing ideological tenets, for I was a staunch positivist and he dwelled in the speculative domains of the ultimate and the causal, we had been engaged to be married for the past year. I said to him with regard to the subject: "Don't say your wife doesn't understand you." And he said: "But you're ripe for conversion!" The previous summer he had gone for two weeks to visit my family and me in Mexico City. We announced our engagement at a friend's private park in the urban center; a great number of loving well-wishers came together to observe the occasion and savor a prodigious Spanish "paella". Steve was presented to the acknowledged, and I may add, only surviving dean of Spanish letters. The aged librarian, discoverer of one of the most celebrated works in Spanish literature which had been lost for centuries, asked: "Does he speak Spanish?" "No", was everyone's embarrassed reply. "Desgraciado", was then his severe pronouncement. "Hapless" is a much diluted rendering of the word.

We had set the wedding date only a few weeks after graduation. No occurrence within the province of possibilities could have been more improbable. We were physically and mentally fatigued from our studies, and to compound the difficulties, we didn't have the vaguest impression as to the preparation of the affair. I considered the matter a technical question of obtaining a legal certificate, but he and his family preferred a large, formal ritual service. We planned to follow graduate courses the following fall, thus we were hastily in the process of buying an inexpensive house with a moderate sum of money he had recently inherited from his grandfather. My aunt and uncle arrived from Mexico bearing gifts of gold, silver and lace from friends there. The essential insight I had into the relative value of money consisted of asking my father for the amount I required, although I was on the whole considerate of the fact that he worked to earn it. One day I went shopping for sleep-wear and, as I supposed I'd be studying in the coming years, without thinking it amiss I spent over two hundred dollars on nightgowns. When I went home and mentioned it to Steve and suggested that he should also arrange his wardrobe for a long-term period, we had a bitter argument in which I told him to leave. Naturally, within a few hours when all indignation had been appeased, I expected that he would call and we would both reconsider. That day passed, and the following one also, and a third. As he had recently fainted, and they had found his blood analysis incomprehensible at the hospital, I simply assumed that if he didn't come it was because he had died. To that extent did I trust his love, and was preparing to go to his room

where I imagined I would find his cadaver. I was musing as to whether the most adequate action would be to slay myself by his side, but felt it indefinably disagreeable. At that point I got the idea of telephoning his mother. She told me Steve had left for Florida. For several days afterward I just stayed in my room listening to Mozart's "Don Giovanni". I cried incessantly as some arias resounded in all the chambers of my being, and midst the flow of tears I caught glimpses of the printed words of "The Red and the Black". Fearing there was no visible sign that my weeping would ever come to an end, it was agreed that I would go with my aunt to spend the summer in the Spanish fishing village I so much cherished.

My aunt told her friends that Steve had contracted a deadly disease and that the marriage had been cancelled. In Caldebarcos I spent the greater part of the days on the beach. A clerical student from the village kept me company. He didn't originally have the vocation for priesthood, but that was the only career his agricultural family was willing to finance. The deeper part of my sorrowful emotions was not so much attenuated as postponed, as it were. The placid oceanic horizon vastitude with its shimmering turquoise glaze effected an insuppressible magic-gleam enchantment.

While it is not ordinarily acceptable to change the major subject upon entering the graduate level, seeing that I had carefully kept up undergraduate literature, the department chairman of comparative literature generously made an exception and took me under his auspices. The English and Spanish poetry classes were held in the early evening; I was therefore able to satiate myself with my favorite pastime of reading throughout the night. It was during those serene and silent hours that I could most easily apply the most effective concentration. I read for hours on end, or wrote term papers without distracting interruptions, and it was at those hours that I wrote my poems. I was especially absorbed by mystical lyric poetry. The first semester passed smoothly with only one minor unexpected incident. I selected one course because I had been irresistibly attracted by its lovely title, and the infallible program-card computer kindly went along with my exotic choice. It happened to be a seminar held by America's principal literary critic for selected doctoral candidates from the most renowned universities. In the second session each came flourishing a bulging manila folder which contained the general outline of the subject they were preparing to cover for the course. They selected one aspect or another of the works of the major modern poets. I will probably never again find myself in the presence of such rigorous scholarship, but presently I could perceive that there wasn't one among them, the professor excluded, whose heart had ever been genuinely enlightened or had throbbed with the most minimal sparkling beam of poetic passion. After some sessions I asked the professor if he wasn't teaching a more general course which would be adequate to my position. He said he was, but that he was willing to let me stay in the seminar so he could enjoy at leisure my facial reactions to the situation. Of course, I switched to the more basic program.

For purposes of variety I altered my routine the following semester; I would spend the entire day reading in the New York Public Library. I was on my way in the long and winding path without end of academic perfectionism. To be versed not only in the sources, but on all the authoritative commentaries was the awesome aim which was gradually becoming less and less resplendent in the expectative vistas of my imagination. I began to detect that the critiques were of an incalculable profusion, and that besides a few predominant worthwhile treatments, the bulk of the remaining material was anyone's hazardous speculation, most often a glaring reflection of that tertiary author's anonymous intellectual waste land.

Of the women I knew, I considered Madelyn the only unconditionally acceptable one. She studied anthropology and must ever be commended for her exceptionally delicate sensitivity. I have never known another to speak of the nose-structure of some remote peoples with such an exquisite tenderness. For the summer I remained in New York. Madelyn lived with two roommates, Chris and Cathy, in an apartment in Greenwich Village. One evening they held a going-away party for a fellow friend who was sailing for Europe. The party itself was of the usual type, not especially lively, but something unpremeditated, and possibly unprecedented as well, took place. There were serious problems which perplexed us all, and inadvertently we set out to analyze and resolve them. The fellow for whom the party was held left on his trip, but the rest of us haphazardly stayed on at the apartment. We followed a system of communication called the "truth game", more popularly known as "le jeu de la vérité". The recurring theme, and doubtless the core of the issue, was the war in Vietnam. I for one, contributed only an emotional stimulus to that particular subject since I found it intolerably harrowing to the extent that I couldn't endure reading about it. Even after the war had been raging for years I couldn't say where Hanoi or Saigon were or who Ho Chi Minh was, or anything at all for that matter. The only information that sufficed for the extreme concern I felt was that millions of tons of bombs were being dropped daily on helpless people. From my close scrutiny of the results of the Spanish Civil War, where it seemed self-evident to me that neither side had benefited in the least, I had always maintained myself unwaveringly apolitical. All the young men at the party had a vital motive, since each had to decide whether he was going to take part in the war or find an alternative such as living in exile or being imprisoned. In the "truth game" everyone asked the others questions, and all vouchsafed a truthful reply. The questions covered the gamut of student psychology, from sexual attitudes to artistic influences. We would leave the apartment for a few hours to attend to some necessity, always to return for the next chapter of our oral treatise. The weeks passed and we were still set in our purpose. When we cleaned up periodically, a big blanket was used to carry away the empty bottles of wine. A young man joined us who was the vice-president of the National Students' Association; he was by far the most conversant with the state of the war. It was only long after the party ended that we learned he was on the CIA staff with the assignment of reporting on political activities of students in the nation's campuses. On two occasions, due to enthusiasm in the game I presume, two fellows successively regaled us with the admission

that they had reported us for sedition. From time to time the local policeman would come and proclaim: "This noise has got to cease and desist or I'll give you all a bon voyage!" He was referring to the "bon voyage" placard which still dangled from the ceiling even after three months elapsed and we unrelentingly pursued our mission. Some would go to their summer part-time work to return with renewed zeal for our nocturnal sittings.

I was in desperate need of practical experience, as I couldn't even remotely conjecture how a check was signed and processed, for instance. I wanted to live by myself independent of my father's support. As he held fast to the Spanish customs regarding daughters, it was out of the question that I should leave his house unmarried. One of my friends, a Syrian psychiatrist, recommended that I visit one whom he considered the most able in the profession. He also commented that it was his own observation that I didn't know where my body ended and the rest of the world began. I only left the "truth game" to change my clothes at home and to visit the psychiatrist in his Fifth Avenue office thrice a week. We had an intensive treatment program. I was still deeply wounded by Steve's abrupt departure, and he suggested that it evoked the loss of my mother at such an early stage in life. By September we had ultimately reached a cordial philosophic impasse; I felt we belonged to different realities, and he felt I was capable of disrupting even a psychiatric institution. Yet the series of talks served the ulterior purpose with which we had set out, that with his counsel my father should accept my living on my own. And I was not to feel guilty if my father was lonely.

The party ended as we had consummately applied ourselves to all imaginable considerations. For a splendid finale we went to an Ashram in New York State which Steve and his parents were wont to frequent. The people of the small town said to us: "Are you going to the Ashram wash-room?" It rhymed. "You're going to stand on your heads, eh?" Actually, we had no idea of what we were going to do, or even precisely why we were going. At the Ashram mansion the people looked askance at us with undisguised disapproval. It seems they thought we were drug-addicts, while in fact we only knew and enjoyed good wines. In the meditation room we saw a small group of people sitting around the Guru, Dr. Mishra, an eminent neurologist. We sat down also, and he began to play the sitar and chant the Bhagavad Gita. I was enraptured. A friend behind me fell asleep and began to snore. I suddenly thought of the pink toy duck I had brought with us, the party mascot which reflected bliss in its regard. I thought of the pink duck standing on its head, and began to laugh, then Madelyn laughed; both of us were seized with gleeful laughter which we couldn't contain until we left the room. I believe my mind was unprepared to know, but on hearing the Gita my soul realized it was free.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

THE INDO-CHINA SITUATION

An Indo-Chinese View

In the January issue of *World Union* this column listed the U.S.-Vietnam war campaign as one of the major problems under dissolution in the last two years of the world flow, a campaign that earned the description: one of the most devastating wars in history. Then I felt, whatever might happen among the Vietnamese, that scale of devastation was finished.

But the shock of events that has widened since early March matches America's ferocity of destruction in the chaos of animalistic panic and countryside flight—soldiers and civilians. Events are developing so quickly it seems to have been difficult for most journalists to do any more than frame the facts in comments about gloom and failure in U.S. policy.

Although the United States is certainly the remembered foreign power in Vietnam and nearly all of Indo-China, it contributed to only the last eighteen year phase of an epic approximating thirty-five years of Vietnamese struggle against two additional nations—Japan and France—for their rights to destiny.

Now, with the exhaustion of the American people and no heir to intervention in sight, the Vietnamese are finally free to arrange the fourth phase themselves.

Cambodia's history is distantly similar, their opportunity identically clear. And in the 31 March issue of *Newsweek* it is reported Thailand has asked the U.S. to withdraw all troops within one year, President Marcos of the Phillipines is planning to "review his relationship with the U.S.", Malaysia has established diplomatic relations with China. Commented a foreign ministry official of Thailand:

We frankly feel that a detente with China is a far better security for the country than relying on American troops.

Any doubt that a cyclone of change has taken Indo-China into its winds is blown over by the events among South Vietnamese military forces. Long considered the proxy for a U.S. presence, the American-schooled officers and the elite soliders of President Thieu's first rank divisions were exactly the ones at the gunpoint of their enemy's recent highland advance. What happened to these last symbols of thirty-five years' hegemony from abroad was described in unsparing British prose [*Guardian*, 5 April 1975].

The vast and partly self-inflicted defeat represented by the fall of Da Nang is certainly the worst ever suffered by non-Communist forces in the entire Vietnamese war. In terms of troops lost, rather than political import, even Dien Bien Phu was insignificant by comparison.

Attempts to get refugees away by air ended on Saturday after a chartered aircraft was mobbed on the Da Nang airfield by soldiers who shot at waiting civilian refugees, at one another, and at the plane itself.

More than 300 soldiers got aboard, and the damaged plane limped back to Saigon, where they were all arrested.

Whatever opinion one may have of the pro or anti-Communist forces in these countries, it is clear that some groups of Indo-Chinese have become overwhelming instruments to free their lands of a Western suzerainty injected in transparent and suspect government structures and officials. Whatever the immediate future of Indo-China unveils, the ultimate future of world unity has to come from countries established in their own conditions, their own ways, their self-rule. Even Marshall Lon Nol's departure from Cambodia, though it was campaigned for by U.S. ambassador John Gunther Dean (according to "reliable reports" carried by the 2 April 1975 *Indian Express*), was mainly achieved by pressure from embassies of other Asian governments.

Such an Asian view is understandable, even expected, but contrary to the Ford Administration's articulations.

An American View

An American view is not so certainly a gloomy one. For it appears this Indo-China crisis swells with the capacity of solving a long period of struggle in the United States also. Is it a Vietnamese-American coincidence? Approximately thirty-five years is the span implied by T. V. Parasum's "Letter from America" [*Indian Express*, 7 April 1975] when he writes:

...what every President since Roosevelt has been doing is to bypass Congress...and to present it with a fait accompli. American democracy

has finally tackled presidential and executive arrogance, making the executive realize that the American form of government is a democracy, not a presidential dictatorship.

An until now quiet example of one arrogant foray in this struggle (continues the *Express* article) has been disclosed by A. Lewis of *The New York Times*. He claims Nixon and Kissinger had decided to force Lon Nol into Sihanouk's place so they could expand the war into Cambodia. It was nearly a two-man decision, opposed by both Secretaries of Defence and State, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and five of Kissinger's own staff. Apparently Congress, unconsulted, wasn't even given the opportunity to know what they might not agree to.

It is interesting that the American people, through their Congress, are finding the Ford stage of the Indo-China struggle to be the occasion for their independence; which is what the Indo-Chinese people are doing in a very different, much more difficult and costly human way.

10 April 1975

REVIEW

Project Universal Man, by *M. P. Pandit*. Dipti Publications, Pondicherry, 1974. 135pp., Rs. 5.

If there is one recognition shared commonly, it is that things are not as they should be. Disharmony and division are the functional monarchs of personal and social existence. The revolutions of those who try to change *things*—be they systems or environments or ideas—do not turn; nothing changes but the thing or form. The revolutions of those who seek change in the Spirit—be it union or heaven or liberation—turn idly in space; no things change but perhaps an individual.

Project Universal Man begins with the recognition of the need for change but adds the too uncommon perception that the basal cause is individual and collective self-interest, egoism. It does not stop with the classic solution of the realist—change things—or the Idealist—change yourself. It joins them. The wheel does turn, and it turns in contact with the earth so that it moves forward.

Thus the universalised man confirms and expresses in every relation the change of consciousness that has been effected within and, too, each contact becomes an occasion to broaden and deepen his awareness. The need and the ideal established at the outset, most of the book is the elaboration of a substantive, applicable programme for its actualisation in all fields—education, social reformation, science and technology, labour, etc.—and at all levels of life—material, vegetal, animal and human. Throughout, a profile of the experience, character and action of a universal man emerges; he is born when

the heart breaks out of the walls of the separative ego, the mind looks out on broader horizons beyond the confines of individual concern. He grows with his identification with all in his mind, heart and body. He finds the source of this identification in thought, feeling and action in a love that flows spontaneously from his soul. All that he seeks for himself he strives to assure for all. He works for an Order in which his own well-being freely embraces the well-being of all at every level of life.

Tatsat

WORLD UNION FOCUS No. 5/75

VALUES TO PROMOTE NATIONAL INTEGRATION

"The fate of men and nations is determined by the values which govern their decisions. Where there is no vision the people perish."

To our Members and Friends,

The First National Convention of World Union Centres of India, organised by the World Union Bangalore Centre will meet at the Institution of Engineers (India), Vidhana Veedhi, Bangalore-560 001, on 8 9 and 10 June, 1975. The main theme of the Convention is "World Union Aim - Human Unity - Aids Best National Integration". India is passing through basically a crisis of Character although one focussed through political and economical issues. This national crisis tests the national character, giving an opportunity to re-appraise the values which are accepted as a standard for daily living.

It seems that everywhere in the world the innate good sense, the wisdom, justice and will-to-do-good of the people are in confrontation with those elements in their nature which are materialistic and self-seeking, causing division and destruction. The ideal of human unity which is the primary concern of World Union, if properly grasped and followed, will help in establishing self-evident truths and values which should determine decisions to be taken by India for national integration. There must be a sense of personal responsibility for group, community and national affairs and for self-control in personal matters. Cooperation for common good based on the active energy of goodwill and the principle of right human relations ought to be accepted and implemented earnestly and sincerely. It should not be overlooked that a love of truth is the only safe standard for a just, inclusive and progressive society. A climate should be created in the country so that every individual feels his duty to serve the common good by personal concern and the willingness to share it. It must be realised that what is good for all is good for everyone. A sense of justice should be cultivated which should become characteristic of the Indian people and should include love and compassion, generosity and understanding, and a willingness for self-renunciation. But all these are soul qualities inspiring the affairs of daily life with spirituality. It is necessary that an ever-increasing number of people should endeavour to identify and support those whose

decisions are determined by these values. Then only could the foundations for a true national integration be well laid and then only can human unity or human brotherhood free from racial discrimination, religious intolerance, social injustice, ideological conflicts, economic exploitation or national fanaticism play a due role in the life of the Indian people. This will pave the way not only for the rise of India on the basis of its past spiritual and cultural heritage but will put India in a position to give a lead to spread the spiritual values of life far and wide in the world.

World Union Indian National Centre: The Organisers of the Bangalore Convention wish to inform all World Union Centres and the delegates who will participate in the Convention that a draft constitution of the proposed World Union Indian National Centre will be considered for adoption by the Convention at 11.00 a.m. on 10 June, 1975. Any Centre or delegate may send in advance to Dr. T. Prasannasimha Row the amendments desired to be proposed to the draft.

✓ Convention Assembly.

Here is the text of the draft Constitution prepared by Prof. N. S. Govinda Rao under Rule No. 2 of the Rules and Regulations of World Union registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 on 13 October 1960:

1. **Name:-** This society shall be called-

WORLD UNION — INDIAN NATIONAL CENTRE.

2. **Extent of activities:**

a) The Indian National Centre will work as a branch of the World Union International Centre, Pondicherry-2, India.

b) Its activities shall extend to the geographical boundaries defined by the Government of India. Adjacent countries of Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and others shall be affiliated to it till each of these countries has its own National Centre approved by the World Union International.

3. **Headquarters:**

a) Its headquarters shall be at the same place as the headquarters of the World Union International Centre.

b) Its headquarters may be changed by a resolution to this effect which shall be passed at a General Meeting and approved by the World Union International.

4. **Objects:**

The object for which this National Centre is established shall be similar to those of the

World Union International Centre. These are:

a) To endeavour to foster in all men the consciousness of the oneness of all life and the essential unity of all mankind.

b) To endeavour by personal example through social communication and by means of other activities to awaken and strengthen the sense of oneness and unity in the faith that it will become increasingly the basic consciousness for all mankind.

c) To endeavour to promote an awareness of the forces of division—hatred, jealousy, gossip, egoistic effort and struggle—and their effect in disrupting peace and harmony at individual, national, and international levels.

d) To encourage all efforts made to seek *the truth* which is ever the same though ever unfolding new vistas of exciting experiences which reshape all our activities and thinking at individual and social levels, to make us increasingly fit to realise our oneness with all that is *the truth*

e) To endeavour to foster respect for all life and the practice of understanding, tolerance, active good will towards all, from one's family circle to society, to the nation and the world.

f) To endeavour to encourage the understanding that human unity can be achieved only through a simultaneous growth of physical, moral and spiritual well being.

g) In brief, the purpose of World Union Indian National Centre is to promote the emergence of a New World order where man can live in perfect peace and harmony with himself, with his family, his country and the world.

h) To organise centres of life and work in India for the progressive realisation of these objects.

i) To establish institutions and organisations to carry out the above objects.

j) To promote publication and distribution of literature.

k) To establish or encourage establishment of libraries with books and journals devoted to or dealing primarily with world unity.

l) To organise seminars, conferences or other gatherings in the service of these objects.

m) To train workers for the service and furtherance of the above objects.

n) To co-operate with other individuals, societies and organisations working with similar aims.

o) To purchase or to sell, to take on lease or in exchange, hire or otherwise acquire moveable or immoveable property in the area covered by the Indian National Centre.

p) To raise funds by fees, contributions donations and subscriptions, loans or by other means.

q) To invest surplus funds in securities, properties or in other ways as may be deemed fit from time to time.

r) To secure and manage endowment for the promotion of the above objects.

s) To do and perform all other acts, matters and things that may assist in, conducive to or necessary for the fulfilment of the above mentioned objects.

5. *Members:*

This national Centre shall consist of members ordinarily resident in territories mentioned in para two and Hon. Life Members.

a) *Members:*

Any person who is moved by the ideals of establishing a New World Order based on oneness, peace and harmony as embodied in the objects and the rules governing the Constitution of the Indian National Centre may apply for membership.

b) *Honorary Life Members:*

The number of whom shall be limited to ten and who shall be persons eminent for their knowledge of or contributions to the objectives of the World Union. Persons of all nations shall be eligible for Honorary Membership.

6. *Local and State Centres:*

a) Any three or more members may form a local World Union Centre and apply for recognition to the Council of Management giving the Centre's address and the names and addresses of its office bearers.

b) Any three or more local centres formed in any distinctive area may join together to form a State Centre and apply for recognition to the Council of Management, giving the Centre's address and the names and addresses of its office bearers.

c) After a State Centre is recognised by the Council of Management all fresh applications for recognition shall be decided after considering the opinion of the state centre concerned.

d) Each local, regional, and national centre is expected to grow and evolve its life and work freely, on its own inspiration (so long as it promotes the objects of the World Union) developing an organisation suited to its situation and with bye-laws to guide its functioning.

e) Both the local and state centres can always draw upon the help and guidance of the international and national organisations and they shall accord to them the best assistance possible.

f) Each centre, local and state will be expected, consistent with its own maintenance and work, to contribute towards the maintenance and activities of the national and international organisations.

g) The annual and life subscription of the members for the Indian Centre shall be such as will be determined from time to time by the World Union International Centre. The World Union International Centre will also determine from time to time the amount of grant to be disbursed to the Indian National Centre and State Centre, if any, out of the total subscription so collected and other funds at their disposal.

h) In addition to receiving a grant from the International Centre, the National Centre shall augment its revenues by other means such as by receiving donations, endowments, gifts, publication and sale of souvenirs, books and other literature, grants from other organisations; and other means not inconsistent with the objects mentioned in para 4.

i) Subscription shall be due on the first day of each calendar year.

j) Any member whose subscription is in arrears for six months may not be permitted to enjoy the rights or exercise the privileges of a member until he shall have paid up all arrears due from him.

k) Any member may withdraw from the National Centre by signifying his wish to do so, by a letter addressed to the Secretary of the local centre to which he is affiliated. He can also be expelled by the Council of Management after calling for and scrutinising the explanation of the member concerned, when the council learns that a member has behaved in a manner unworthy of what is expected from one following the objects of the World Union Indian National Centre.

l) A person who has withdrawn from the Indian National Centre may again, if he so desires, be admitted to the membership on payment of arrears of subscription and other dues if any.

m) A person who has been expelled from the membership may be readmitted by the Council of Management. The Council may call upon the expelled member to fulfil such conditions and make such payments as it thinks fit before readmission.

n) Hon. Life members may not pay any subscription.

7. *The administration, direction and management of the affairs of this Indian National Centre shall be entrusted to a Council of Management composed of the following:*

(i) National President.

(ii) Two National Vice-Presidents.

(iii) Two National Secretaries.

(iv) National Treasurer.

(v) National members—one from each of the State Centres recognised by the National Centre.

(vi) One Vice-President and members not exceeding ten to be nominated by the World Union International Centre.

(vii) One Vice-President and members not exceeding five to be nominated by the National President from amongst the retiring Council of Management.

(viii) Past president of the National Centre.

(ix) Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary General and other office bearers of the World Union International ex-officio.

(x) Hon. Life Members ex-officio.

(xi) Members co-opted by the National President, for any particular meeting.

8. *Election of the office bearers and the members of the Council of Management:*

a) The first Council of Management shall consist of members, President, Vice-Presidents, and other office bearers nominated by the World Union International Centre. After the nomination of the members of the Council of Management, the National President shall exercise his choice to nominate persons under item (vii) of clause (7). For the first Council nominated by the World Union International, there will be no members nominated by the National President.

b) The term of each Council of Management shall be for a period of three years, counting from January 1st of the year in which it was constituted.

c) The old Council of Management will cease to function from the date the new Council holds its first meeting.

d) The New Council will elect from amongst its members the National President and two National Vice Presidents. The newly elected National President will then nominate one or both the General Secretaries and Treasurer from amongst members of Council of Management. He may also nominate Additional or Assistant Secretaries or other office bearers with the approval of the Council of Management. He will also nominate a Vice-President and five members from the previous Council of Management.

e) The World Union International Centre shall intimate their nominations according to clause (7) item (vi).

f) All the nominations need not be made simultaneously either by the World Union International Centre or the National President. The nominations may be made from time to time without exceeding the limit of numbers prescribed. But all nominated members irrespective of when they were nominated will retire along with the other members of the Council of Management at the expiry of three years.

g) If the World Union International considers the work of the Council of Management unsatisfactory, they may take over the management of the Council themselves. The International Centre shall reconstitute a new Council of Management within one year after the dismissal or supercession of the previous council. This should be done according to the same procedure followed in constituting the first council.

h) The Council of Management can remove any of its office bearers or its members for his continued absence at its meetings without valid reasons. All cases of members and office bearers who have been absent for more than three times shall be put up by the National Secretary for consideration of his continuance of his membership in the Council. All vacancies due to whatever cause may be filled up by the Council at its meeting for the remaining period of the term of the council.

9. Council of Management:

a) The Council of Management shall manage the affairs of the National Centre and for such purpose it can make bye-laws which it considers are conducive to the good administration of the National Centre and the realisation of the objects of the World Union mentioned in para (4).

b) It shall consider all communications to the National Centre and in the case of those to be submitted to a General Meeting to determine the order and manner of such submission.

c) It can appoint as many persons and under such terms as considered necessary to carry on the work of the National Centre. It may also define their duties, allowances, salaries, gratuities and privileges; and can also suspend or dismiss them or dispense with their services.

d) It will be the sole authority to handle all revenues and regulate all expenditure, concerning the National Centre. It will also be responsible for handling all assets and liabilities and other financial activities mentioned in para (4) of the objects of the National Centre.

e) It will initiate all activities necessary to realise the objects of the World Union mentioned in para (4).

f) The quorum for a meeting shall be five.

g) It is empowered to be the legal representative of the National Centre for initiating or answering all legal actions.

h) It shall prepare and submit at the General Meeting of the members of the World Union Centres in India, a report on the activities of the National Centre since its last Meeting. It shall also submit a copy of the audited statement of accounts for the years ending 31st December since the last General Meeting. Copies of these will be posted to the local centres at least six weeks before the date of holding the General Meeting. Copies of all comments received either by individual members or by the Local Centre in writing will be placed at the Annual Meeting. Those members present at the Annual Meeting can also make comments either orally or in writing. All these comments together with the report and audited accounts shall be sent to the World Union International for consideration before according approval to the working and accounts of the National Centre. In case the World Union International considers either report and/or the accounts not satisfactory, it may take such action as it considers necessary for better working of the National Centre.

i) The Council of Management may adopt any resolution by correspondence also.

9. *President:*

The powers and duties of the President shall be as follows:

a) To preside at all meetings of the council and to regulate its proceedings.

b) To ensure due effect being given to the Rules and Regulations of the National Centre, resolutions passed by the Council of Management, and the directives of the World Union International.

c) To be ex-officio member of all committees appointed by the Council.

d) He shall be the chief Executive of the Council and shall allocate work amongst all office bearers and others of the National Centre.

e) In case of doubt as to the interpretation of any of these rules and regulations he

should decide on the interpretation. His decision is final.

f) Where no rule or regulation exists for governing any question or matter which may arise at any meeting or otherwise and the council is not able to decide the procedure to be followed, the President should give his ruling which shall be final.

10. Vice-Presidents:

The senior most Vice-President (seniority being counted from the date he became a member of the World Union) will act for the President in his absence during Council meetings. Each Vice-President shall do such duties on behalf of the President as may be assigned to him by the President.

11. Secretaries:

The duties of the Secretaries shall be as follows:

a) The secretaries will work generally under the guidance of the President. They will assist the President in carrying out the objectives of the National Centre.

b) To conduct all correspondence of the National Centre and of the Council and to sign all letters, papers and legal documents emanating from the office of the National Centre. They shall not however sign letters which the President may wish to sign himself or request any others to sign on his behalf.

c) They should attend the meetings of the council and arrange to take minutes of the proceedings of such meetings. They should at the commencement of every meeting read the minutes of the previous meeting and get it confirmed by the President.

d) One of them will prepare reports of the working of the National Centre for presentation at the General meetings.

e) One of them will maintain a register of the names and addresses of all recognised local and state centres and of the members affiliated to each of them.

f) One of them will preserve all papers connected with the activities of the National Centre.

g) One of them will edit all publications of the National Centre unless separate editors are appointed for the purpose.

h) One of them will be ex-officio member of all committees.

i) The work between the two secretaries shall be allocated by the President.

In addition when the President, on the advice of the Council, appoints Joint Secretaries or Assistant Secretaries or other personnel they will all work under the supervision of the secretaries.

12. Treasurer:

The treasurer shall receive and hold for the use of the National Centre all money paid to it. He shall disburse all sums due from it and shall keep exact accounts of all

such receipts and payments. At every meeting of the Council, he shall submit a list of members whose subscription is in default. He will make available for audit all relevant receipts, vouchers and other documents. He will work under the instructions of the President and in co-operation with the secretaries. He will send during the first week of every month, monthly statement of accounts to World Union International.

13. *General Meetings of the National Centre:*

a) They shall be of two types.

1) Ordinary General Meetings of the National Centre.

2) Extra-ordinary General Meetings of the National Centre.

The following rules (b) to (f) shall be applicable to all General Meetings.

b) Twenty five members shall constitute a quorum.

c) The President for the meeting shall be the National President. In his absence one of the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority, and in his absence the seniormost member shall take the chair.

d) The usual method of voting shall be by show of hands unless the President for the meeting decides it should be otherwise.

e) The decision of the President for the meeting on the counting by show of hands shall be final unless a division is called for, when the voting will be by ballot.

f) Any member shall have the right of recording his protest, together with the reasons for the same, against the decision of the majority on any question. Such protests should be forwarded in writing to the Secretary within two weeks from the date of the Meeting.

g) Ordinary General Meetings shall be held at intervals of not less than a year at a place decided by the Council of Management.

h) The report of the working of the National Centre and the audited accounts shall be placed for approval before the general body by one of the secretaries.

i) One of the secretaries will place for discussion and approval all resolutions suggested by the Council to be so placed at the General Meeting.

j) One of the secretaries will also place for discussion and approval all resolutions submitted under the signature of at least three members. These resolutions have to be sent so as to reach the secretary at least ten days before the date of the meeting.

k) Extra-ordinary General Meetings may be convened on a requisition sent by not less than twenty members of the Council of Management or a hundred members of the National Centre. They should state the special business for which it is desirable that such an extra-ordinary General Meeting should be convened.

l) Notice of the place, day and hour of the extra-ordinary General Meeting and of the special business to be transacted thereat shall be published in the "Focus" or other journals at least one month before the date of the meeting. No business other than that included in the notice shall be transacted at such a meeting.

m) All proceedings of both ordinary and extra-ordinary General Meetings shall be sent by one of the secretaries to the World Union International Centre within one month from the

date of the meeting, after placing before the President.

14. Seal:

a) World Union National Centre shall have a seal of a design approved by the Council of Management.

b) The seal shall be affixed to all formal documents in the presence of any two of its office bearers.

15. General:

a) The National Centre will work under the advice of the International Centre. All resolutions of the Council of Management and those passed at the General Meetings will become effective from the date of acknowledgement of receipt of such resolutions by the International Centre.

b) In the event of the National Centre ceasing to exist for any reason the World Union International will take over all its assets and liabilities. No appeal will lie over such a decision of the World Union International.

Delegates' camp at Bangalore Convention:

There will be a central camp for all delegates coming from outside Bangalore in the University College Hostel which is near to the place of the Convention, a distance of about-ten minutes walk. Vegetarian food will be served to all the delegates; morning—tea or coffee, breakfast and dinner will be served in the camp. Lunch will be served at the venue of the Convention to all the delegates, including the local delegates of Bangalore. Coffee and tea will be served to all at appropriate times at the venue of the Convention. Lodging will be provided with two beds per room and simple furniture.

The organisers of the Convention wish to bring to the notice of the outside delegates that it is advisable to equip oneself with light warm clothing, a blanket and a mosquito net, though it is possible to hire beds and mosquito nets in Bangalore if prior intimation is given to the organisers. Members who bring guests other than their wives will have to pay not more than Rs.10/- per day per guest for lodging and boarding.

Delegates who wish to make their own arrangements for their stay during the Convention should note that accommodation in hotels will not be easily available because of the races in Bangalore at the time. The accommodation should be booked in advance and the organisers of the Convention are ready to assist them in doing it. Of course the cost of stay in such cases shall be borne by the delegates concerned.

Activities of World Union Centres:

World Union North Calcutta Centre held its 12th monthly meeting on 20 March 1975 at 7.00 p.m. at 18-A Ramdhone Mittra Lane, Calcutta, residence of Sri Susanto Mittra when Sri Samar Basu was present. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Sri Robi Ghosh, group concentration and the Mother's music. In his inaugural address Sri T.K. Sinha briefly referred to the February 1975 conference at Pondicherry. After that he announced the formation of the Centre's Women Wing to be conducted by Smt. Anita Bose. Besides the existing women members of the Centre Smt. Rotna Bose, Smt. Sati Das, Smt. Shakuntala Sinha, Smt. Kheali Ghosh, Smt. Krishna Sinha, Smt. Leena Sinha, Smt. Hena Sinha, Smt. Manju Chakravarty and Smt. Jayanti Mittra assured full cooperation. In her brief address Smt. Anita Bose said that the evolution was leading us towards a divine, perfect, integrated and truthful world in which social system, economy, politics, education and culture will be based on a higher consciousness of mankind. She exhorted the members of the Women Wing to work for its realisation. Sri Samar Basu invited teachers to join the seminar on "Education for National Reconstruction" to be held on 27 April at Rishra. Sri Nirmal Kumar Roy of Uttarpara Centre spoke of his experiences at Pondicherry and Auroville with special reference to Karma Yoga. After a few observations by the President, the members present attended a musical drama on the life and sadhana of the Mother composed from Sri Samar Basu's recently published book "Keno ai Ma". The participants were Sri Santosh Kumar Palit, Sri Sujit Kumar Palit, Sri Robi Ghosh, Sri Gour Mohan Chatterjee, Sri Hemendra Nath Kar, Sri Samir Sircar, Sri Tripti Kumar Sinha, Smt. Anita Bose, Smt. Kheali Ghosh, Smt. Rotna Bose, Smt. Krishna Sinha and Smt. Leena Sinha.

It was announced that the classes on "Essays on the Gita" of the first Saturday of every month will be held at 4 Jagdish Nath Roy Lane, (rear portion), Calcutta-700006, residence of Sri Sujit Kumar Palit.

The Centre has recently organised a Homeopathic Free Dispensing unit at the Centre's office, 18-A Ramdhone Mittra Lane, Calcutta, to be conducted by Dr. Gour Mohan Chatterjee, Dr. Sachin Bhattacharjee and Smt. Leena Sinha.

World Union Uttarpara Centre held its 19th and 20th monthly meetings on 1 March and 5 April 1975 at the house of Sri Narendra N. Mukherjee and that of Sri Sadananda Bhattacharya respectively. The 19th meeting commenced with a devotional song by Km. Dipika Banik and group concentration, Sri N.L. Chowdhury presiding. Sri N.K. Roy spoke on "Sri Aurobindo Ashram and Auroville as I Saw". At the 20th meeting a devotional song was presented by Km. Chanda Banerjee, Sri S.K. Gupta presiding. Sri N.K. Roy and Sri P.K. Banerjee spoke on "Karma Yoga and our Daily Life". There were questions and answers on the subject in which Sri Sadananda Bhattacharya and Sri Pratul Chatterjee, Sri Sachindra N. Bhattacharya, Sri S.K. Gupta and Sri Samar Basu participated.

World Union Rishra Centre held its 5th and 6th monthly meetings on 18 March 1975 at the L.N.C. Mills Staff Club Room, Rishra, at 6.30 p.m. The meeting commenced with group concentration, Sri Kanai Prasad Dutta presiding. Sri Sudhindra Nath Gupta of Uttarpara Centre spoke on Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. Sri Samar Basu gave a talk suitable for the occasion and invited all interested to attend the Educational Convention to be held on 27 April 1975 at Rishra.

World Union Shillong Centre held its monthly meeting on 6 April 1975 at Sri Aurobindo Pathagar, Shillong. Sri Hemant Neogi and Sri Ajit Bose, members of Sri Aurobindo Pathagar, Calcutta, attended the meeting. Sri Ajit Bose spoke on "The Philosophy and Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo"

World Union Chandernagore Centre held its Annual General Meeting at the Old Post Office building to elect a new Executive Committee and to discuss matters relating to the progress of the Centre. Sri Panchu Gopal Dey was elected President, Sri B.N. Baral Secretary and Sri Purnendu Ghosh Assistant Secretary. It was decided that weekly study classes should be commenced along with the present monthly seminars and a library for the Centre be promoted. It was also decided to participate in the Teachers' Seminar at Rishra. The Centre's office has been shifted from Sri Aurobindo Mandir to Sri Panchu Gopal Dey's residence, Old Post Office Building, Bara Bazar, G.T. Road, Chandernagore.

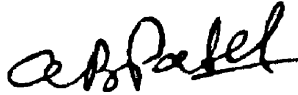
Dr. S Mukherjee of World Union New Alipore Centre informs us that on 22 and 23 March 1975 the members of the centre attended a seminar held at Mala in 24 Parganas organised by the Unity Centre. Dr. Mukherjee spoke on the spiritual aspect of human unity and referred to the five dreams of Sri Aurobindo set out in his message to the Indian nation on 15 August 1947. The Alipore Centre proposes to publish a leaflet from time to time for circulation in the area with articles on Sri Aurobindo and the Mother.

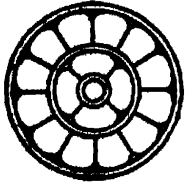
LIFE MEMBERS

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 204. Mr. Glyn Phillips, | "Lynmar", 4 Dunheved Road,
Saltash,
Cornwall, PL12, 4BW, U.K. |
| 205. Mr. Pritam J. Pandya, | J.M. Minton (Chemist),
S. High Road, Wood Green,
London, N.22, U.K. |
| 206. Mrs. Bhuliben M. Patel, | 149, All Souls Avenue,
Willesden,
London, N.W. 10, U.K. |

207. Mr. Niranjana Chohan,
40, Glossop Street,
Leicester, LE5-5HN, U.K.
208. Mr. Ratilal Babubhai Patel,
34, Warwick Road,
Sparkhill,
Birmingham, 11, U.K.
209. Sri T.S. Somasekhar,
139, Gandhi Bazar,
Bangalore-560 004.
210. Sri A. Ramaiah,
No.4, Link Road II Cross,
Malleswaram,
Bangalore-560 003.
211. Sri Arjun Kunverji Patel,
5-D Dadabhoy Road,
Santa Cruz West,
Bombay - 400 054.
212. Dr. M. Sainte Rose,
39, Rue Suffren,
Pondicherry 605 001.
213. Mr. Onkarmal Somany,
12/1, Judges Court Road,
Calcutta 700 027.

WORLD UNION
PONDICHERRY-605002


General Secretary,
17-4-1975



14. 8. 68

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***BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT***



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Lessons of Viet Nam

Though expected now for some time, the sudden crumbling of South Viet Nam has once again activated political thinking in the world capitals. Of the many lessons to be learnt from this end of a long chapter in history, the most important is that ideologies cannot be fought on physical battlefields. They must be faced and met in the minds of men. And the minds of men are always influenced by the conditions in which they live. To check the spread of Communism, the one and only effective way is to create conditions—economic, social and political—in which that doctrine cannot thrive. This was hardly done in South Viet Nam. Koumintang was repeated, and the consequences were the same. Things are going to be the same in Korea. In South Viet Nam it was clear to all impartial observers that the masses had been alienated by the policies of the reactionary regimes in power, kept in power by the military and other aid of the United States. It is time that some degree of sincerity is allowed to enter into the conduct of governments. Even though the United States apologists swear in the name of democracy and individual rights, the governments all over the world that receive the most support from the rulers of the United States are those that have crushed democracy and have no respect for individual values, but somehow come in handy for different reasons to the military strategists of the Pentagon.

No true progress towards world unity can be made as long as the super-powers choose to eye the countries of the Third World with cynicism and indifference. The nations of the emerging peoples have also got to learn the lesson that if they become pawns in the hands of the bigger powers, they are doomed. The oil crisis has shown the potentialities of the undeveloped nations, and a wise statesmanship is called for to forge and shape the Third World into a solid base for the rising of a global union of all the peoples.

World Council for World Government

A world union movement at The Hague in the Netherlands is in the process of forming an Emergency World Council for World Government which,

when completed, will set up a potential world government that will make an appeal to all the inhabitants of the world to acknowledge it as their highest political authority. The Council will be considered complete when it is reasonable to expect that its members, when speaking and acting together, would enjoy the political confidence of, at least, humanity's majority. Our Secretary-General, Mr. A B. Patel, was selected as a member of this Council last year.

Dr. J. H. C. Creighton, the initiator of the movement, passed away in April 1975. On completion of investigations of the qualifications of each invitee, he personally used to extend the invitation to join the Emergency World Council. It is now proposed that in the future a team of three or four Council members should work together and extend such invitations. We are happy to note that Mr. Patel has been asked to serve as a member of that small team, and that duty he has willingly undertaken.

M. P. P.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY—I

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought : Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

Introduction

The essence of India's crisis in modern times is the problem of discovering an adequate social philosophy without surrendering the uniqueness of her distinctive civilisation, of altering the social and economic form of her long stagnant society while retaining the basic world-outlook of her culture. This dual need has not always been recognised. There have been those who have sought to preserve everything of India's past as being permanently valuable, and a more vehement set who have chosen to reject everything of her past as being equally irrelevant in the modern age. That the two needs must go together was recognised as early as Ram Mohan Roy himself, but the tendency to jettison the whole of India's thought and philosophy has continued as well. This was the central urge of the earliest social reformers but their limited success and very considerable failure is demonstration of their error.

The attempt, however, at arriving at a right balance or proper grasp of the essence of India's culture on the one hand, and of the direction in which and the principles on which institutional changes are to be

effected on the other, has been a continuing one. Ram Mohan Roy's was an early and too intellectual, almost ad hoc attempt. In its later developments, especially in the Prarthana Samaj of Maharashtra, there is a greater solidity but a yet defensive and apologetic demeanour in respect to India's heritage. With Swami Dayananda a more self-confident even aggressive, dynamism emerges for the first time. But the principle of preservation and change set forth by him,—the eternal Veda—relevant and effective for his own time, is yet non-historical in a double sense. It involves the rejection of the entire Puranic and post-Vedic tradition, and it offers a set of static principles—the Vedic injunctions—for a single and final change, and not a series of continuing alterations and adaptations in society. For, once the injunctions are adopted in full, we reach a condition of ponderous satiety and no further change is permissible. The Arya Samaj indeed has tended latterly to be a conservative force. It has, moreover, been too crudely hostile to the other religions of India, and to that extent not wholly true to the all-embracing spirit of India's culture.

The true basis for a solution could, therefore, emerge only when the central

theme of India's entire existence was unravelled. It would rest on no book, no matter how sacred, but would explain and justify the books themselves. This was the great work of Swami Vivekananda. The *raison d'être* of India's culture is spirituality; by the Vedas no books are meant but only the accumulated treasury of spiritual laws discovered by different persons in different times, past, present and future. Spirituality and religion may seek expression in forms and institutions but they are not inseparably embedded in them. Each age must develop its own institutional forms in a free and creative response to social need. The modern era is characterised by the rise of the *sudra*, the masses, and by the application of science to social life, and it is for the fulfilment of these that India must radically alter all her forms while preserving her spiritual essence.

Here, then, we have a dynamic principle of continuous change and yet a permanent continuity. But in Vivekananda this vision and these principles are not gathered and organised into a systematic, comprehensive world-philosophy. Vivekananda started with Sankara's Advaita-Maya philosophy and suggested dynamic new lines of thought and action. Sri Aurobindo noted these dynamic suggestions but built an imposing structure of thought of his own, freeing himself wholly from the tentacles of the world-negating Maya philosophy of Sankara. Sri Aurobindo, therefore, though himself in the full spiritual tradition of India, does not seek for a principle of change within the received assemblage of traditional thought: he constructs a new body of thought—refuting Maya and propounding a profound philosophy of evolution and history—to serve as a basis for the new construction of India. At this point, therefore, the philosophic basis for the total

transformation of Indian society has become complete and fully explicit.

At the level of concrete social and political action, this principle of continuity of culture and change of form has been struggling to receive a full-blooded practical application. In the earliest, petitioning epoch of modern India's political life, this principle had no relevance and could thus receive no notice; but in Tilak there is a sure recognition of its necessity and in Bengal with Bipin Chandra Pal and Sri Aurobindo it acquires a feverish intensity though as yet no very definite form. With the advent of Gandhiji, the fever passes and the principle itself becomes constricted in scope somewhat, though it is never really lost sight of. The fragile intellectual constructs of Mahatma Gandhi, the spirit of *neti*, "negation", in him and his utter inability to relate himself to the social sciences, made it almost inevitable that the men of average ability that his political heirs were, they would fail to make use of this principle by themselves. After his departure, therefore, his successors fell back on the liberal and secular tradition of the West, a tradition that had formed part of the early phases of the national movement and which in a curious way had indeed been transmitted to Gandhiji through Gokhale. In the years after Independence, therefore, this has been the basic dichotomy of Indian social and political life: the disjunction between India's philosophic vision of life and her theories and schemes of social action. A central task, therefore, in formulating a political philosophy in India is to grasp the two—philosophic vision and social reality—with equal firmness and as parts of an integral whole.

However, whenever the question of assimilating something Western is raised,

there are some, to whom reference has already been made, who insist that everything, all social and political ideals, already exist in India's tradition and that there is no need to go to the West for them. National pride is no doubt a fine thing, ultimately the only sound basis for social reconstruction, but if it prevents us from accepting the profound causes of our decline and the centuries of our subjugation, it is merely stupid. To insist on discovering everything within India herself is, moreover, to miss the whole point of India's modern renaissance and even of her basic vision. All of India's greatest thinkers, with perhaps the solitary exception of Dayananda who did not come in direct contact with foreign ideas, have repeatedly stressed the need for assimilating Western social and political

principles, her ideas and institutions of freedom and equality, of economic development and social emancipation. India's vision, too, in her best ages has been that cultures are at bottom specialisations, and that a greater concentration of energy by other peoples on certain ideas and viewpoints can help awaken and enrich our own cultural being. That is why Swami Vivekananda declared in ringing words: "India's fate was sealed the day they coined the word *mlechcha* [outcast] and ceased from communion with others." The choice for us, therefore, is between not acceptance and rejection, but slavish imitation and masterful assimilation.

(To be continued)

THE FORMED AND THE FORMING

Robert A. Smith, III

*The forming is always to the formed as
the past and future are to the present*

"Dropout", "copout", "fallout", and "frenzy",—the words of a society caught in a whirlwind upheaval of dysfunctional and dissensual feelings. The cool of the Madison Avenue hipsters versus the frenzy of the hot cats painting an ecological scenario of current Americana in a vent of McLuhanism where the ink blot of the medium blots out the message Madison Avenue becoming lost in the medium it has created for the generation emerging. Generations snarling at each other across a no-man's-land of mythical age boundaries of mishandled responsibilities versus no responsibilities. A dialogue petering forth from collective narcissism and insular retreats identifying with hermaphroditic feelings and the twilight of unsexed inhuman Gods.

The polarized or regimented left and right have gotten into empty, albeit at times frenetic, dialogue in dysfunctional and dissensual attacks upon each other rather than the problems at hand. Energy is wasted upon an absurd narcissistic seriousness where cheek bones remain rigid and bellies never shake in the guts.

If I may borrow deeply from Nishida, that wise philosopher of Japan, we confuse the formed with the forming. No generation is formed, it is always forming as it brings those ageless opposites, the past and the future, into a forming present. No person arrives in the world formed, he is always forming. What we are experiencing is a preoccupation with a present we perceive as formed—an existential bind in the sense of Prometheus and Sisyphus where the endless repetition of chains and tasks somehow fail to hold forth the hope of Camus "that the struggle toward the summit is enough to fill the heart of a man". We have reached an existential plateau. Timothy Learys find islands of narcissistic withdrawal in a volitional mechanism of LSD and happily canonize themselves as they walk on the deadliest trip wires science has yet devised. Anti-hero conformists find their anti-heros, as conformity is institutionalized in new establishments.

Where are the prodigals, the Ulysses (not the Joycean kind) who voyage far to come upon that place all prodigals call home? Like Freud, we are mired in the mud of an Oedipus

action; therefore I would expect that each non-threatening action would bring forth non-threatening reactions and a saturation of non-threatening interchanges would eliminate the threat. For to threaten is to form and solidify, but to non-threaten is to bring forth the forming and the unifying. It is the ever-forming of images from that which has been formed.

Despite the howls, groans, and forced meditations, hopefully we are moving toward the realization that life is an organized thing and are seeking its processes. We are becoming more like the Ulysses of the Thirties as we move from the islands and shores to find and know our homestead. We are moving in a transcultural sense from the formed to the forming where we recognize that those two great opposites, War and Peace, are forming, however slowly, a unity where the world may be perceived as an organized thing with meaningful interdependence. It is to this, as we move from the formed to the forming, that generations and races find their common purpose and communion. Paraphrasing Kenneth Boulding, it brings the actor into the act where his image becomes engaged in the discourse of images.

To paraphrase Gordon Allport, the present is that uncommitted third party who can convert the polarized positions of the committed past and committed future into a mobile present. The present is the mobile allness beyond the monolithic shadows of the past and monolithic mists of the future. The future of the future is always in the forming present.

In letting readers intrude gently into my life, I feel the past and the future forming in the present, the eternal now of life and the mobile moment of decision for freedom of growth. I feel the encounter of individuation with socialization, of human liberation with human conditioning, of Apollonian reasoning and hubris with Dionysian ecstasy, and of past youth with approaching age. I feel these in the eternal present where opposites unite in both a cosmic and personal identification. I feel that when there is no healthy encounter but only a continuum of polar extremes, a natural organic unity withers. Fragmental chaos results when the natural organism is mechanized into so many parts. The ashes of the past meet the unlighted fires of the future over coals glowing with the present. Hope and joy are part of a meaningful present when seen as the metamorphosis of the past growth with future promises. It is our dawns promising new days. It is the landscape not captured by a static painting. It is life incorporated by our living it. It is the essence of general systems theory. Life is an organized thing and we should seek its processes. Its process, like clouds, is the ever-forming of patterns, patterns no artist can catch on a single canvas. There is the constant meaningful interplay of sound and silence, seasons, rhythms—cosmological forces adjusting themselves through the eternal now.

Hopefully we are becoming seekers of social institutions which are adapted to the qualities of integrated men and women and which have institutionalized sociogenetic properties and values which enable them to help children reach an increasing totality of cosmic proportions in their life cycle.

There is an essence of life distilled from nature. The fire is the sunrise; the essence is the beholding; the sensing of the pulsations of a sentient universe—the sun, the galaxies and the green earth tell me of its timeless being. Long ago I learned of this essence of life—an essence you will not find in bottles on some pharmacist's musty shelves, nor in the bubbling retorts hidden away in dimly-lit chemists' laboratories. The essence is that omnipresent aura of living systems.

This eidetic imaging capacity -- three dimensional imagery -- has enabled me to distill the essence of general systems theory. It opens me to reality with the innocent eyes of a child where the vision of creativity occurs as a gestalt -- a union of subject and object, of East and West, of outer symbols with inner reality. For me, the present is the eternal now because metaphorically it has transformed the finite past and the finite future into morphogenic present. This pantheistic vision forms a wholeness which no part can ever convey, and hierarchy is an infinite ascension.

A Pascalian, I must touch the polar extremes yet I know the intervening space must be filled. While seeing the pristine beauty of natural systems, innately I recognize that man's evolution is now in his artifacts. This focuses me in on the great necessity for organic or emergent characteristics to supersede the mechanistic or fixed characteristics of man's *artifactual* evolution. This can eventually culminate in an industrial humanism that will clean the air, beautify the cities, restore rivers and lakes to their pristine beauty, and build cities which not only advance civilization but minimize the social pollution of behavioral sinks. It could be called the ecology of general systems, a beauty with the appearance of eternity in time, or Lovejoy's descriptive title, "The Great Chain of Being" always murmuring the gentle sound of humanity. I seek the universal monad providing a unity of opposites of the one and the many in general systems theory. And the feelings of hierarchy, in the sense of wholes within wholes within wholes, complement my feeling of the morphogenic role of evolution in going from the formed to the forming. Finding the universal monad and model for emergent man, the sociodrama of transformation and transcendence unfolds as I draw upon the archetypes of the real past—Goethe, Leibniz, Nicholas of Cusa, da Vinci, and more recently Cassirer, Maslow, Benedict, Henry Murray, Bertalanffy, Whorf, and Allport—and funnel them into a moveable synthesis of the ever-forming future in the eternal present. Like John McHale, the futuristic humanist and sociologist, I believe man, individually and collectively, should ecologically move toward an "overall stewardship of his planetary society". This cosmic imagination enables me to relate the "archetypal patterns for all rungs of the ladder of evolution" (to use Oliver Reiser's pregnant description) as guides for a greater understanding of a manifest universe with its natural hierarchies of integration and complexity. Perhaps in describing his views on cosmic humanism, Reiser summed up my own parallel search . . . "as an emerging philosophy of synthesis, a social lens to focus and unify human vision, thus giving coherent form to collective aspirations and purposes".¹

¹ Oliver L. Reiser: *Cosmic Humanism* (Boston: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1966).

ELDERS

Three Poems

*Arisen from a brief night's absorption,
Alone with the morning and his soul
As sacrificant of the world's blind need
For that which it calls but does not know,
He articulates by the gesture of a life awake
The evolute's prayer to the biune god.*

*

*Panicles of dawn, poems of aspiration unassuming,
The adepts of sacrifice arise in a field fallow
Yet long-tended, spiritual wildflowers simplicity formed.*

*

*The love, the garland divinely placed
And graceful, lies lightly upon him
Like dew upon the body of morning.*

Tatsat

THE NATION-SOUL GAME

Report on the First Twenty-five Years of the Game, 1975-2000

Ruud Lohman

In the third quarter of the 20th century, almost coinciding with the beginning of the Aquarian Age, the Age of Unity, new movements started, in many places, in a variety of shapes, on different foundations. Something new happened: the movements were not just a continuation of their fathers', grandfathers' and uncles'. First of all, the movements were not mutually exclusive as they used to be. By definition, for the age is the Age of Unity, everything began to converge, slowly, but surely. In centuries and ages before, even unitarian movements would fight one another, it is told. In whichever of the new movements one took part, automatically one was a member of all of them, all being one big body inspired by one big breath. Another difference with movements of the previous age was their subtlety. They aimed at and moved on layers different from the ones before. This did not become clear at once; and this is also the reason why in the period of transition much energy got lost in the disputes about levels of efficiency and importance. The Time-Spirit, here too, was strongest and the subtlety won. In previous movements the aims and methods had something rough, hard-edged about them and they were too often packed in forms behind which the aim all but disappeared. The new converging

movements let their aim determine their forms rather than the traditional reverse. Since the aims were subtle, the forms were so, too. It was the age of the primary steps in the transition from the mind to the soul, an age of inner earth-quakes and brain-shocks and much pain and suffering in the grey cells, but again the Spirit of Evolution, which is the Breath of the One, gently pushed through.

The nation-soul game of which we are to describe the first twenty-five years' history, fits into this picture and shares the common traits with all of them. Some of the determinant factors and processes of the early period follow.

First was the painful transition out of the mind. World-union thus far had been monopolized by the organisations; this fact always coloured the concept with the specific hues of the various organisations and cut it down to their own size. The transition from world-union to the bold concept of nation-soul was heavily discussed, because it looked like a longer way around; but finally, especially after the completion of Matrimandir in Auroville in the late seventies, the approach through the nation-soul was generally acclaimed as the only possible road to world-union.

The tendency of making organisations

is as human and old as the tendency of making religions. Playing a *game* instead of organizing things was a major transition, almost a conversion for many participants. The first years were hard, since the concept of game escapes definition; but when the links with Nature's Evolutionary Game, the Soul's Cosmic Game and the Eternal Play of the Eternal Child in his Eternal Garden were established, it was not a separate problematic approach anymore, but appeared to be a sub-game of a universal one.

That is why it was, and still is, so fluid. Writing its history does not consist of determining clear periods of how things were achieved. It flows and flies and escapes when you catch it. This tended to make people nervous, originally, until plasticity was recognized as a major attitude in playing cosmic games. It of course was a blow to egos and that is why the start was slow, for organising we can do, but playing is done through us. It is he and it who play rather than we.

The problem of subtlety in the seventies got mixed up with the discussions about relevance. The organisations which worked towards world-union on political, economical or inter-cultural levels superficially seemed to make headway and take decisions and come to signatures that looked heavy with implications. But afterwards nothing really seemed to happen. It remained in the mental stratosphere and did not splash down.

Starting at the other end, as the Game intended, looked irrelevant and the items looked too small, not really of world-level and cosmic importance. No more international conferences on human unity, economic agreements, weapons exchange, or cultural summits, but poems, pictures, movements among artists, subtle signs in sciences,

dressess, dishes, buildings, styles, fashions, touches behind politics—all subtle signs of a Soul which behind many many thick veils still manages to show a little glimpse of something extraordinary in the muddy flow of the centuries. To become convinced of the relevance of subtleties took a while and quite some energy, not only in the steering group but also in the field.

There is a catch-one in the Game which initially was its break but later became its highest gear. The catch lies in the identity-of-nature between one's individual soul and a nation-soul. So, playing the nation-soul game involved one's own soul and one could only play as much as one was in contact with one's own inner secret being. After a while it started working from the other side: invited or compelled to discover subtle soul-signs in the national life, one was to drive into one's own depths. The two-way traffic became the engine of the game.

There is also a catch-two in the Game which is the comic fact or rather the paradox that initially not much is to be won, but much is to be lost: one's individual and national ego, reliances, resources, self-confidences, closedness, smallness, particularities, idiosyncracies. The best loser is the best player; but still nobody wins when not all win together and win each other. Catch-two kept many nations scared for years, almost decades.

Noted should be the tremendous freedom of the Game. No compulsion, threats, duties, punishments, oughts and ought-nots. It is like the chess-game: nobody is in charge, it is not organised except for those who want to play it, anybody can take it or leave it. No nation, group, party or individual can claim it. But this implied

catch-three: such a free game on such a massive scale could only progress and survive due to the precision of its programs.

Looking back from this year 2000 to the first twenty-five years of the Game, we clearly see three major periods, of course with overlappings and what not, but still three periods.

The years 1975 to 1984 were years of discovery and individualisation of the separate nation-souls. From the Centre at Auroville, the approach was towards individual states in India and nations in the world. The foundations were laid for a first collective awareness of the very existence of a nation-soul. Hardly anybody before had even heard about such a thing, even less considered it of any importance. The Game brought the awareness by its hunt for the signs and symbols of the soul. The Game, of course, only caught on so tremendously well because it played not just itself but the very Evolutionary Game for which the destined hour had struck.

In this first period of nine years we again see three sub-movements. In the first period the stimulators spent much time together in setting up the Game with all its implications and all its dangers of being pulled back into previous approaches. Several of the conflicts as mentioned before had to be faced and worked out among themselves. There was an impatience to play on a larger scale than the initial phase of the Game justified, there were tendencies of monopolising, rationalising, aiming not deep enough, considering it a joke rather than a game and the reverse: as a too serious thing rather than as a Game. The group had to learn how to live with the concept of the Game. But also it spent much time getting sufficiently acquainted with the

ups and downs of the soul-concept to justify its massive launching. The group sharpened its tools and concepts and did some experiments in two states of India and two countries in the world.

The first period took about three years. When Matrimandir was completed, at least in its essential parts, a second phase could start: the launching of the Game on a world-level, in more and more countries. Still on an individual level, for it was discovered to be premature to bring nation-souls in contact with each other before they are at least initially aware of their own identity. So the stress was on separate countries. Huge amounts of materials — soul-symbols-in-matter and forms — came in, and huge quantities of invitations, instructions, playing tools, results, and ideas went out from the centre in Auroville's International Sector. The exchange between countries was purposely limited, except in forwarding ideas, results, tools etc., which emerged during the game anywhere in the world. Who does not remember, looking back at that period, the tremendous discovery made in some new African nations about the different ages of the nation-soul, and who does not remember the humorous agony of those countries-without-roots who initially could not find any trace of their souls.

In these three years the Centre played a strong role of teacher and instructor, for the first necessity to play the Game is to become aware of soul-existence. This needed quite some elucidation.

It was also the time of the first great Divide, because, with these subtle things, one sees or one does not. But once one succeeded to make the Divide part of the Game, things went on even better.

In the third part of the first period, the

years 1981 to 1984, the huge amount of nation-soul elements discovered were played back to the various nations to be worked into total pictures. A first exchange started between nations, not yet as confrontations between each other but rather by presenting each one's progress and discoveries to all the others, as stimulus, guides, and to evoke new possibilities. In these years the Game became not only a world-wide pastime, but a means of identification, of new hope for the future, and a push to movements which knew the way but had remained latent. In this period, the more total pictures emerged and an initial comparative exchange started taking place; one could observe new cultural boundaries growing, based not on politics but on soul-elements. Countries long divided appeared as one personality, and peoples forcefully held together seemed to differ in depth.

Looking back over this first period of nine years from 1975 to 1984, we see how three things mainly were achieved:

- the formulation of the Game itself with its philosophy, tools and aims;
- the world-wide spreading and acceptance of the Game's basic insights that only on the soul level can the world become one; that we are to tune into and play along with Evolution and Nature; that the Game aims at three levels simultaneously: the individual, the national and the universal;
- the discovery of scattered nation-soul elements and a first emergence of total soul-pictures.

The second nine year period was the time of confrontations of nation-souls. The 1984-1993 phase saw a new thing in the world: the exchange between soul and soul on national levels. It was the first real

international confrontation where fear, possessiveness and aggression were absent. Not absent were movements which thrive on the national and international subconscious vital, and mind. This was the second great Divide, the coexistence of two contradictory movements; but here the Time-Spirit again was the victor with his weapons of relevance, force and internal conviction. The very same question of relevance which in the search for soul-symbols was a weak link became, after the emergence of total souls, the strongest force.

Totally new in this second period was the astonishing fact—foreseen and implied in the Game and the concept of soul, but a surprise when it really took place—that the Game was no more played by the steering group and many people in many countries, but played by the nation-beings themselves. They determined each next step, it was they who convinced, struggled, confronted each other, played and enjoyed together. One felt oneself a part of something, somebody great, eternal and deeply determined. It was beautiful to watch how the nation-beings together worked in the depth of those nations where a soul had not yet emerged. A new power in the world was released, a power of harmony, universality, integration, but without giving up one's own speciality, one's own particular contribution to the total human race. Each nation discovered itself as a necessary manifestation of a still larger Divine Being, not to be erased or fused, but to grow towards what it was meant to be in all its individuality.

In 1993 the third movement started, in which today, the magic year 2000, we are still deeply and happily involved. The nation-beings began to take over, slowly but

surely, the reins of world politics, economics, culture, education—the total life of the globe. They found or brought to the fore unexpected means and tools; people who in bygone ages would have remained in the background, now became powerful elements; movements and aspects of culture which always worked behind the screens now gave a shape to the soul-force behind. The world scene gained warmth, love, depth, unity. But the unity and universality had to be established firmly, with all its differentiation of soul and soul, individual

and individual. That is how this last movement of nine years started, which will culminate in the establishment of the One World Parliament of Nation-Souls. The preparations are in full swing, we all are involved in its tremendous movements. Two more years and the Nation-Soul Game will have been played to the end, culminating in the establishment of one world. A new Game may then begin: the One World Game, a merging with the one Cosmic Soul and the one Transcendent Spirit.

The nation or society, like the individual, has a body, an organic life, a moral and aesthetic temperament, a developing mind and a soul behind all these signs and powers for the sake of which they exist. One may see even that, like the individual, it essentially is a soul rather than has one; it is a group-soul that, once having attained to a separate distinctness, must become more and more self-consciousness and find itself more and more fully as it develops its corporate action and mentality its organic self-expressive life.

— Sri Aurobindo
The Human Cycle

SENSITIVE PERIODS IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

World Union Consciousness—XV

T. Govindarajan

(In the fourteenth article of this series, the imperative need for establishing a network of Montessori nursery schools was stressed. No doubt it will be a very expensive proposition according to present budgetary angles of view. But we have to remember that by establishing such a network of schools, we will help usher into the world an age which will concentrate upon production of "armaments for peace". Diversion of funds from space research programmes and "defence" would go a long way. The U.N. and her supporting organisations like Unesco have to consider this a peace project and find the means for its actualisation. Certain mushroom growth organisations calling themselves kindergarten schools have sprung up without any claim to being run on the scientific lines formulated by either Froebel or Montessori. Such schools do more harm than good, and have to be banned.)

The most important annex to a true nursery school is a psycho-medical examination centre, with a medical expert in child diseases and a qualified working psychologist well-versed in child psychology and psychiatry. Though there may not be enough work to justify the expenses of running and maintaining such a centre for every school, it is advisable that for a certain number of schools within a limited radius, there be a mobile unit offering these services.

On the eve of admission to a nursery school, every child needs to be examined by the two experts for the early detection and equally early rectification of any defects observed. And it is often found that physical and psychological difficulties are intertwined. A child may stammer out of fear or the condition may be physically caused. Another child may be slightly hard of hearing and therefore not respond quickly; this can have attendant psychological repercussions. In either case, early diagnosis at the nursery school stage is necessary.

If the stammer is due to fear, the first child may develop normal speech if the causes of the fear are removed. Unless this is done, it is quite likely that the stammering will continue or even worsen; the child when grown up may not respond to treatment. A stammerer has perceptible and imperceptible handicaps, and he does not easily fit into normal social life. And when social life is truncated, normal personality development is affected. We would, by our neglect, be leaving the child open to life-long stammering, leading to a diminished personality.

The second child, if he quickly responds to medical treatment for lack of normal hearing, will have that handicap removed. Very often one with defective hearing is mistakenly considered to be one who is inattentive. A proper and sympathetic understanding of the child's deficiency and an early diagnosis and treatment of the causes, may restore the hearing and will avoid psychological problems. Otherwise, when a teacher is not aware that a child is hard of hearing, he takes him to be dull and backward or inattentive; the child is consequently made to suffer all the indignities and punishments that an insensitive teacher can inflict. Examples of this type are countless; and hence there is an obvious need for an efficient psycho-medical unit.

The utility of nursery schools functioning on the right lines is well brought out by the following remarks of Margaret McMillan, who actually has run a nursery school and recorded her views in her book, *The Nursery School*.

One great result of the nursery school will be that the children can get faster through the curriculum of today. When they are half or two-thirds through the present elementary school-life, they will be ready to go on to more advanced work. . . . In short, the nursery school, if it is a *real* place of nurture and not merely a place where babies are "minded" till they are five, will affect our educational system very powerfully and very rapidly. It will quickly raise the possible level of culture and attainment in all schools, beginning with the junior schools. It will prove that this welter of disease and misery in which we live, and which makes the doctor's service loom bigger than the teacher's, can be swept away. It will make the heavy walls, the terrible gates, the hard playgrounds, the sunless and huge classroom look monstrous, as they are. It will give teachers a chance.

The nursery school is thus not merely a happy interlude, but a very purposeful one between the home where early training in character takes place and the junior school where formal instruction begins. And in the nursery school, the training of character goes hand in hand with learning through instruction, the latter growing more and more as the child grows older and older.

In the nursery school functioning according to Montessori's views, the various sensitive periods in the life of a child are identified and full advantage is taken of them so that particular capacities of the child may be enabled to unfold. As was pointed out earlier, "sensitive periods in development" were first discovered by the famous Dutch biologist Hugo De Vries in the course of his research on the development of certain animals and insects. This phrase was later adopted by Montessori in relation to human development. We can appreciate the following general definition of what a sensitive period is :

During the development of certain organisms, there come periods of special sensibility. These periods of sensibility are related to certain elements in the environment towards which the organism is directed with an irresistible impulse and a well-defined activity. These periods are transitory and serve the purpose of helping the organism to acquire certain functions or determined characteristics. This aim accomplished, the special sensibility dies away often to be replaced by another and quite different one.

This opportunity provided by the laws of Nature has to be utilised for as long as that sensibility is present.

Montessori writing of this aspect of a child's growth says:

Children pass through definite periods in which they reveal psychic aptitudes and possibilities which afterwards disappear. That is why, at particular epochs of life, they reveal an intense and extraordinary interest in certain objects and exercises, which one might look for in vain at a later age. During such a period, the child is endowed with a special sensibility which urges him to focus his attention on certain aspects of his environment to the exclusion of others. Such attention is not the result of mere curiosity; it is more like a burning passion. A keen emotion first rises from the depths of the unconscious and sets in motion a marvellous creative activity in contact with the outside world, thus building up consciousness.

During any sensitive period, there is interested and continual activity which does not cause fatigue; on the contrary, more and more energy is released to be canalised along a course which promotes inner growth in the child. Each sensitive period constructively contributes to the growth of the child's natural personality through the acquisition of some well-defined characteristic or function, or even of a skill or capacity of discrimination.

Take for example an adult's limited capacity to learn a foreign language even when he

is thrown into an environment where that language is spoken as the mother-tongue of the people amidst whom he lives. He is self-conscious, diffident, fumbling and nervous. His foreignness to the language even under the most favourable conditions and circumstances becomes evident. He would rather read and understand than attempt to speak the language. Contrast this with the capacity of a child to learn a language. There is imbedded in the child as a gift of nature at that age the capacity to learn a language quite easily and naturally. The child merely picks up the language in the environment without effort, even without being purposively taught. This innate capacity of the child is so well recognised, that children in some families are brought up by a foreign governess in order that they may be bilingual.

The sensitive period for language lasts much longer than others. The instinctive selective intelligence of the child, even before he begins to walk or speak, has the mysterious capacity of distinguishing sounds. It is particularly to human sounds that the child is drawn, as if by a selective instinct, though language as such is not registered in the child. The child naturally imitates human sounds, but there is no conscious effort.

Then there follows the sensitive period for order. Everything in its proper place makes the child happy, any disorder annoys the child. The following incident is illustrative.

A party of persons were on an excursion to an ancient monument. A mother came with her two-year-old child and was carrying him in her arms. As it was very hot, the mother took off her overcoat and held it in her hand. For no apparent reason, the child began to cry and no amount of persuasion or cajoling could pacify the child. One member of the party suggested that the mother put on her coat. Though it was very hot, the mother in desperation put on the coat. The child quietened and cried in joy, "Mamma, coat on!" The child's sense of order was restored by the mother putting on the coat. In adult behaviour, the sense of order is often a response to the desire for comfort; for the child it is "everything in its proper place". The child-mind revolts against disorder as he understands it.

In a Montessori school, this sensitive period for order is of great practical importance. Contrary to our thinking, children do have a sense and wish for order rather than chaos in a class or group of thirty or forty; much depends on the directress' attentiveness and vigilance. The sensitive periods for the child's interest in small objects, for the refinements of the senses, for learning good manners, etc., coexist and bring about a cumulative and simultaneous growth in the child's personality. The discovery of these sensitive periods and their identification in the life of a growing child, is another thing that distinguishes Montessori from most other child-educationists. This is her most significant contribution. Montessori recognised their biological purpose and used it to great advantage. Adapting Shakespeare's words, we might proclaim:

**There is a tide in the affairs of children,
Which taken at the floods, leads on to fortune, . . .
Omitted, all the voyage of their lives is spent
In shallows and miseries.**

This underlines the fact that a sensitive period dawns, waxes, reaches its apex, and eventually wanes, giving place to others. When the education of the child is organised in relation to the child's sensitive periods, his achievements are remarkable. There is spontaneity in work, and the child is able to accomplish in a few weeks what would involve months to learn otherwise. And this takes place without the child being pushed or punished, without listlessness, fatigue, or the sense of being overworked. It is maximised achievement through the spontaneous urge to grow.

Of course, even when these sensitive periods are not taken advantage of, a child does grow, but he grows as a "diminished individual" with gaps in his mental and moral makeup. When some sensitive periods are missed, they never return except under certain revival conditions. But if the sensitive periods are fully utilised, the benefits last for a lifetime.

During the period the child is in a nursery school, "he is preparing himself for the time when he will burst through the chrysalis case of the prepared environment and enter into a larger and wider world without". From this world within a world, the child peeps out now and then "with wondering eyes" into the adult world. But he is not yet developed enough to enter this adult world or to appreciate its extent and reality. His own small world, the prepared environment, is to him real and sensible; in it the child works independently of the adult, doing his own real work with real responsibilities. The child takes an active part in his world with as much seriousness as the adult in his. The child's growth there is according to the laws of his nature and is proportionate to his capacity and needs.

IN AUROVILLE

THE FORMING OF THE SOUL

Ronald Jorgensen

It is now four years, two months and one week since the Matrimandir foundation stone was laid and work began. There are the rivers of lives poured into and out of work there, the wide numbers of villagers digging during the paid excavation phase, the architectural and engineering meetings next to the yards of incoming steel orders,—scaffolding pipes, bars and plates—the meditations, the flowers, invocations and the gifts and loans whose arrival keep the work going, the evolution of the Matrimandir Workers' Camp in a checkered life through extremes of individual solitude or group compression along with the varying difficulties faced in kitchen-food and laundry attitudes and discipline and other everyday surprises of obstacles. ("Why doesn't somebody [else] keep the toilet cleaned regularly?" There are to be no servants in Auroville.) What has happened under the bubbles of this listing, if such depths could be sounded, would probably reach into vast reticulations of human landscape like those which must have developed around the building of the Great Pyramid and the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Chartres. This is so without even attempting to fathom the dimensions of inner lives' movement in the field of spiritual presence mothered by the Matrimandir itself.

The structure has changed enormously since last discussed in the September-October issue of *World Union*", 1973. The complete technical description would only be bewildering but this is the difference in appearance: 1973 presented a huge excavation which contained four concrete pillars so large they could more accurately be termed piers. The piers rose up to ground level. One and a half years later those piers are extended into four proportionately large concrete ribs towering into the sky where they outline the bottom half of the sphere itself whose steel scaffolding is now complete, silhouetting the tracery of its shape all the way to the crown.

The difficulty in writing about the Matrimandir is that no one of us understands it.

The Matrimandir will be the soul of Auroville. The sooner the soul is there, the better it will be for everybody, especially for Aurovilians.

—the Mother

Those who feel close to it know there is an intersection of vastitude in the sky of their heart and the heart of its body. And, working there month after month has brought—along with its massive emergence of outline—a more and more massive infusion of its presence; more and more of Auroville comes

under the cascading domination of its influence.

Such correspondence between outer formation and inner elaboration is scanned by recent events. Near the end of 1974 a strike of paid workers from the villages touched the nearly four year old project for the first time, developing into a major confrontation of forces in January. Although Aurovilian voluntary work did not stop, there was confusion about what these events suggested. The solution came into sight weeks later with the stoppage of all paid labor and an invitation to workers who wanted to help build Matrimandir, to become Aurovilians on the same voluntary work and sustenance basis as others. Then the landscape glowed into view, too, out of a three year fog; before that it had been clear to all, Matrimandir was to be built by voluntary work if possible and now, when it became possible, events forced the choice on Aurovilians.

In what phase was the construction itself when this came to catalysis? Just at the point where the floor of the inner meditation room—the inshining centre of Matrimandir—was to be poured. Clearly not merely by labor but by work given as an offering. Six of the former village laborers indicated they wanted to become Aurovilians and were accepted; also, offerings continued to swell in the arrivals of Aurovilians from one community or another and of Ashram inmates and students in full or part-time changes of their teaching, garden, baking or other work.

While new people are coming, a flow of old people goes and the progression into a new era of the Matrimandir's elaboration dawns. This is even marked architecturally

by an unexpected disclosure blooming into a discussion on fundamental structural changes in the meditation room. Much of all this (could one believe so?) was touched to awakening by the apparent threat of a labor strike!

In the outer garden area, too, where trees are to predominate, four years of research and other preparation is soon to be applied. In the last few months about ninety trees have been successfully planted and now, during the hot season, 200 holes need to be dug to plant that many trees this fall at the end of September—holes dug, composted and maintained. Then the variety of trees will expand to express more of the earth's cultures of trees until, in 1978 (the goal for completion of the Matrimandir and its gardens), Aurovilians look to the establishment of a globally forested garden for the centre of this city of Human Unity.

Some of the trees now growing, named by the Mother according to their inner significance, are Prosperity, Oblation of the Ego, Work, Accurate Perception, Transformation and Service. Actually, for readers who are interested, a great volunteer effort will have to be made to dig and prepare the holes for planting in September. If you would like to visit Auroville and help, Patricia Toll—a young American—is ready now for volunteers. If you want to write first, her address is:

Patricia Toll
Peace
Auroville
(South India)

If you come directly, she may be found in the Matrimandir construction area at Peace, Auroville.

April 28, 1975

A LEADERLESS APPROACH TO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

D. A. Abeysekera

This approach began to take form with some experiments we did in Ceylon to find an alternate method of organizing communities in a more democratic way than done now. These experiments were the result of fifteen years' sociological research into reasons for the weakness, failure and disruption of all social and political organizations. The whole experiment revolved around the question of leadership—whether the accepted method of finding leadership in any group, association, or community is truly democratic and effective and whether that leadership can really inspire maximum participation from the membership. In the course of this investigation we discovered fifty-two reasons why societies fail, and therefore developed a new form of social organization based on the principles of a democratic decentralization of leadership.

The prime reason for rejecting the established system of electing office bearers is because the elective method is obviously divisive in character. It divides a community or group into a governing party and an opposition, and there is constant strife, tension or non-cooperation between the two. Therefore, it does not make for harmonious social action at all. The will of the majority prevails in the name of democracy, but it does not generate adequate participation by the ordinary membership.

Another reason is the formality and

rigid constitutional form of all established political and social organizations. This leads to the continuation of inefficiency or corruption by any elected leadership because they cannot be removed without a no-confidence motion being passed at a general assembly; this is not always done in situations of evident corruption. On the contrary, corrupt leadership has a shield of constitutional authority to protect its own corruption for a certain period of time, and even has the possibility of prolonging it.

A third reason—intertwined with the primary problem of divisiveness—is that all social organizations hold meetings which become mere talking shops. Someone gets up and gives a speech, moves a resolution, and many others talk on the resolution, for and against. Then it is subjected to the vote; a decision on the basis of a simple majority is taken and that is considered a democratic decision. But is this not also a means of dividing the group, association or community into two factions and breeding antagonism or non-cooperation between them? The talk-shop tendency is encouraged by the institution of voting and its engulfment of even trivial decisions into a talking death.

Yet another reason why societies fail is the leaders' built-in imperialistic principle of divide and rule underlying this whole constitutional process, which is fondly termed democratic. It has operated at all

political and social levels and now operates even at the lowest village or community level. And this is the reason for so much disunity in the villages of most countries in Asia. As such, the technique of imposing an alien system of political or social organization on Asiatic people, who have different cultural patterns and modes of social behavior, has failed miserably.

We had therefore to evolve a new methodology of community based, indigenous cultural values and patterns of social behavior in order to reach the rural people at a deeper level and enlist their cooperation and participation in social and community action. Hence we studied some of the social practices which were adopted by farmers in ancient times before being disrupted by those imposed during the period of colonialism. We found such practices were continuing even now in a very informal and harmonious manner, without leadership enforced on them by constitutional procedure. Having drawn inspiration from the simple principles of unity based on self-help, mutual aid, and voluntary service, we formulated a new method which we call *democratic decentralization of leadership*.

This method can be used in any social organisation, from a village committee right up to the United Nations. The principle is that of organizing small primary groups either on a neighborhood basis as in a village or a town, or on a functional basis as in an industry or office or any other establishment. The primary groups should be small enough to retain a face to face personal touch in discussions and decision making. In the case of a village or town, meetings of these groups of ten to fifteen members should be held in the home of every single member of that group in weekly rotation, so that the

principle of equality is well established. Each group will have an organizer and all the organizers of the groups, into which the whole community or association is formed, will make up the central committee for the entire association, village or community. And this is done without an election, because the organizer of each primary group undertakes the responsibility of organizing the meeting etc. on a purely voluntary basis. The principle of rotation is followed whereby the organizer changes from month to month, so that every member of the primary group will have an opportunity to serve his group and represent it at the central committee. Consequently there is no struggle for leadership and no constitutional right to office which could breed the development of a personality cult and of corruption.

The absence of formality at these primary group meetings is a significant feature of this method. The group members meet either on the floor of a village house or in a very informal setting. No speeches are made. Nobody chairs the meetings. Individual and group problems are discussed informally. Decisions are made and action follows immediately afterward.

We have accepted the principle of electing leadership by majority vote without question and have never noticed its built-in tendency which perverts the democratic process. When you inaugurate a meeting or start a project you call people together, the organizer makes a speech and says the first thing is to have a constitution, so he borrows one and imposes it with general acceptance. Then he says we must have some leaders or office bearers. Those assembled do not even know each other but are asked to name their leaders. The organizers, who have planned it secretly

before the meeting, forward their nominees before the innocent assembly and get them elected. So you start with an enforced leadership, because you are made to elect leaders even before working with them and being convinced of their skills of leadership.

A simple majority vote creates a powerful division in the group. But we accept it without question. In fact, we have axiomatically accepted division and conflict as necessary for the creation of unity. But unity must begin at the outset of association.

In the new system of decentralized leadership we do not even use the word, "leader". Instead we refer to everyone as a member and try to help him become a worker or participant. Thus the gap between the leadership and the led is removed. And the process of participation is so simplified and equalized that a project, association or movement does not depend on the particular skill or efficiency of a few chosen leaders. On the contrary, the participation of ordinary members is obviously enhanced to the maximum because of the freedom and equality they enjoy. Therefore tensions between groups and leaders are non-existent: there is free, frank discussion at the primary group level and at the central committee, so there is no doubt in the mind of any member about the way in which action is taken on behalf of the group or association.

Problems which are discussed at the group levels are individual and collective problems of that particular group. Those problems which cannot be solved by one group may be resolved by two or three groups in combination, which means enhanced strength. Those problems which cannot be solved at group level are brought

before the central committee meeting by the representatives of each group. The central committee discusses and resolves problems which are brought before it, as far as possible. Those which do not permit solution are referred by the committee to the authorities concerned, such as the state, local bodies, voluntary organizations, and other aid-giving agencies. The members of the central committee also have the responsibility of reporting back to their primary groups' weekly or fortnightly meetings on what they have done about the problems submitted by these primary groups.

What is the incentive of the people in the first place to start these groups? It is for a more effective organization for social action, for self-help, mutual aid and voluntary service, for the stimulation of wider participation in community service—because of the fact that the constitutionally formed society of the village has failed. There were 8,000 rural development societies in Ceylon which did excellent work for years but later became weak and ineffective. The lesson we learned was that where the struggle for leadership is removed, participation is maximized; then any association or movement will become a success. Also, as long as there is a gap between the leadership and the members, there will be lack of participation.

When the central committees take up problems with the state, the state is obliged to deal with their problems. But will they deal with a non-elected representative? Since the state requires presidents, secretaries and treasurers to sign official documents, the central committee of this new form of social organization makes provision for these three office bearers. But they are not elected. Members who represent their groups volunteer to serve as president, secretary, and

treasurer for any period of time during which they can work conveniently with efficiency and devotion—for about three to six months. Thereafter the office is passed on very informally to another member of the central committee. In effect the leadership rotates but the action of the group or association goes on apace. Consequently there is no question of power and corruption accumulating in a single individual or a small group. As every member of the entire association gets an equal opportunity to serve the group and community to which he belongs, it has been found that the participation of the membership has been optimum.

Are men and women included equally? Yes, even a child can represent his family if the parents are not able to attend group meetings which are, you may remember, held informally in village houses.

Do these groups ever have money to spend? No membership fees are charged. But for any project decided on by the group, voluntary donations are accepted. We have seen that in this arrangement more donations come in than if membership fees are collected by rule.

How are the groups formed? By people on a neighborhood, geographical or a functional basis. Has this new system been worked out in Ceylon? Yes, it was tried in a few villages and agricultural youth settlements beginning in 1960. Groups of eighty youth were settled on land which they had to develop into tea and cinnamon plantations, beginning by clearing thick jungle. They came from different backgrounds and areas but all were educated. We had the challenge of welding them together as one community. We went and stayed with them in these remote areas, and convinced them to accept

this method. They lived in barracks and the groups were formed on a functional basis: cooking, health and sanitation, marketing, construction, jungle-clearing, cultural activities, recreation, public relations, reading room, research etc. Did these groups change personnel? Yes, thereby they learned all functions of all groups by rotation and became part of different primary groups in turn.

There are some difficulties when introducing this system. First, established leadership resists any attempt to change or share its leadership. Secondly, there is the general conservative attitude which presupposes the necessity to have leaders and led. Thirdly, the feeling exists that ordinary workers cannot share management which is considered technical. It is easy to change administrations and governments; the change of the attitudes of a man takes time. But all the tendencies that usually harden into fossilized attitudes begin, in this new movement, to break up gradually. We don't want leadership at all. It is really unnecessary. Instead all members of a group or association can become workers because even the backward members are trained to participate. Sometimes two members will team up and one help the other. None can hold back or pull forward too fast, because the group spirit prevails.

The principle of decentralization is very important in any organization today because people don't like to be pushed around or ordered about. These remnants of imperialism and colonialism are not in the true spirit of democracy.

Do political aspirants with the government work against the primary groups and central committees? Yes they try to, but the unity of the community becomes too strong for them.

As a methodology of operating—in all types of socio-economic and political systems—this approach of democratic decentralization of leadership will be much

more effective than the present system, which has failed to engender peace and unity.

Following the recommendations of the Seminar on National Reconstruction held in the Ashram during February, 1975, a Youth Camp is being held in June under the auspices of Sri Aurobindo's Action and Navajyoti Karyalaya. The camp will last for ten days, June 17 to June 27, 1975. The selection will be from the age group of 20 to 35 years of age. Centres may write to the undersigned regarding the delegates they send. Each one meets his expenses.

The programme for the camp will be work-based in the spirit of the teaching of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother. Facilities will be provided for studies and allied pursuits.

M. P. Pandit

(Convener, Central Coordination
Committee, Ashram, Pondicherry)

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY—VI

Pratibha

My friends Madelyn and Chris had the intention of going to Europe, hoping to establish contact with their cultural heritage, and I tentatively contemplated living alone in a New York apartment. For a preparatory period of several months, the three of us lived together in a hotel suite directly across from the Empire State Building. Although at present it looks as graceful as a tapering church steeple in comparison with the new twin World Trade Center towers, at that time we regarded the tallest building as a friendly creature from outer space.

While deciding whether I wanted to continue graduate studies or not, I worked at a part-time job as typist in a small paper cutting unit called the Ginn Card & Paper Co. Mr. and Mrs. Ginn were relatively sympathetic towards me since they had their two children in college. When I had been for interviews at employment agencies, the agents were ordinarily thrown into a state of disconcerted disbelief, as rarely did they come in touch with such a business-disoriented applicant as I was. When Mrs. Ginn saw me she shrewdly asked me to state the salary I desired. I casually mentioned the figure of sixty dollars, not considering that I wouldn't hesitate to disburse that quantity for a dress or a pair of shoes. She said it was below the minimum legal requirement of sixty-four, which we agreed I would start with. Shortly afterwards I took to typing the whole week's bills in two or three days, and while most bills had the stigma of one mistake or another, they kept me on as they paid me only for the days I worked.

At our hotel suite there was still a carry-over of the "party atmosphere" and every evening friends would visit. Rock and roll music had evolved in the previous ten years from a simple but alluring genre with roots sunk deep into its fertile "Negro spiritual" earth-mother, and with jazz providing profuse rain waters. The conductor of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra shocked everyone, except a few million youth, with the announcement that the Beatles, one of the two first-rate groups, was equal to Bach in technical skill. It was with the Beatles and Bach alternately as background, that our evenings were animated. The tempo was no longer geared to discussions, these having been long since expended.

A friend said that Steve had been to visit him, and I automatically considered that Steve could visit me. Steve told me of his recent experiences in the Marine Corps Reserves.

He had been the oldest in his company, with his twenty-three years. The training is well-known for its excessive hardships; the trainees are unmercifully pushed to every extreme of physical and psychological endurance on the grounds that thus will their life be spared in actual battle conditions. The youngsters in the special corps, most of them seventeen, approached his cot each evening and wept; Steve spoke to them about the Self, though such activities were strictly forbidden. At two in the morning he was called out of his cot with unfailing regularity for a clandestine beating in the shower-room. Steve had always had a penchant for the unusual; he excelled in intelligence and marksmanship tests, but would neither join the intelligence sector nor take part in practice combat. He was to be court-martialled for conspiracy, but events took their usual unusual course with regard to him, and, having lived through a severe bout of pneumonia, he ended as a typist-clerk. By joining the reserves he avoided being forced into combat in Vietnam, but for a number of years he was required to attend monthly reserve meetings. The endless list of his military misadventures was a partial explanation of our ordained separation for the past year. While he had unquenchable resiliency, I would have undergone excruciating pain. When we resumed our friendship, I was unavoidably mystified by his incompetence in bringing together for his meetings more than half a dozen miscellaneous parts of the uniform. He ingenuously showed up with one or two brass buttons, a belt, or the cap, or sometimes the trousers. He succeeded in concealing the rest of the missing uniform by wearing a raincoat even at meals.

Before leaving on her tour with Madelyn, Chris, an occupational therapist, came up with the marvelous proposition that I work as a recreational therapist since entertaining people was an inalienable attribute of my nature. I was immediately accepted on the staff of the exclusive and modernistic Roosevelt Hospital. I found a sunny and pleasant apartment in Greenwich Village. Steve lived nearby and, having forsaken his own brief graduate studies in philosophy, worked as a writer in a Jewish fund-raising corporation. We earned very adequate salaries.

At some point in the recent past we had been introduced to the fashionable drugs, marihuana and LSD. While marihuana induced in me a gradual alteration of consciousness, LSD had a totally radical effect. From the first experience my mind seemed to be recast in an entirely new mold, and each successive experience appeared a progressive discovery of realms other than the normal ranges of thought. I can say, however, that these had little or nothing in common with the effects that LSD produced on the minds of the number of people with whom I've exchanged notes. In the beginning I would become an ocean of water and from my depths organisms came into being. I had fleeting concepts of being an octopus or a cow, for instance. There were brief sequence-formations of what I thought were preceding human lifetime memory-flashes, including awareness within a mummified corpse. Through the various human developments there would be a final arrival at a conglomeration of myself in the present body and personality, this being the most difficult to conduct. There was always the feeling of the capacity for non-verbal communication. I

once had the experience of seeing Steve through a personal act of will rise to what I imagined was union with God. I thought: "Can that be? And so easily?" I too made an act of will and felt that I ascended instantaneously to a radiant white light, which I considered to be the Supreme of whose existence I had never before known. I might have forgotten that I saw a Being behind and within the light, but for the fact that on hearing the hollow laughter of a friend in the adjacent room, I tugged lightly with my fingers the Being's garment, thus requesting permission to descend, I knew not why, to the evidently purposeless earth existence. Though I have since come to understand that this and the other experiences were actually of a submental, vital plane of consciousness leading away from the higher or deeper ranges of the Spirit I imagined them to be of, I genuinely believed that as a result of this particular, remarkable "expansion", the two main queries of my life till then were replied to so that I possessed an unshakable conviction of the reality of an Existent Spirit, and secondly, the paradox of the plight of the human creature seemed resolved. It was not the case, as I was wont to hold in my theological grudge, that God created something inferior to himself, but rather that the human soul willed its own existence. On another occasion I thought: "Oh, now I must undergo another long evolutionary process to reach God." I then unexpectedly went in an opposite direction and at once became a whirling electron, thus coming upon the light.

During my working hours I cheerfully gave my solicitude to the psychiatric patients whom I treated. There was a prevalence of cultivated and engaging personalities, subject to suicidal tendencies, who were exceedingly receptive to artistic and spiritual influence. I edited a mimeographed monthly patient magazine with a decided idealistic orientation. Patients could express in word and image their thoughts and feelings as elevated by the monthly themes that were: "On Wisdom", "On Beauty" and the like. Above all, the patients responded to a simple, direct frankness and gentle guidance unweakened by vacuous sentimentality. Together with a co-worker of my age, keen and vigorous Giselle, we directed multiple and varied creative activities—sports, gymnastics, visits to the various current exhibitions in the city volunteer musical entertainment, seasonal picnics, and a judicious sprinkling of parties. It was my principle always to regard the patients with utmost respect; during the outings I learned to observe them without obtrusively staring. In this manner I developed an acute sensitivity for the unequivocal perception of the mental and emotional condition of people in my proximity. One time I took my group to an exhibition of Wyeth's paintings at the Guggenheim Museum. Art was one of the mediums of expression the essential significance of which was for the most part veiled from my understanding. The patients were eagerly absorbing the works, and I passively looked on. Suddenly I saw there was a methodic increase of light in each consecutive painting; the secret was revealed.

A year passed. I came to feel that I theoretically knew beforehand the next patient that would be interned in the ward. I had assimilated sufficient technique and obtained a satisfactory level of competence in general practical performance. I felt I had accomplished

the highest degree of success attainable as a model of behavior, and that to persist would imply a loss of the more global experience I intended to achieve. Furthermore, I no longer viewed the patients as intrinsically more ill than the so-called normal, average people in society. During a group therapy session I agreed with a young psychotic ballerina when she stated the hospital was "the insane of the outsize asylum". About my relationship with Steve, I concluded that it didn't fulfill the essence of manhood and womanhood. I believed in an equality of status, but within that framework I desired the eternal flame of an extravagant, abundant and sublime passion such as that of Pygmalion or Petronius' slave-girl.

My brother was in the midst of divorcing his second wife; during one of his harsh seizures of envy of me he destroyed the collection of small statues and vases I had left in my room at my father's house. This motivated, along with several other causes, my decision to discard the other possessions I had in my own apartment. I experimented in self-detachment by smashing some of these objects d'art against the wall, but eventually settled upon merely leaving them intact.

A Belgian friend who was a chemist, at first worried terribly whenever I lit up another cigarette. After obtaining the results from his two government research grants, he said there was no consequential difference as all New Yorkers were breathing with their air the equivalent of a hundred or so cigarettes per day. In addition his computer analyses indicated that the number of people making a living through cancer research was greater than that of the people dying of cancer. So it was that he acknowledged my departure for the Rimbaud-like course he prefigured for me.

When I again visited Ananda Ashram upstate, I encountered the famous Swami Satchitananda; it happened to be Good Friday, and he began his talk to the small group by elucidating what I understood to be the non-divinity of Christ. The few minutes I remained in the room were to determine whether I should leave quietly or deliver a voluminous assertion. I left quietly; he was not my Guru. I had abandoned literature and clung only to the penetrating and emphatic scrutiny of the Old Testament for my initiation into the mystery of life. I was leaving the United States in search of a new world, a magic island where people could thrive in limitless creativity, love and liberty. I said to my friends: "I want a better reality." Moved by Kazantzakis' *St. Francis*, I opted to follow the path trod by his bare and holy feet. I dreamt of growing corn beneath the ever-new and ancient Cretan sky.

My father invited me to spend Christmas with the reunited family in the beloved fishing village of Caldebarcos. I accepted on the condition that afterwards I would without delay depart for Greece. That Christmas was a joyful one, but when I received a telegram from Chris saying she was waiting to meet me in Mallorca, my aunt and uncle became furious. The conflict which ensued was grievous to the extent that I abruptly

departed on the airplane to Mallorca leaving them and even my luggage behind. I was a stalwart champion of the mini-skirt which I wore at the length of a pair of shorts. The people in the streets of some Spanish cities I visited, including the main avenue of the capital, would repeatedly stop me on the sidewalk, take my arm and proceed to discharge from their mind every conceivable prejudice and unfavorable opinion.

On Mallorca I found Chris gayly attempting to write a novel in a village called Terreno about which the tourist guidebook declared: "Do not stop here. It is the place for lost souls." There was undeniably a conspicuously large number of colorful British alcoholic individuals; the profusion of taverns was even more striking than in other Spanish towns. I was attracted to a comely Danish fellow I met at a gathering of Chris' friends. He owned a medium-sized vessel which was moored in the harbor. One afternoon a jolly group of men came on board and commenced the detailed examination of their business transactions. To my astonishment, which I intuitively masked, they were assembling the necessary provisions for the coming season's enterprise of white-slave dealing; at length I heard the particulars of recruitment and shipment. I invoked an air of incomprehensiveness and excused myself from their presence. Right away Chris and I were on the airplane to our original destination, Athens.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

Indo-China, Asia and the United States

When looking at a map of Asia it seems more like a fantasy that the United States, on the obverse of the globe, was recently the dominant presence in several countries here. Even the Phillipines are only a few hundred miles across the South China Sea from Saigon and almost touch toes with Malaysia. Australia may be in the middle of nowhere in American geography textbooks but actually shoulders Malaysia's southern neighbor, Indonesia. Another name associated with America, South Korea, is deeply pocketed within the surrounding formation of China's mainland and the islands' curve of Japan. Although the post-American Vietnam process is still unreeling, it is clear there is no American Asia anymore; the maps have finally been confirmed.

There is a certain irony in the fact that an Indian newspaper, whose country shares a colonial history under Great Britain with the United States, bore the interesting article, "Vietnam: end of the tunnel" in its edition of April 30, 1975. Interesting because Sumer Kaul, the writer, was not satisfied with a contemporary sweep of perspective but declared that:

. . . in order to measure the significance of the Vietnam war, we should go back not two months or two years but 200 years.

The scene then was . . . 13 relatively small British provinces on the Atlantic coast of the North American continent. The oppressor was imperial Britain.

. . . the lines in Emerson's "Concord Hymn" — . . . 'Here once the embattled farmers stood /and fired the shot heard round the world' — would seem to apply equally to . . . the Vietnamese peasant guerillas.

. . . The passage of 200 years points . . . to the difference between the western nationalism of the past and today's Asian nationalism.

. . . But no matter how different the idealism or the ideology, the inspiration behind the 30-year Vietnam struggle is unmistakable. It is the light at the end of the tunnel . . . the light of Asian nationalism.

And what does Great Britain, the last century's toast of the world's imperialists, contribute to this commentary? Actually *The Guardian Weekly* is only the format for a *Le Monde* columnist to quote John Quincy Adams' 1821 Independence Day speech very appositely, the John Quincy Adams who was destined to later become a U.S. President.

She [America] well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own . . . she would involve herself beyond extrication in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colours and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxim of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. The frontlet of her brow would no longer beam with the ineffable splendour of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished lustre, the murky radiance of dominion and power. She would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit.

These two articles are given the space of generous quotation because they inimitably expand the opening of these months' eye of history.

The dynamic of Asian nationalism looks like it will touch and quicken every country in the area—the rest of Indo-China, Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Burma, even Pakistan. In relation to that it will be absorbing to see the involvement of India and China. With India there is a past influence not wholly dead, reflected in the names *Indo-China* and *Indonesia*. And is it only coincidental that India has just [*Newsweek*, May 5, 1975] become the eleventh country in the world to orbit an earth satellite only eleven months after detonating a nuclear device?

While Asia is rising (this includes more than so-called "Communist Asia" as we have just seen), a no less potent and positive change—seen from the glance of world union—of the United States is establishing itself. Of course it is true that the obvious over-inflation of America's often impatient power had to be adjusted for any genuine preparation towards world unity. An example of changes in economic power is the need stated by a prominent American investment banker to restrict OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) investments in the United States "to prevent OPEC control of the American economy" [*Indian Express*, 8 April 1975]. A more fundamental change is the one revealed by the conclusion of Watergate: the emerging prominence of truth in the nation's life. Contrary to standing in the past with Watergate, it shows a possible connection with some floundering arrangements that were sleekly accomplished by a Nixon-hued Kissinger earlier: the Vietnam Peace Treaty and the Arab-Israeli agreements are the most famous. One might ask if there is any connection between those destined failures and their genesis in the hollow Nixon presidency.

Oil Strikes Again

So, with a new edition of Arab-Israeli efforts toward settlement underway, there are already signs of a new attitude. On the Arab side, that the Arab nations are

ready, even eager to make peace with Israel. [*Los Angeles Times* via *Indian Express* of 6 May 1975].

That statement was made by King Hussein of Jordan after conferring with eighteen Arab Ambassadors—as the *Times* understood it—and included an offer to extend diplomatic recognition to Israel and “move toward a final peace settlement” if Israel withdraws from all occupied lands.

Speaking for Israel, Foreign Minister Yigal Allon said there is no military solution to the Middle East conflict today and added:

I believe there is not a single problem, including the identity of the Palestinians, between us and the Arabs which cannot be solved through negotiations. [29 April 1975, *Indian Express*].

While this is going on, the Arabs' OPEC, according to *Newsweek's* 21 April 1975 “Finance” column, has begun tying oil sales to Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) instead of the usual U.S. dollars or British pounds. They made this change, they say, simply to get a better price. But the striking way this currency operates makes it more than a simple economic decision. SDRs are not measured in terms of one currency, like the dollar, but are based on a cluster, a basket of sixteen different currencies. Each currency is represented according to its financial importance (the U.S. dollar at 33% of the cluster, the South African Rand at 1%, etc.) so that, with such weightings the fluctuations of any one currency have a minimal effect on the value of the SDR.

A Beirut economist says other countries may try it in the search for a new international monetary system. Hardly more than two weeks [8 May 1975, *Indian Express*] after this economist's remark, the international airlines, through their IATA organization, have agreed to base their ticket rates on SDRs. Their stated reasons are the devaluations and floating rates in dollars and pounds, but it seems clear this is another impulsion to the current of a globally based currency.

Justice

A similar tendency toward globality is occurring in law. *The Weekly Guardian* of March 1, 1975, carried a story on a recent decision of The European Court of Justice which went in favor of a British applicant against his own country's Home Office. Sidney Golder is a

prisoner who challenged Great Britain's rules restricting his access to lawyers and courts: apparently, these rules will now have to be changed.

The whole thing was made possible because of England's extraordinary 1966 ratification of the Court's principle that an individual of a member country may complain directly to the European Court. The implications for any international legal consciousness are clear:

For the first time in history it [the case] has given ordinary citizens the right to complain against their own countries to an international judicial body.

With mankind truly one, can anyone sensibly imagine nations will be able to shield their domestic problems and embarrassments from the rest of the planet? Or that individuals' pleas like Sidney Golder's will be ignored? It can be seen to be inescapable that, in a true oneness, anonymity—which usually increases with a larger population—will not be able to sustain itself.

*

10 May 1975

WORLD UNION FOCUS 6/75

INDIA AND HUMANITY

She does not rise as other countries do, for self or when she is strong, to trample on the weak. She is rising to shed the eternal light entrusted to her over the world. India has always existed for humanity and it is for humanity and not for herself that she must be great.

Sri Aurobindo

To our Members and Friends,

The Ideal of a peaceful co-existence between nations is good. Still better is a co-operative peaceful co-existence under which each nation not only respects the independence of the other and refrains from interfering in its internal affairs, but is ready to co-operate with each other for the solution of problems affecting them. The best is, of course, if every nation adopts the principle of service to the weaker or poorer nations and is always selflessly ready to do so. The spiritual and cultural heritage of India must prompt her not only to propound the principle of service by nations to each other but also to genuinely practise it in a manner which will ultimately be an irresistible example to the other countries. For that purpose India must reshape the forms of her spirit. The spirit behind the past forms has to be recognised, disengaged, preserved and realised and given a new and powerful thought significance, set of cultural values and made a new instrumentation for greater forms. So long as India recognises these essential things and is faithful to her spirit, it will not matter in the least to make even very drastic adaptations and the most extreme cultural and social changes. But these changes must conform to the spirit of India, and must not be in the spirit of America or Europe. The future of India should be shaped according to her own spiritual heritage and not in the mould of Japan or Russia. If India aspires and is inspired on these lines it will not be difficult for her to give a lead in establishing the principle of service by nations to each other and by strong and rich nations to weak and poor nations in the same manner as a strong or a rich individual aspires to render service to weak or poor brethren.

We are living in an era when the unexpected does happen. Though until recently strong or rich nations thought in terms of conquest or economic exploitation of poor or

weak nations, the time-spirit has compelled a change in this regard and if a correct lead is given in the direction of service to other nations it will be possible to introduce this new ideal or principle in international relations. This will do more for building up right relations between nations than has been possible in the past.

Executive Committee:

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of World Union will take place at 3.00 p.m. on 10 June, 1975 at the Institution of Engineers (India) at Vidhan Veedhi, Bangalore.

Annual Report:

The year 1974 has proved significant for the progress of the world union movement. Sri Samar Basu, the co-ordinator of the World Union in the Eastern Region has actively and enthusiastically spread the message of the World Union in his region, particularly in West Bengal and has become an active instrument for organising new World Union Centres, enrolling new members and initiating several activities which support the ideal of human unity. Most of the centres organised by Sri Samar Basu are holding regular meetings, taking constructive steps to promote the aims of the World Union and sending reports of their activities to our headquarters. If other friends can undertake World Union work as enthusiastically as Sri Samar Basu has done, we will have an ever-increasing impact on a wider circle of people.

As we have already mentioned the events connected with the World Union work in the previous issues of the Focus, I do not propose to reiterate them in this report. However, I would like to bring to your notice that during my world tour from 25 June to 22 September, 1974, I found that there are many non-governmental organisations endeavouring to tackle world problems for the common good of humanity and that there is a small but determined minority that aspires and endeavours to create an atmosphere of world consciousness in the faith and belief that the survival of the human race depends on the creation of some form of world order which can prevent world war, enforce reduction of armaments and implement a just economic order which will do justice to all nations and narrow the now widening gap between the rich and the poor.

I am happy to inform you that, on account of the privilege and honour I have to work as the General Secretary of the World Union, I was invited last year to become a member of the Emergency Council for World Government which is in the process of formation by the World Union Movement at the Hague, the Netherlands. This Council, when completed, aims to set up a Potential World Government and launch an appeal to all the world's inhabitants to acknowledge it as the highest political authority on earth. The Council will be considered completed when its members, in speaking and acting together, enjoy the political confi-

dence of, at least, humanity's majority. I have been selected as a member of the World Federal Authority Committee, with headquarters in Oslo, Norway, which proposes to establish an International Institute for Documentation and Research. One task of this institute will be to develop and present a globally acceptable constitution as the basis for a World Federal Authority. I may inform you that Dr. Nagendra Singh, now Judge at the International Court of Justice at the Hague, has accepted the Vice-Chairmanship of the Committee and membership on its Executive Board. The International Co-operation Council, with headquarters in Los Angeles, whose primary work is unity in diversity among the peoples of the world and the promotion of a universal man, has elected me a member of its World Board. About two hundred organisations are affiliated with it. All these are indications that the World Union work is receiving recognition in several quarters of the world and I was invited to join those three institutions on account of my work in the World Union.

The World Union journal became a monthly issue from the beginning of this year and is being published regularly in the first week of every month. Its regularity in publication and high standard of contents is due to the able management of its Editor, Sri M. P. Pandit, who is also the Chairman of the World Union. We do, however, need advertisements for the journal to make the two ends meet; the cost of paper and printing have considerably increased, as is well known, and we have not raised the annual subscription of the journal.

Because of the encouragement given by Sri M. P. Pandit, the World Union published on 26 October, 1974 the book *Towards a New World Order* containing some of my talks and writings. The net profit after sale of all the copies of *Towards a New World Order* will accrue to the World Union and therefore it will not be out of place if the Centres and members of the World Union are requested to help in the sale of the book.

I can state with confidence that the world union movement is progressing satisfactorily and to expedite this progress all the members and the Centres ought to lend a greater support.

Activities of World Union Centres:

World Union North Calcutta Centre's Women Wing held its first meeting on 9 April, 1975 at 6 p. m. at 4, Jagadish Nath Roy Lane (rear portion) Calcutta-6, the residence of Sri Sujit Kumar Palit, Sri Samar Basu presiding.. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Smt. Sati Das and group concentration along with Mother's music. Sri T. K. Sinha narrated how the Women Wing was constituted, and stated that at the time of its constitution Sri Nolini Kanta Gupta had sent his blessings and also the good wishes of Sri M. P. Pandit and Sri A. B. Patel were received. Sri Sujit Kumar Palit spoke on the aims and objects of the World Union. Smt. Anita Bose, the Organiser of the Women Wing

delivered an inspiring address. Sri T. K. Sinha read the working programme of the Wing and Sri Samar Basu clarified several matters in this regard. Proposed by Smt. Anita Bose and seconded by Sri T. K. Sinha the meeting adopted several resolutions and closed with a devotional song by Smt. Anita Bose.

World Union North Calcutta Centre held its 13th monthly meeting on 19 April, 1975 at 7 p.m. at 18A, Ramdhone Mittra Lane, Calcutta, the residence of Sri Susanto Mittra, Sri Samar Basu presiding. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Smt. Anita Bose, Smt. Sati Das and Smt. Rotna Bose and group concentration. Sri Gour Mohan Chatterjee read the minutes of the last meeting. The resolutions adopted by the Women Wing were read by Smt. Rotna Bose and Smt. Anita Bose gave a clarification of them. Sri T.K. Sinha informed the meeting of the Centre's newly organised Homeopathic unit to be conducted by Dr. Gour Mohan Chatterjee, Dr. Sachin Bhattacharjee, Smt. Leena Sinha and Smt. Anushila De. The Centre decided to organise once a month a general study circle, in co-operation with Calcutta and other World Union Centres, to be conducted by Dr. Makhan Lal Dhar. The working body of the Centre's Women Wing was formed with Smt. Anita Bose as Organiser, Smt. Sati Das, Smt. Rotna Bose and Smt. Leena Sinha as Assistant Organisers (General); Smt. Sakuntala Sinha and Smt. Sunita Palit (Spiritual); Smt. Mena Sinha and Renuka Saha (Education); Smt. Sabita Basak and Smt. Leela Bhattacharjee (Culture); Smt. Anushila De (Social); Smt. Kheali Ghose (Music); Smt. Krishna Sinha (Arts and Literature). Sri Samar Basu spoke briefly on "Mother's Talk to the women of Japan." At the close of the meeting there was a musical drama with Tagore's songs and two scenes from Sri Aurobindo's *Savitri*. Smt. Anita Bose, Smt. Svabani Bose, Sri Sujit Kumar Palit, Sri Robi Ghosh, Sri Gour Mohan Chatterjee, Sri Hemendra Nath Kar and Sri T.K. Sinha were the participants.

World Union Chinsura Centre held its fourth monthly meeting at 5 p.m. on 16 March, 1975 at Prosad Kutir, Prosad Das Sen Road, Chinsura, the residence of the Chairman, Sri Radhakanto presiding. After a devotional song by Smt. Sikha De and group concentration Sri Sudhindra Nath Gupta of Badrakali spoke on Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. He was assisted by Sri Samar Basu who gave reference from the teaching of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother. Sri Chittaranjan sang a closing song. It was a well attended meeting. The Centre held its fifth monthly meeting at 5 p.m.* on 20 April, 1975 at Prosad Kutir, Sri Durga Das Mukherjee presiding. After a devotional song by Sri Chittaranjan Kar and group meditation a Bengali article on "Sri Mayer Maha Samadhi". was read by Sri Sambhunath Seal. Thereafter the article "Human Unity" published in the April 1975 issue of *Mother India* was read by Sri Chittaranjan Kar, the subject being further elucidated by Prof. Pronob Roy. Sri Chittaranjan Kar sang a closing song.

World Union Chaibasa Centre held a special meeting on 24 April, 1975 to observe the "Darshan Day". The meeting commenced with a meditation for ten minutes after which a special essay on "24th April" by Sri Samar Basu was read. A group dis-

cussion on Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and the Darshan Day was conducted. A special programme was held at Rabindra Bhavan in the Mahila College, Chaibasa when the chief speaker was Dr. Sri Srikrishna Prasad. This Centre has been holding regular weekly meetings on every Sunday at 9-30 a.m. at the Centre's Office.

World Union Butwar Centre held a meeting on 24 April, 1975 at 5.45 p.m. and commenced with a brief meditation. Sri S.K. Rattan explained the significance of the day and read two messages of the Mother given on 15-8-54 and 24-11-54 respectively. He invited the members to suggest the activities by the Centre and how to increase the number of members. The meeting discussed the arrangement for a talk by Sri Dev Dutt on 13 May, and the participation by the representatives of the Centre in the Convention and the Executive Committee meeting to be held at Bangalore.

World Union Bangalore Centre held its monthly meeting for April, 1975 in the premises of the Community High School, Jayanagar on Sunday, the 6 April, 1975 morning under the presidentship of Prof. N. S. Govind Rao. Information was given to the meeting of the arrangements of the forthcoming Convention and the members were asked to lend their co-operation. The theme before the meeting was "Can Divine Consciousness bring about World Unity." The discussion was initiated by Sri H.K. Shantaveerappa and summed up by the President.

World Union Konnagar Centre held its 7th and 8th meetings at Nagendra Nath Kundu Vidyalaya and at Dayananda Ashram respectively. After Smt. Samapti Das and Aparna Choudhury had sung an opening song, the offerings of flowers and group concentration the meeting commenced. In the 7th meeting Sri Samar Basu explained the need and vision of the World Union Movement. In the 8th monthly meeting Sri N.K. Ray described his experience in the Ashram. The members of this Centre had observed 21st February at the house of Sri Satyendra Nath Roychoudhury when Sri Choudhury spoke about the Mother. The Centre has decided to open a "Study Circle" from 13 April, 1975.

The Teachers' Convention on "Education for National Reconstruction" was held on 27 April, 1975 at Rishra and was managed by the World Union Rishra Centre. It was a successful Convention and made several constructive and creative suggestions and proposals on several aspects of the principles and methods of education. Sri Samar Basu has forwarded a long report of the proceedings of the Convention but we have no space to publish it and found it difficult to summarise it. Therefore we feel satisfied by informing our readers that a co-ordination Committee has been constituted in order to maintain contact with the Ashram Co-ordinating Committee appointed last February and to make necessary representations to Government authorities and others on educational problems. The Committee consists of Sri R. C. Chatterjee, Sri S. N. Nag, Sri Prankrishna Sinha Roy, Sri Sanat Kumar Deb, Sri Amalesh Ch. Majumdar, Sri Dakshina Ranjan Bose.

One more member will be added to the Committee which has power to co-opt members for specific assignments and will meet periodically.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 214. Sri Mir Iqbal Hussain, | No.5, Langford Road,
Langford Town,
Bangalore—560025. |
| 215. Sri Viju R. Chande, | 339, Upper Palace Orchard,
Bangalore—560006. |
| 216. Sri Amiya Sankar Nandi, | 61, D. J. Road, Bhadrakali,
Dist:Hooghly, W.Bengal. |
| 217. Sri M. Munivenkatappa, | 107, Nagasandra Road.
Basavangudi,
Bangalore-560004. |
| 218. Sri M. Heeranath Rao, | 8, Nehru Nagar,
Bangalore-600020. |

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**General Secretary,
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*BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Human Unity and National Integration

As announced earlier, a national convention of all the World Union Centres in India was held at Bangalore in the second week of June. This issue of "World Union" and the next contain some of the papers, talks, and reports that have come from that meeting.

It has always been a self-evident truth to those who believe in human unity on a spiritual basis that the first step to be taken is an individual integration, which implies a growing unification of one's own personalities, tendencies and aspirations around one's deepest self. Next comes integration with the society at various levels. It is only in the measure in which these two steps have been successfully completed that the ultimate step of the union of the several peoples of the world can be taken. It is not as if these movements are successive in their progression; they are rather simultaneous, each aiding the others as they develop. The point to remember is that one has to start with oneself.

M. P. P.

A SPEECH AT KINGSTON

Lee Kuan Yew

[Excerpts from a speech by the Prime Minister of Singapore given at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Kingston on April 30th 1975]

Since we last met in August 1973 in Ottawa, it has been two of the most momentous years of the history of the world since the end of World War II. There has been what Arnold Toynbee would have called "a turning point" in history.

For unless massive new oil fields are discovered, equal to if not more than those in the Gulf, an unlikely eventuality, a decisive event has occurred, which has changed the direction of policies of great and small nations.

Under the new "Roman arch", this nuclear arch of neatly balanced 2,000 plus MIRV and MARV missiles on the United States and Soviet sides with about a relatively small 500 plus with the Peoples Republic of China, smaller countries without the military power are able to turn the screws on the wealthy affluent, industrialised, mostly White nations of the world. The formerly much-maligned, long-suffering Arabs now have their turn. I fear, at some point of time, someone will remove one nuclear brick out of this arch. Then those who are dicing with the fate of the world underneath this arch had better get away from trouble in time.

Dr. Kissinger at first said that what went

up by an act of political will could be brought down by an act of political will. For nine months he persisted to bring down oil prices. But they could not be brought down. Neither could he resolve the tragic problems of *de facto* partition in Cyprus beginning from June 1974. It is fortuitous, but I hope not unlucky for Southeast Asia, that I am asked to speak on the day the Communists have taken Saigon. It marks in a dramatic way the decline of Western dominance vis-a-vis the Communists, USSR and PRC. With the fall of Indo-China, some two to three billion dollars worth of the latest in American weaponry may become a source of incalculable mischief, not just for the rest of Southeast Asia, but also for the rest of the world. Today, you can buy an M16, one of the battle-tested rifles, for 2,000 bahts in Thailand, about \$200. It may well go down to about 1,000 bahts or \$100, now that Saigon has surrendered.

It is in this context that I believe strife in southern Africa is inevitable. For the last White settlers in Africa will fight for their redoubt. The Soviet Union and now, with added spur, the PRC, are two steady suppliers of weapons and tactics which will see that

this redoubt is liquidated, at very low cost to themselves. But it must be paid for in blood by the Blacks themselves.

The West Europeans, unlike the Americans, have little oil. Except for the lucky Dutch, who have gas, the Norwegians and, of course, our friends the British, they are dependent on oil imports for their industrial survival. Further, Western Europe imports about seventy-five percent of its essential minerals. The Americans import only twenty percent. Japan imports ninety percent of its oil and essential minerals. A fundamental balance of wealth has taken place as long as this clear arch remains in position. The fact that no force has been used probably means that the Americans and Soviets are doing some very hard thinking as to the long-term consequences of this change for themselves and their allies. The quadrupling, now the quintupling, of oil prices has weakened the whole non-communist industrialised world, as against the communist, both the Soviet Union and the PRC. For both these communist giants are net exporters of oil. This sudden increase means that for them their same oil exports can now be traded on free-world markets for more hard currency for more sophisticated technology.

If we look back, the genesis to the current world problems is in World War II, in 1944 at Yalta and Teheran. The unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan meant the emergence of a vast and powerful Soviet Union. It was inevitable. But Roosevelt believed that he could build this new world order on cooperation between him and Stalin. But Roosevelt was sick and ailing. As it turned out, Stalin was the man who got the most out of the war.

For twenty-eight years, the Americans refurbished Europe with their enormous,

undamaged economy—Bretton Woods and IMF fixed stable exchange rates, GATT and the Marshall Plan rebuilt industrial Europe. The war in Korea helped Japanese recovery. But it was later to lead to the affluent, consumer society, to the liberal attitudes and soft values, the permissiveness, which have eroded the stamina to put up with hardship, seemingly unending difficulties. I sometimes wonder whether it may not have eroded the moral fibre of the West to stand up and take the punishment, even if their own fundamental interests were at stake.

The old "cold war" is over. It is now "detente". Under the cold war, we the developing countries could plead misery and the danger of going communist, and aid would come. Since the Americans, West Europeans and Japanese were infinitely wealthier, we could get more from them than the Soviets—poorer equipment and much more demanding political terms. But the Soviets, and even more the PRC, were very wise in their choice of who they chose to support. They chose the tough and ruthless leaders, those most likely to win. To weaken the West, the Soviets and the PRC pressed hard and gave great support to anti-colonial movements.

The American response was to urge rapid decolonisation. The tragedy was that in the competition between democracy and communism for the hearts and minds of the Third World, the West relied almost completely on greater material advantage, more food, more cars, fridges, television sets, consumer durables. It was the consumer society, fuelled by cheap oil, helped by abundant raw materials at low prices, and free trade flows guaranteed by GATT, stable currencies under IMF rules. Now all these factors have gone.

We are now witnessing a new era, "detente minus", minus real peace and cooperation in Third World countries. The Prime Minister of India had rightly pointed out that every time Europe and America have been in trouble in recent years, the Soviet Union was considerate and understanding. The result is that the West is in total disarray, quarrelling and squabbling over apparently divergent interests, like the sharing of oil during the oil embargo on America or the consumers and producers conference. It is only the PRC that tells Europe: "Get together, defend your collective interests."

You can recycle petro-dollars as indeed Dr. Kissinger conceded in September when he could not get oil prices to go down. But who is going to build more cars? The leading sector in all the Western economies was the automobile industry. And that has taken a knock. It will take years to get the steel and plastics on to nuclear power plants and other things.

We have in Singapore the third largest oil refineries, after Rotterdam and Houston. Pre-October 1973, the demand growth rate was eight to ten percent over the last quarter of 1972. Now it is just beginning to pick up. This means much slower growth, whether it is tractors, fertilisers, cars or television sets.

There are limits to growth. I am not sure that you can prevent people wanting growth—it is the easiest way to win votes. When America and Britain won the war, they imposed on the Germans, the Italians and Japanese, one man one vote.

This is supposed to be the model of perfection, how to govern human society—maximum individual liberty, accompanied by maximum material progress. But is it true

for new developing countries? Permissiveness, social indiscipline leads to disorder and decline in underdeveloped countries. "One man one vote" every five years, yes—but after that, "work hard" is necessary since nothing is for free, not even cheaper OPEC oil for developing countries.

The traditional classification of the three worlds, is that the affluent world is first. So they together with the West Europeans and Japanese comprise the first world. If developing countries join and adopt their system, we may eventually join this affluent first world. The second world consisted of the Soviet Union and the East Europeans, less sophisticated technologically. The third world, of course, is the rest of us. For over two decades, the first and second worlds competed for converts. Now, more than one hard look has been given to this problem by strategic and economic policy planners in the West.

My colleague, Mr. Rajaratnam, was in Peking recently. The PRC Foreign Minister explained that the first world consisted of the two super powers, USA and USSR. They are the ones competing for world hegemony. The second world consisted of the middle powers like the countries of Western Europe and Japan. And the third world consists of all of us and them, the PRC. They have made the grade without external aid, and perhaps we can usefully learn from their methods and create our own models of how to do it ourselves.

On another subject, I suggest that there are limits to growth, but there are also limits on what national sovereignty can do for its people's well-being unless a country is as big as the USA or USSR. We are strapped to an inter-dependent, inter-related world. All of us here are plugged into the

same grid of course; when there is a shortage of power, it is the supply to the Third World that gets cut. We get the blackouts first.

Let us not forget it was "detente minus" in Bucharest last year at the World Population Conference, the Pope must have been embarrassed. He found himself supported so strongly by the USSR and the PRC. The Russians and the Chinese Communists are in favour of more and more people. They agreed with the Pope that it was the selfish wealthy countries who were eating up too much of the world's resources. And only if they would give a little more. We are already heading for trouble. Even if we start aiming for zero population growth, vast areas of the world are going to die of famine and regimes will topple, like Ethiopia. Being ignorant on these matters, a demographer had it explained to me that demographic profiles being what they are, if all new couples immediately start having only two children, because the number of children per family in developing countries were already five to six, we can reach zero population growth only in twenty to thirty years.

I had an overnight stop in Washington on my way here. An old friend, a Democrat who had held high office, told me that henceforth no US President can get any aid through the US Congress unless the recipient of that aid can be seen to succeed, that there was enough self-discipline in the recipient leadership and the society, that Ministers and public servants, if not dedicated and fanatical like the Communists, are at least people of integrity and competence.

We have heard how inequality of wealth and opportunity between nations is going to be a source of great trouble. There are vast American, British and Western invest-

ments in gold and diamond mines. Insurrection in South Africa will further weaken the West. So it will happen sooner or later.

However, I believe inequalities within nation-states, particularly poor, developing ones, is the greatest spur to revolution, with more and more of the Third World going communist.

One of the sad phenomena I have noted, is that in many cases the poorer the country, the richer the leader or leaders.

But its not just the poor Third World countries that face this danger of more and more revolution. In the Middle East, after twenty-eight years of Diaspora for the Palestinians, many have become Marxists, Leninists. They are the trained and well-educated. A number of them are doing the complex jobs in the Gulf States. And all these wealthy oil countries are now with more and more sophisticated minds to operate them. Hence all these new F16s, Mirage F1s, nuclear power stations, must change the social order. Adjustments to make for less disparity in wealth and privilege must be made, so that revolution or insurgency, as in Oman, becomes unnecessary.

In conclusion, I would like to quote Sun Tze, who lived over 2,000 years before Clauswitz. He was a military strategist. He said "Know yourself, know your enemy, 100 battles, 100 victories." I know the other side, the Communists and their backers. But I did not know that the bastions of democracy could not match the resolve of the Communists. Now Indo-China has gone to the Communists. Providing the rest of Southeast Asia understands that the priority is first to eradicate inequalities of wealth and opportunities, to reduce social

injustices and inculcate work-discipline, we can make the adjustments to this new dispensation of power, without insurgency, and a new social order.

But both in the economic and in the political and military fields, it is "detente minus". The process of attrition goes on. Americans do not want to fight the Russians and vice-versa. The Chinese have enough nuclear capacity for the Russians not to want to fight the Chinese either. They do not want collision with each other. But collision will be through third parties, their proxies. Let us not be foolish proxies. I want to be myself, as I am sure all of us here would like to be our own men. That when we meet next time, we will have learnt to live with slower economic growth.

We have to go through an anxious, troubled and confused period. It helps if we keep our cool. All of a sudden many of our fixed terms of reference have disappeared, or become irrelevant. And it is extremely uncomfortable to get used to the changed balance of power and wealth. But finally, it is power, and the use or non-use of power, that will decide the destiny of the world. It is the power of the Americans and the Russians, and later of the PRC, and how they restrain themselves and their allies, that will decide the framework of peace plus competition for influence. Within this context in Southeast Asia, we have to chart our future, especially after Vietnam.

TIMES OF DAY

Three Poems

*Evening's growing austerity of light
Illumines a skyscape of once unseen,
Still distant suns; the well of night
Bares their pattern and their need
In edgeless depths of black and white
Simplicity; dimming slow and humbly
Before the advent of one more bright,
Of absorbing gold, their signal clarity
Is added to that now ascendant sight.*

*

*Dream-visions seen hasten daybreak's illumination;
An early lamp eclipses darkness' sun.*

*

*Mid-morn's pale remembrance of the sky's gold
And expectation at day's outset brightly seen—
Like that early light forgotten by travellers
Grown tired, seeking now only rest and shade—
Views through perishing haze the sun's insistence
That the pause at half-light be a brief threshold
In the young day's emergence towards noon,
The zenith that gives shadow no ground or reason.*

Tatsat

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY — II

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought : Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

When we turn to the Western political tradition we notice that it consists in the main of two strands, liberalism and Marxism, both of which form part of the same secular and humanist stream of European thought and have the same general end in view—freedom for the creative expression of the personality. Democratic socialism, which is sometimes thought of as a third alternative, is in fact liberalism modernised and made more responsive to larger social needs. A real third strand, fascism, is not worthy of consideration for our purpose.

Liberalism

The essence of liberalism in its classical as well as its socialised form is its individualism and its tolerance: its firm faith in natural rights or an area of private judgment over which public control may never be exercised. Man is essentially rational and the individual is himself the best judge of his highest interests. Government, therefore, should be based upon consent, and run in accordance with rational and understandable laws. And politics itself, which is at bottom

the art of adjusting divergent interests through negotiation and mutual consent, is to be regarded as amongst the most important activities in society.

It is difficult not to feel attracted to such a faith and to wish to make it a permanent acquisition, but it is necessary to remind ourselves that in its earlier classical mould this faith took the wholly irresponsible form of laissez-faire, or non-interference by the state in the economic life of the community. Under the garb of "freedom of contract" the worst forms of exploitation were freely practised. In other words, the chief defect of liberalism was its failure to face up to the question of gross inequalities in society. This indeed has continued to be its major stumbling block, even though democratic socialism has improved the position to a notable degree. The state is no longer a mere negative spectator of free enterprise, it is an active agent of social and economic regulation. But here it needs to be noticed that the success of this active regulatory role of the state in resolving inequalities (and solving the problems of hunger and poverty) rests ultimately upon the validity of the assumption underlying the conception of its regulatory role—the assumption that in any

given society no matter how wide its economic disparities and no matter how great the gulf between its different social classes, it is always possible to discover a common general good or satisfactory minimum-concept of social welfare which the state is to attempt to fulfil and effectuate. For when such a common good does not exist, the state cannot act for all, cannot but act for one side or the other, for some class or group interest against other class and group interests. If it is the prosperous class interests that are served by the state, inequality and poverty will increase and worsen; if it is the poorer class interests that it takes up, it will have to go straight against the prosperous classes, will indeed have to effect a social revolution. In the one case it will have failed to remove poverty, in the other it will have ceased to be liberal. This, then, is the rock against which liberalism has been wrecked again and again in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For, the most basic fact of their social and economic life is precisely the existence of a tremendous gulf between their prosperous few and many poor, a fact which is often loosely referred to in terms of the absence of a developed middle class, but whose one implication—the lack of common ground within the prevailing social structure—is usually overlooked. Unless, therefore, the poor are permanently to be condemned to misery and exploitation, it is imperative to discover and apply a political philosophy which takes into account this fundamental social reality—the antagonistic interests of the ruling and ruled classes. Liberalism, we have seen, is itself wrapped up in contradictions in face of the contradictions of society.

Marxism

The great merit and relevance of Marxism lies just in this, that it is "the direct product of the recognition of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today".¹ For this reason it is central to any serious political thinking in India which is not merely academic in intent or purpose. What does Marxism offer us? It provides, first, a view of history as a going concern, a method for understanding the present in terms of past evolution and future possibility. It offers, further, analytical tools which enable us to relate social problems to not merely ideas and intentions but the very structure of society. It thus invests us with the ability to associate the cause of freedom and progress with not just ideals hovering in the air, but the political action of definite social classes down below. Therefore, it is able also to suggest a specific and decisive course of action, indeed to supply techniques of revolutionary activity for realising the ideals of social freedom and economic equality. An understanding of the past, an analysis of the present, and action for the future—all this Marxism gives us. What more do we require?

Before answering this question it is reasonable to have a look at Marxism in actual practice. Our very first thought goes to the U.S.S.R., to the striking economic progress and military strength attained by it. But we think also of Stalin, of an inhuman personal dictatorship, of torturous trials and ruthless purges, of freedom suppressed and individual liberty trampled upon. The same story, only with a lesser intensity, repeats itself in China. The success of Marxism, therefore, has everywhere been, if not a

¹ Engels, Friedrich. *Anti Duhring*, Introduction.

failure, at best a half-success; a fact which can scarcely recommend it to us. In our own country, too, the history and conduct of the Marxists has been not exactly exemplary, has indeed carried a stench of macabre opportunism about it. In 1942 when the whole country was seething with the spirit of revolt, the Communists chose to support the British and to dub Gandhiji a fascist. This was not the result of any intellectual confusion or genuine conviction on their part but an expression of cold, deliberate policy. Today, again, they remain ambiguously neutral. Large numbers of people in India, therefore, who are reactionaries by no stretch of imagination, feel absolutely convinced that there is something hateful and asuric about Marxism, and some utter and permanent unreliability in its followers.

"METAPHYSICS", DIALECTIC: Before we go into a consideration of this opposition between Marxism and the Indian ethos,—for this is what it amounts to—it seems necessary critically to examine the source of the philosophical strength of the doctrine. It has sometimes been criticised as being a closed system and there is no doubt a measure of truth in this criticism. But if it were merely a closed system it would never have the continuing attraction which it has: it must have an open end to it, a principle by means of which it may assimilate and explain widely divergent phenomena. This principle, which is at the root of the confidence with which Marxism is held, is the dialectic. It is dialectic which distinguishes Marxism from ordinary (or mechanical) materialism, it is dialectic which enables it to make a pattern of the diversities of history and to extract meaning from the contradictions of social life. That is why Lenin writing on dialectical materialism

insisted, "You cannot eliminate even one basic assumption, one substantial part of this philosophy of Marxism (it is as if it were a solid block of steel) without abandoning objective truth, without falling into the arms of the bourgeois-reactionary falsehood."

Now, an interesting question about the dialectic is: What is its logical status in Marx's theory? That Marx derived it from Hegel is beyond dispute, but the claim of Marx was that in Hegel the "dialectic stands on its head" and he had "turned it right way up". This is perhaps Marx's way of saying that he had made a materialist instead of an idealist or metaphysical use of dialectic, for it is quite obvious that the principle he employs is an identical one. It would, therefore, be about as true to say that he placed the dialectic on its feet as it would, for instance, be to say that Hume placed formal logic right way up simply because he had replaced Aristotle's certainties with his own scepticism. It is clear, therefore, that Hegel's dialectic is accepted and used by Marx with no essential difference.

Now arises an absolutely fundamental question: On what grounds does Marx justify his acceptance of dialectic? So far as Hegel was concerned, the Idea itself of dialectic was suggested to him in his effort to transcend the barrier Kant placed before pure reason in his famous antinomies wherein two contradictory metaphysical propositions could equally be proved by reason. Hegel wove these static pairs of thesis-antithesis of Kant into the dynamic, self-generating series of dialectic. The propositions are only apparently contradictory; they represent phases of Becoming, the temporal manifestation of an evolving Idea. For Hegel, therefore, it was the very nature of thought that justified dia-

lectic; and since as an idealist the world for him conforms to thought, he could maintain that all reality is dialectically related. Marx, however, had rejected Hegel's metaphysics and hence Hegel's reasoning was no longer open to him. Either, therefore, Marx could say that the dialectic was known by him a priori—which is incompatible with his entire philosophy of materialism; or he could say that the dialectic was empirically derived—which is irreconcilable with the actual status accorded to dialectic in his theory, for it would then itself become a matter for investigation (and hence liable to disproof!) instead of being a guide to all investigation. It is evident, then, that the dialectic which has so vital a place in his theory is merely an unprovable assumption of Marx and can be separated from the rest of his theory. Once this is done it becomes a relatively simple matter to tackle the point raised earlier, the opposition between Marxism and the Indian ethos. For once the decorative veil of dialectic is lifted, the harsher features of the theory stand out with all the force of their stark cruelty.

PSYCHOLOGY: It was, I think, Jayaprakash Narayan, till then himself a Marxist, who first related the ruthlessness of Stalin and the general opportunism of the Communists to the naturalism of their doctrine and its consequent lack of any fixed or determinate standards of personal and ethical conduct. In "Incentives to Goodness" he points out that selflessness and self-control must necessarily lie at the root of any sound personal ethic. A purely materialist philosophy, which sees nothing beyond the organic being, makes meaningless any concept of selflessness or self-control. These depend, ultimately, upon the recognition of a substratum beyond the organic individual

and his ego. For only on the basis of such substratum can self-control be practised and selflessness be made a meaningful proposition. Personal ethics and respect for the individual as such therefore, are eventually possible only on the basis of a spiritual philosophy.

In this simple and direct argument, J. P. was unconsciously stating the core of the difference between the Marxist and the Indian ethos. It is true that ethics depends, in the last analysis, upon our concept of man, and there can apparently be no greater divergence in the views of man than that between Marxism and Indian thought. The root of Marx's view of man is "human essence is the ensemble of the social relations". The existence of social contradictions, therefore, will lead to alienation, and Marx's ideal of universal or total man is only possible through the elimination of such contradictions, the most fundamental of which in capitalist society is that between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation. Such a view with its whole emphasis on relations rather than substances is the antipodes of the Indian conception. For it tends to regard man somewhat in the manner of iron filings subject to and determined by the tension of several magnetic fields, whereas in India the individual iron filings themselves are conceived as all-powerful though latent magnets, the absolute Atman somehow hidden and obscured but not really subject to outside influences. The great divergence between the two conceptions is obvious and seems apparently absolute and unbridgeable; but it would be a great mistake on this account to dismiss Marx's view as simply wrong. The truth inherent in his conception, which incidentally is of the greatest relevance to us, will be

easier to perceive if we turn to the further development of Western psychology since his day.

The most powerful psychological thinker of the West, Freud, went directly against Marx's notion and conceived man and his basic drives as more or less given. But more recent developments, in Erich Fromm for instance, reject this extreme view and veer closer to an integration of the two views, Marxist and Freudian. In India, on the other hand, the general reaction towards Freud has never been favourable, and one can scarcely imagine a more devastating criticism than Sri Aurobindo's: "This new psychology looks to me very much like children learning some summary and not very adequate alphabet, exulting in putting their a-b-c-d of the subconscious and the mysterious underground super-ego together and imagining that their first book of obscure beginnings (c-a-t cat, t-r-e-e tree) is the very heart of the real knowledge. . . . The superconscious, not the subconscious, is the true foundation of things. The significance of the lotus is not to be found by analysing the secrets of the mud from which it grows. . . . You must know the whole before you can know the part and the highest before you can truly understand the lowest."¹ This criticism, coming as it does from a thinker of the eminence, the high seriousness and erudition of Sri Aurobindo, cannot simply be set aside as the raving of an ignorance, but must be taken rather as truly representative of the general Indian reaction to Freud and his followers.

The reason for this severity is not difficult to understand. Unlike Western psychology which is in the main based upon a few years'

clinical analysis of the mentally deranged, Indian psychology is the result of ages of searching probe and depth-study of the psyche supported by the actual experience of sages from the Vedas and Upanishads right down to modern times. The Indian view, based upon experience that can be duplicated, is that the real man is Atman, pure consciousness; mind and body are its instruments, mind being merely a subtler form of matter with no inherent consciousness. Functionally, the antahkarana (mind) is divided into manas (reflective faculty), buddhi (determinative faculty), citta (memory or mind-stuff) and ahamkara (ego). It operates on three main levels, unconscious, conscious and superconscious. It is part of the cosmic mind, being merely a configuration or centre in the ocean of universal mind, just as the body is a configuration in the ocean of matter-energy. Like everything else in Prakriti, Nature, it is constituted of three gunas (qualities or modes) —sattwa, rajas and tamas, (equilibrium, kinesis and inertia). It is these, taking a more specific form through samskaras, or groups of latent tendencies, that determine the type of person a particular individual is going to be. Man identifies himself with body-mind and consequently leads a confused, haphazard, chaotic life. The aim is to make him conscious of his Divine nature, not just to remove a complex here and there, so that he will make a liberated and joyous use of his body and mind for the fulfilment of the divine purposes in the world.

It is natural for thinkers immersed in such depths to be impatient at the occasional distorted emphasis of Western psychology. But two things need particularly to be noted. First, the effort and aim of Western psy-

¹ *Letters on Yoga*

chology is entirely a laudable one. Complexes do exist, and for large numbers, the first task and goal is and must be simply freedom from the oppression of irrational fears, anxieties and complexes. One would even say that from this point of view Western psychology is a perfect complement to India's. Secondly, Sri Aurobindo's criticism against the effort to understand the higher from the lower has already been taken in their own way by more recent psychologists of the West. As was suggested above in a reference to Erich Fromm, a group of psychologists has emerged which rejects the libido theory and biological orientation of Freud. These psychologists emphasise the view of man as a social product influenced by cultural factors and social contradictions. There is no one universal "normal" type: what is neurotic in one culture may be normal in another. Indeed history seems to prove that in each different age a different type of personality emerges and becomes the pattern. Compare, for instance, the medieval knight of Europe with the contemporary business executive. This change is the result of a change both in the structure of society and its cultural ethos. These latter, therefore, have a powerful determining influence on man. Where a society itself is riven with contradictions, such as contemporary America for instance, these conflicts reflect themselves in the individual as anxiety, isolation, helplessness. There is in contemporary America, according to Karen Horney, the "contradiction between competition and success on the one hand ('Never give a sucker an even break'), and brotherly love on the other ('Love your neighbour as yourself'); between the stimulation of needs by advertising ('keeping up with the joneses'), and the inability of the individual to satisfy them; between the

assertion that the individual is free, and his increasing limitation by the environment". It is easy enough to detect similar conflicts and contradictions within our society today as well.

The relevance and complementary nature of these sociological-cum-psychological theories (as also that of Marx) now becomes quite obvious. For too long have we seen the relationship between the individual and society as a uni-directional one, from the individual to society. Man has only to be good, we have only to preach a few lofty truths, each individual has only to perform his allotted task and all will be well, the millenium will be at hand. The truth is that man cannot be good, is simply not open to lofty teachings, feels his energies sapped and mind divided when society itself is riven with contradictions and is a fluctuating mass of antithetical tendencies instead of a secure support for the individual. The contradictions of society have to be removed and a new and harmonious social order founded wherein the receptivity to lofty truths will be greater and more constant. This is the whole emphasis of Marx and it is something of the greatest importance for us. Nor is it contradictory to the concepts of Indian psychology. In general, those with highly sattvic samskaras tend to be very little influenced by social factors and will proceed steadily onward to the highest goals of life. Those, however, with rajasic and tamasic samskaras, which means the overwhelming majority, are more fundamentally enmeshed with society and therefore will in large measure be conditioned by social contradictions and the cultural ethos. It is significant, moreover, that Western psychologists themselves have begun to point to a something that exceeds the social self.

Erich Fromm goes to the extent of saying that the trouble with modern Western culture is not that people are too much concerned with their self-interest, but "that they are not concerned enough with the interest of their real self; not in fact that they are too selfish, but that they do not love themselves". Seeking the interest of one's real self and loving oneself is possible only if one has some knowledge as to what this real self is, and this is the point at which India's psychology can

enter with its permanent and priceless contributions. An integrated view of man, therefore, will retain India's psychological insights without discarding the sociological view first hinted at by Marx, will accept man as in essence Atman but will recognise the factors, particularly the social and cultural ones, that go to obscure the realisation of this great truth.

(To be continued)

NOT FROZEN LANGUAGE

Ronald Jorgensen

Although an enormous quantity of energy is poured out in articles, speeches, discussions and books to help encourage and inspire a growth to unity, the effect made by the words which express those ideas asks for the freshness of our attention. To say it a little differently, there is not only the question of speaking and writing about unity, there is the wholeness of our speaking and writing. For example, imagine two speeches in this conference¹ given on exactly the same subject with exactly the same ideas; but the way language is used in one speech invokes a great effectiveness, the way language is used in the other one is tedious and strengthens subtle but firm obstacles of division.

With speech being a divine faculty in man, one of his rarest gifts, how can this happen so easily? For we must candidly admit most speeches (and articles) are of the second type which, along with counteracting their purpose of increasing unity, are also very successfull in harvesting boredom, fickle attention and even rashes of trips to the coffee server, toilet or of clusters of conversation with other escapees in the hallway.

One reason for speeches and articles creating divisive effects and stimulating boredom is what can be called the freezing of language. Some immediately recognizable instances of freezing, which can be seen almost daily in newspapers and heard more often in speeches, are given (shown in italics in the sentences below). In some cases several frozen phrases have been grouped in one sentence for sheer effect.

The Steering Committee met to *chalk out* their 1976 program.

In view of the heat, the ceremony was shortened. *With a view to* increasing harmony, the agitation was stopped.

We should all try to promote oneness *in every walk of life*.

An appeal was made to *the rank and file* members.

It's time to *take stock* of the situation.

¹ This paper was prepared for The First National Convention of World Union Centres of India, held in Bangalore June 8th to 10th 1975.

We must make a *two-pronged attack* on the problem and make it clear that Mr. A. can no longer *call the tune*. But if he *plays his due part* there can be a *cementing of relations*.

The educational system is *at the crossroads* with some persons concerned *barking up the wrong trees* and others *fishing in troubled waters*.

I think your speech will *strike the right note*.

We are all grateful that Mrs. B. has *brought these truths home to us*; her service to the committee will always *stand her in good stead*.

If we *bridge the gap* between concept and practice it will be an *eye-opener for one and all*.

Please *pursue the matter*; then they will *take the proper perspective*.

With *galloping corruption* being *the order of the day*, it is time for all of us to *toe the mark* and for each to *give his mite* to the great national effort.

After reading these lines you probably have a painfully clear idea of what is suggested by the term, "frozen language". As these examples may have reminded you, freezing language is something most of us do nearly all the time without awareness. We freeze what we want to say by putting it into overused phrases that have lost their capacity to carry anything fresh. Precisely because they are usually specific images ("toe the mark"—racing, "at the crossroads"—traveling, "strike the right note"—musicianship, "the rank and file"—military marching) and so are very colorful at the moment of coinage, thickly repeated use institutionalizes them as part of the dead weight of the language's past, of the thinking patterns of the past and therefore, though subtly, of the parochialisms and divisions of the past which a movement for human unity is trying to leave behind.

To avoid or go beyond freezing one's language when speaking or writing is to go beyond one's past in that dimension. In all other aspects of working for unity we want to be open and plastic for the new patterns, the new relations, the new insights of oneness in a world which has stumbled along with antinomy, division, fragmentation for years in the thousands. A consciousness open and plastic to unity can be turned, in that freshness, toward language so that our expression in words inscribes our living, expanding experience in a living, expanding way.

BEGINNING THE NATION-SOUL GAME

The Yoga of Nations

Ruud Lohman

Looking back from the year 2100 to our age we will see the process of unification of the earth as one of the major movements.¹ The key concept in this unification may well appear to be the concept of the nation-soul, as indicated by Sri Aurobindo in *The Human Cycle*. Each country or culture is, in its outer manifestation, the physical body of a powerful inner being, a soul. Normally, this nation-soul is subliminal, as it is in the individual. People and nations are not aware of its existence, but are swallowed up by the physical, vital and mental forms and movements which, seemingly, are the total makeup of their culture. In most cases, however, the soul itself has not yet acquired an individuality; there are only scattered soul-elements as in most of us. The law which applies to individuals equally applies to nations: only by becoming one's deepest self, can one become really one. Thus the process of unification of our age lies on the soul level, rather than in politics, economics or social science and technology. World unity, in other words, can only be achieved through a process which we may call a "Yoga of Nations".

Auroville is a total yogic experiment on the soul level. As a City of Unity it can only succeed and flourish by reaching that deepest level of reality which unifies. It may well become one of Nature's agents in her Yoga of Nations. One of the four sectors of the proposed city is the International Zone, a divinely arranged setting for this intercultural and international Yoga.

This article is a proposal to take up the Yoga of Nations, initially in the form of a "game", called the Nation-Soul Game. The name suggests a playful procedure, excluding all the heaviness of political and economical power structures and cutting across all existing approaches, be they religious, cultural or whatever. Anybody can play and everybody in all countries of the world is cordially invited to play along. Any Auroville group in whatever country may become a focal point for the Game; schools, universities, cultural, artistic and other groups can contribute to the Game, and so to world union. The Game will create links between Auroville and all countries in the world and encourage growth towards clarification of and sensitivity for the subtle soul-signs of larger segments of humanity. The concept of the nation-soul will acquire depth and wideness once the Game gets going and as ideas, manifestations, and soul-elements are discovered and exchanged,

¹ See, "The Nation-Soul Game", *World Union*, June 1975.

to and from the Centre in the International Zone in Auroville. Once the Game in several countries gathers momentum, the need may arise for separate Nation-Soul Centres at Auroville. In this manner, national pavilions will emerge spontaneously.

In this early stage not much can be said about the actual procedure of the Game, nor can rules be made. To get the Game going one would imagine an intensive, small, open-minded, not politically involved group, which would study the key concept in depth, determine its characteristics, relate it to the Integral Yoga and to the international situation. The study could result in some write-up in a very clear, concise and beautiful form. According to the results of the research in the pilot group and according to the characteristics determined, some initial games would be mentioned in the write-up, inviting people to join in the search for the nation-soul (or in some cases the determination of its absence). Simultaneously some similar groups might emerge in different countries and states of India to work on the same objectives in close contact with the pilot group at Auroville. Each successive step will reveal itself in the course of the Game. It may soon become clear that it is not some persons or some groups determining the Game, but rather the Game playing itself, as a sub-game of a much larger one.

To stimulate the imagination, a few suggestions can be given which the pilot groups may take or leave. A first movement could be to send the write-up to random, selected people and groups in many countries, and ask them questions, e.g. who are, in the light of the concept of the nation-soul as discussed in the write-up, the five (or nine or twelve) persons in your country who accord-

ing to you represent most the soul of your nation or culture. Explanations can be requested. Comparing the data from each country will be extremely interesting and lead to a second movement of contacting the key persons. Both of the random persons and groups, and of the key persons, we can ask which short story of their culture is written by or from the nation-soul, which poem, which play etc.; which works of art represent it; but also, which underlying world view, what kind of politics, mysticism, religion, culture, etc., is characteristic. All the material should be built up into collections of articles etc. written from each respective nation-soul. They can be published by Auroville and used again for new Games, widening and deepening the concept and our sensitivity. Auroville centres and other groups can be stimulated to present collections and exhibitions of various kinds, e.g., on the physical aspect of their country, material to be exchanged among countries and with the centres.

Anything is important in this Game, even picture postcards, newspaper cuttings, products, items, and folk art. The material thus collected can be used to stimulate other groups to find the soul-signs in them and to analyse their characteristics. Plenty of material may be available for essay writing competitions on any scale desired. We should not forget to check what material is already available from embassies, museums, UNESCO, etc. Groups or persons could be invited or nominated to keep track of soul-signs in newspapers and magazines of their country and inform the centre at Auroville which will play back the material to others. One might also think of joining hands with research institutions and programs whose effort might thus fit into a

larger set-up. A collection or exhibition of visual material on the architecture typical of a culture, region or nation should be thought of, with interpretations of the soul-signs. Very revealing would be material on occult traditions in various countries. As always, the comparative study of the results will bring out what is typical for each area. The same applies to mystical, religious and other movements, both ancient and modern. Efforts should then be made to link the underlying feeling in the different areas, e.g., politics and mysticism in one country, to each other and to the nation-soul expressed in both.

The scope for Games is immense and includes each and every aspect of life and culture. The Games presented, however, should be well thought out, well defined and well timed. The centre should, especially in the beginning, be quite directive, otherwise it will soon lose track of the main line. The pilot group's task will be to keep things together and keep the spiritual philosophy behind the whole movement crystal clear.

What we start as a Game may very soon reveal itself to be quite a serious thing. Right from the start it is a big yoga, an international yoga, a Yoga of Nations, played around Matri-mandir as the power station and transformer. It does away with the borderlines between inside Auroville and outside Auroville, for it enlarges Auroville to a worldwide activity. Anybody playing whatever little part of the Game plays Auroville—and does yoga. For the real Game is within oneself, and one can only come into a living contact with larger souls like the nation-soul to the extent one is in contact with one's own individual soul. But, then, it works the other way around as well: searching for subtle soul-signs in one's immediate surroundings, one is bound to interiorize. About the results and effects of the Game we should, however, not worry too much, that is not our concern; the Game will take care of itself. It may spontaneously create the International Zone of Auroville, but it may as well be one of the agents in the unification of our world.

GIVING A VISION OF THE WHOLE

World Union Consciousness—XVI

T. Govindarajan

(In the fifteenth article of this series, a suggestion was made that every nursery school should have the services of a medical expert and a qualified working psychologist. They should examine each child upon admission, correct physical and psychological defects, and continue observations for post-remedial measures also. The nursery school quickens the learning process of the child especially if the sensitive periods are properly identified and utilised. There is then spontaneous learning.)

After the nursery school stage is completed at six years, the child enters the elementary or junior school. This marks the second phase of the childhood period, six to twelve years, which is a time of uniform growth. It is an intermediate period of great stability. There is not much dramatic transformation, but there is a continuation of growth. This is a "period of plenty" characterised by robust physical health and an equally robust mind. Illness is by and large precluded and the boy or the girl is more calm and collected. A great deal of mental work can be accomplished if the junior school functions on the right lines. The child by now has the capacity to gather a great deal of information and even classify and store it unconsciously.

The group-instinct begins to come to the fore and socially the child is at home in the company of those his own age. He becomes less dependent on his parents. If the blossoming of the social instinct is properly harnessed, it lays the foundations for right moral and social development.

The reasoning faculty also becomes manifest and active; and a sense of moral righteousness develops with the proper guidance, training and environment. "Is it fair?", "Is it right?", are questions often brandished at this stage. This nascent sense of justice and fairness is one that needs delicate nurture and proper canalisation. Humane tendencies also exhibit themselves (unless an unsympathetic environment and lack of parental affection have clouded the life of the child).

Just before the point of entering the junior school, the child shows signs of outgrowing the prepared environment of the nursery school. A feeling of inadequacy becomes manifest and the child needs something more. Needed is the opportunity for what Montessori calls "the valorisation of personality", the full and harmonious development of body, mind and spirit, as well as "social fitting". New sensitive periods are in the process of opening up and they have to be identified and profitably used.

Froebel tells us that the boy who has left his kindergarten for the junior school passes from "the domestic order of things to the higher cosmic order". He adds, in *Education of Man*:

The essential business of the school is not so much to teach and communicate a variety and a multiplicity of things as to give prominence to that living unity that is in all things.

In equally idealistic terms, Montessori says, in *To Educate the Human Potential*:

Let us give the child a vision of the whole universe. . . . The Universe is an imposing reality, and an answer to all questions. We shall walk together on the path of life; for all things are a part of the Universe, and are connected with each other to form one whole unity. This idea helps the mind of the child to become fixed, to stop wandering in an aimless quest for knowledge. He is satisfied, having found the universal centre of himself with all things.

In the light of the ideals set down by Montessori and Froebel, the junior school can be made the starting point for the inculcation and steady development of two important attitudes in children towards the world outside. The approach has, of course, to be indirect and unobtrusive. Needed is the development of (1) an impersonal loyalty to the human race; and (2) an imaginative sympathy with every member of the human race. Intertwined with these attitudes is the sense of justice and fair play in human dealings.

When we remember that Froebel was separated from Montessori by more than a century, we are pleasantly surprised to perceive their close identity of ideals. This identity and the goals themselves give us hope that when their discoveries are put to the fullest and most genuine use, we will have gone a long way toward building a world union consciousness. The universe is one and indivisible; the union of minds and hearts need not be dismissed as a mere utopian dream.

The junior school has to be related to the wider life of the community. The child would have outgrown or overgrown the protected environment and would be curious

to know the world outside. Montessori calls this education "a preparation for going out". Firstly, as pointed out earlier, a sense of right and wrong slowly develops and enlarges. Montessori explains this moral awareness and the discrimination between good and evil:

The child is no longer receptive, passively absorbing impressions with ease, but wants to understand for himself; and is no longer content with merely accepting facts. . . . In the field of morality, the child stands in need of his own inner light.

Secondly, the group-instinct comes to the fore. Montessori says it is more than an instinct. She describes it as:

. . . the child's need to associate himself with others, not merely for the sake of company, but in some sort of organised activity. He likes to mix with others in a group wherein each has a different status. A leader is chosen and is obeyed and a strong group is formed. This is a natural tendency, through which mankind becomes organised.

In *To Educate the Human Potential*, Montessori's grand dream of cosmic education is formulated: "Let us give the child a vision of the whole Universe". She does not mean by this the imparting of a closely reasoned and "systematic scheme of Universal knowledge".

A child of six who has had a nursery school education under the Montessori system is an "awakened soul". The child then is compared to "a fertile field ready to receive what will germinate into culture".

With the present quantum of knowledge, the whole of modern culture will be too heavy a burden for anyone, and well-nigh impossible to impart. We have to adopt a selective process by which a maximum number of seeds of interest are sown: "These will be held lightly in the mind but will be capable of later germination as the will becomes more directive." Three general principles are laid down:

1. The child must learn by his own activity;
2. He must be granted mental freedom to take what he needs; and
3. He must be under no duress in his choice; the teacher should answer the mental needs of the child, not dictate them.

Even at this age, though the child has the potential of storing information, what is most important is mental development, not mere acquisition of disjointed chunks of information. To be encouraged is the capacity of reasoning, born out of curiosity, keeping the mind

always in a state of dynamic activity. In this active state, a lively interest in knowing will develop. The development itself is in continuation of whatever has already taken place in the protected environment of the nursery school. This continuity between the two stages is of primary importance. The design or plan of educational opportunities has to be tested for its continuity, efficiency and sustaining interest. The details are of less importance than the general aim and spirit in which the whole scheme is planned and worked out.

At this stage, the imagination of the child has to be nurtured properly. Montessori gives supreme importance to the right use of the imagination of the child.

We do nothing if we do not set on fire this wonderful faculty. Human consciousness comes into this world as a flaming ball of imagination. Everything invented by man, physical and mental, is the fruit of someone's imagination. In the study of history and geography, we are helpless without it; and when we propose to introduce the Universe to the child, what but imagination can be of use to us? I consider it a crime to present such subjects, as are noble and creative aids to the imaginative faculty, in such a manner as to deny its use.

The secret of good teaching is to regard the child's intelligence as a fertile field in which seeds may be sown to grow under the heat of flaming imagination. Our aim therefore, is not merely to make the child understand and still force him to memorise, but so touch his imagination, as to inflame his enthusiasm to the inmost core. It is along the path of higher realities which can be grasped by the imagination, that the child at this stage [8 to 12 years] is to be led.

She goes further to add,

By offering the child the story of the Universe we give him something a thousand times more wonderful and mysterious to grasp with his imagination, in the cosmic drama, no fable can rival.

We then have a child,

... more mentally alert, more capable of concentration, more socially adaptable, more independent and at the same time more disciplined and obedient—in a word, a complete being—a ready foundation for the building up of a normalised adult.

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY—VII

Pratibha

I had been in Greece before during my two week work vacation. I knew where the most popular Athenian discotheque was, and Chris and I went there for dinner on our first night of arrival. The large dining and dancing areas were crowded to optimim capacity, but at once my gaze fell upon one figure. I had developed an aptness for recognizing people's primary character trait, and sometimes what I took for one of their previous lifetime identities, with an effortless instantaneousness. The bearded Teuton I contemplated over the spaghetti strands I was eating betrayed his otherwise handsome physique with eyes that were clearly deceitful. Once we spoke, it became apparent that a complex of communication had been originated. As for me, I was certain that before me was the only person in the length and breadth of the earth with whom I could relate. We met every day during the following weeks. Chris didn't like the Athenians and soon left to further her occupational therapy studies in the U.S.

The ultimate motive principles which regulated my action were of a related severalty. I was ideally in the wilderness far from civilized conventions, my eyes fixed on the saintly flame of austere Franciscan perfection. At the same time I had an equally cogent standard of excellence concerning the noble model relation between man and woman. I had observed that economic independence alone didn't constitute a liberating element of the feminine quality, and in accordance with this I resolved to experiment with reversed conditions of traditional material submission. Unreservedly I gave my heart to Knut. At that time the great composer Theodorakis had been arrested because of his political views. Knut had what I could describe as journalistic tendencies forming part of his manifold personality which ranged from downright shallow to inscrutable. He and a friend obtained from Theodorakis some musical pieces composed in his solitary cell, and sent them to a magazine abroad along with an article detailing his plight. Knut told me he had sometime secretly entered the only remaining vault of pre-war German archives and compiled a list of names of Nazi figures who currently held influential positions, thereby incurring the undying emnity of many people.

After a period of three months, the time came for me to renew my tourist visa. For this it was required that one leave the country and re-enter. The usual procedure was to go to the Yugoslavian border, take a short walk, and return immediately after for the renewed Greek visa stamp. However, Knut and a partner had a business arrangement in Italy,

hence I went along for the short boat cruise, thus complying with my visa requirements. When we were to return to Greece, Knut presented me with a small, shiny, red car to drive to Athens. I saw from the car papers that it and two others belonged to a car rental company. I had never driven a car. I didn't consider it technically immoral because the car formed part of an impersonal entity, which in turn, due to legal insurance procedures, wouldn't be diminished in the least. By the same token, I strongly felt that had the car belonged to a person, I would have absolutely under no conditions agreed. I found myself involved with a desultory uneasiness. From the age of sixteen onwards, had I wanted a car, all I had to do was ask my father for it but I always considered myself unqualified for driving, though it comes so naturally to millions of others. As we rode some steep and curving Yugoslavian mountain roads, Knut from the car ahead constantly signaled with his fingers which gear I should be using. The fellow in the rear car at times gesticulated that one of my rear wheels was bordering on the precipice. At the highway tollbooths it was taken for granted by the officers that the car had motor trouble; it was unimaginable, as was the case, that I didn't know how to start the engine again.

The most frequented house in Athens occupied the position of greatest altitude as well. Situated near the top of Mount Likavittos, its terrace offered a view of the sunrise and moonrise over the Attic valley and their brilliant traverse towards the ocean gate, Pirraeus. One could wonder for seeming aeons about the magnificent purity of the Parthenon which reposed serenely directly below. Robert, an Australian painter, lived in that house. Our group of friends was made up of painters and poets from many countries. We gathered regularly for parties, for dinner, or at one discotheque or another. Though I yearned for Cretan pastoral simplicity, I was bound to a nocturnal urban carousel. I consider it providential to have carried out such an extreme life-experiment in Greece, as nowhere else could I have survived nearly unscathed. I never went anywhere unaccompanied by Knut, due to an unavoidable discomfort resulting from the ubiquitous and unanimous attention I sensed from people. I would have preferred to go about unnoticed.

It seemed to me that the soul of the modern Greek was enveloped by a thick Turkish crust; in spite of which it was plainly visible that the true object of their heart's worship was still the sempiternal Parthenon. They seemed to embody fundamentally their ancient philosophy, and to constitute the only inherently democratic nation. Every night everyone enjoyed the same type of dinner at the lively *tavernas* beneath the effulgent stars. Between kilo and kilo of wine, which virtually replaced water, the men rose several times during the course of the meal to dance in alignment basked in mellifluous *bizouki* music. The word for foreigner in Greek is guest.

My condition was one of estrangement from my fellow men; I perceived social exchange on the whole as a perpetual charade unrolling itself with humans indistinctly yoked to unreality. I was hypersensitive to hypocrisy. Knut provided me with amphetamines; these afforded him pleasure, but were entirely detrimental to my metabolism which required

rather a more tranquilizing substance. However, for political reasons or whatever, the government began to forbid the consumption of the native *funda* or marihuana, smoked sedately for generations. I felt as Athene midst strayed children. At one point or another each evening I expanded the cycle of bizarre adventure. Whether I was caressing people, or pouring wine on them, whether men or women of whatever age, whether important or insignificant in society, hardly anyone, amazingly enough, ever resisted me or became angry. One night I stopped all the taxis passing through the crowded dining district to kiss each driver and passenger, all the while affectionately repeating, "Agapo Hellenika", my improvised interpretation of "I love Greece." Once someone secretly accused me of having said that Papandopoulos, the ruler, was a peasant. As policemen in two cars came to arrest me, I was told I dauntlessly repeated: "Why don't you look in the mirror?" It was not until the American ambassador reminded them they had detained me illegally, that I was released from the precinct. During the first part of my stay there I spoke incessantly, although of my theme I remember only pointing repeatedly to the picture of Christ hanging on the wall.

As a young boy, Knut played after school with the soldiers in the battle front, opening his mouth when each shell was fired to safeguard his eardrums. Afterwards, in what became the Eastern sector, the Russian soldiers used the furniture for firewood at his family's castle where they then lived. His mother told me that Knut was present when several American soldiers violated her. She also confided that they were forced to steal food during the occupation, and had not given him a proper explanation. Perhaps due to those events, Knut was inclined to social mockery. As an adolescent, he not only appropriated the teacher's bicycle, but rode it to school every day to the amusement of all his classmates. When I knew him, he elaborated on his disdain by persistently crossing the major European borders with a small piece of paper folded into two halves upon which he had himself printed he was an attache to something or other, and scribbled some signatures. His personal bearing was so imposing that even the German border guards found the paper acceptable.

We never met anyone who wasn't attracted to him, and I variegated infinitely the attendant details in the staple format of my uncontrollable jealousy tantrums. Sometimes I found myself weeping alone on the Acropolis; other times Knut's eyes became full of light, the only times he addressed me in German: "Was willst du?" But I couldn't express what I wanted. After one major dramatic detonation, I left Greece and stayed with his family in Munich to deliberate on our situation; I returned to follow-up our tempestuous passage. Again I left, this time to spend some hectic weeks in New York City, only to return for the inevitable conclusion of the fated affair. My nervous system was functioning at a high-pitched irritability, and with the arrival on the scene of some Scandinavian airline stewardesses, I touched on the ultraradical frontiers of conduct. It seems I single-handedly tore an apartment to shreds, only to recover composure at the sight of the doctor's hypodermic syringe in the police station. I convincingly excused myself, but from that moment I knew

that something had to end. One night shortly after, I had the three most hellish nightmares of my life one after the other. The next morning I was to go into downtown Athens with Knut, but decided instead to remain at home to consider the portent of my dreams. That morning Knut was arrested by Interpol. I understood that I had been forced to be absent, for I vaguely suspected that I was capable of resisting it. I was overcome with grief during his trial for extradition; the German authorities were extremely eager to deal with him, as he had escaped from one of their prisons. We had the good fortune of living in the second storey of the Greek justice minister's house. She loved me dearly, as our ties were quasi-mystical; she assured all those concerned that I was innocent of involvement, and of good character.

Things had been cut short as if a moving picture film were to suddenly snap. But when spring came over the marble Athenian apartment houses and bright, unsullied, sloping streets, I gradually began to appreciate that a dense and somber burden had been removed from me. My friend Rosemary and I exchanged cheerful good wishes with each tiny glass of glittering red wine one morning. Each time I looked up my eyes were met by the intensive stare of an English newcomer. At twenty-four, Chris had four of his paintings in London and Reading museums. He was on his way to India with his wife and child in one of those phenomenal Land Rover vans, but elected instead to associate himself with our congenial fellowship. Several of us lived together at Rosemary's many-roomed house. During three months or so I principally sat on a floor mattress watching Chris paint, which he did practically uninterruptedly; I wrote "super-realist" poems. We had an esthetic communion. As I modeled for his classic "Celluloid Stripper" series, I received a neatly packed supply of LSD mailed by a friend. I distributed it among everyone, carefully relating the quantity according to my view of the capabilities for assimilation of each one. I had never touched Chris' acrylic paints except to clean the area; I suddenly opened the tube of orange color, and squirted some on Chris' latest painting, a "Celluloid Stripper" showering. First he covered me with red paint, and then painted flowers over it. The frequent parties at night continued into the summer. In September, Chris stayed working on his favorite painting, "The Art Class", and I at last made my way to Crete. Chris was installing himself in the art world of society. Out of an orgiastic inspiration the Aegina Art Centre was born; my good friends founded an art school. But I had other needs. I sat on the sands of Mallia beach for a month, where the poems became concrete images, as from then on I could only express word with ideograms. I returned to New York, for I needed certain economic preparations before going to India, which became my solitary goal. If there was a spiritual method to follow, I wanted to find it.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

HISTORICAL RESIDUE

The Military Tic

Did you ever notice a flock of the same type of items appearing in a single issue of a newspaper or magazine? It probably happens much more often than we suspect. Crediting it to the bias or interest of the editor doesn't fully explain the phenomenon, for the same newspaper will then go for days or weeks with hardly a follow-up.

In the *Indian Express* of this May 12th, a column of news briefs ran: "Gulf defence pact in offing", "Arab arms combine", "North Sea defence" and "Spectacular Spy in Sky"—one right after the other. Can one seriously fail to consider that such phenomena might be responses to a global thought current? All global thought currents, of course, are not purely progressive.

The most ominous among these claimed, according to the *Sunday Mail* of Glasgow, that nuclear mines might be used by NATO to defend North Sea oil. An Arab arms combine doesn't present a surprising list of signatories—Egypt, Saudia Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. But the Persian Gulf defence pact may include Iran and Iraq, two who have consistently been opposed for some time.

On June 1, 1975, Iran also awarded a huge contract to the U.S. for a Gulf area military intelligence gathering system she wants. And another more ominous item which provides us with the cutting edge of our interpretation is the very recent declaration by a high American official that tactical nuclear weapons would possibly be used against aggression by the Warsaw Pact countries (the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe).

Isn't it strange to find many warlike gestures in an era when virtually all the above countries have recently made unparalleled progress toward peace and harmonic relations—as in the U.S.-U.S.S.R. unfolding of detente despite the Mideast snarl, the past-passing conference of all thirty-five European nations (East and West), and the scaling down of U.S.-Arab difficulties in oil and other negotiations? Yet, in all reflective seriousness, these war sounds are not really surprising and none of us, I think, expects anything

to come of them. They are reminders of the military tic humanity has been possessed by for so long; and at times like these when peace genuinely threatens to break out, such a tic is always called into reassuring view by the past in those who feel the painful golden press of the future.

Another dimension of this tic is how it has been managed, apparently, on a global basis since the last of World War II, according to a long, recent article in the *Indian Express*. In the thirty years since then, fifty-eight small wars have been fought. What is not usually discussed: all but two of these were fought on the soil of underdeveloped nations, and although one or another major power was sometimes involved, they were (almost) never in direct conflict with each other and, at the same time, almost all of the weapons used to end the lives of these 10,000,000 underdeveloped peoples were sold by the major powers—primarily the United States, the biggest arms dealer in the world. Certainly no comment is necessary to understand this as one reason why the rising of Asia and the increasing amity of underdeveloped countries is developing so powerfully and rapidly. Until the developed countries grow into a more advanced poise than arms dealing, for example, the openings to unity may have to swell from other seas.

Coattails of Watergate

Although, like Watergate, the details are too profuse to detail here, the layer by layer discovery of nations in South and Central America, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and even Western Europe which have extracted bribes from multinational companies of the U.S. already looks wider and thicker than your ordinary international scandal. Both the *Indian Express* article of May 12th and the *Newsweek* piece in their May 26th issue indicate that the level of "political contributions" to a single small country's ruling party may easily reach several million dollars (from one multinational company).

The purgative of truth which mercilessly propelled Watergate to penetrating conclusion seems to have taken much of the globe in its hungrier sweep. After Bihar and the West German and British disclosures, and these multinational companies' disclosures—it will be, at the very least, instructive to follow and inwardly sponsor what is thrown into view next.

TRANSITIONS

The East Asiatic Company may not be popularly known but it is the remarkable Danish response to a world opportunity in trade. They deal on all five continents with countries whose political and social systems differ as widely as South Africa, The People's Republic of China and Saudi Arabia. Part of the reason they are the largest

trading house in Europe, with a \$3.4 billion activity, is their catholicity of respect for the diverse customers these five continents yield. According to their chairman,

We don't break the local rules [of the country dealt with]. . . .

Our presence in one particular country is not an expression of opinion of the host country's political conditions. [*Newsweek*, May 5, 1975].

The East Asiatic Company even sometimes operates on the level of a mutually acceptable conduit between two countries in a state of hostile relations. They appear to be more than a trading company precisely because there is a rich line of possible contacts and exchanges between such countries that has eluded the approach of professional intermediaries.

The international business approach of multinational companies which, on the contrary, has received so much recent attention—even in feature articles of this magazine—is also providing news by its results. Before commenting on that, it is worth glancing at *Time* magazine's review of *Global Reach*, a book recently published on multinationals, in their issue of April 7, 1975. The reviewer is describing the authors, Richard J. Barnett and Ronald E. Muller, when he says:

. . . they identify one of the main problems created by multinationals as one of policy lag. While nations plan on a country-by-country basis, international firms view the world as a single unit and plan accordingly.

Time goes on, but the interesting thing is the distinction between two points of viewing the world; and that, as the review goes on to say, the multinationals view of a single-unit world gives them a great economic advantage over the "country-by-country" nations.

But we have to also look at another phase of results. In his "Letter from America", T. V. Parasuram writes in the June 2nd *Indian Express* of two cases concerning multinationals' dealings with countries. Mexico invited multinationals to help her industrialize quickly, but when cheap (\$.50 an hour) Mexican labor wanted higher wages (\$1.00 an hour) to keep pace with inflation, the multinationals "started folding their tents to move to cheap labor markets elsewhere". India was also interested in a multinational's production solution to her fertilizer shortage. But even the World Bank recommended she reject the outrageous terms it offered. Along with their many advantages this is a side of multinationals that has to be seen in a world moving to its unity.

I thought no one had ever connected the United Nations with the idea of international business until March 27, 1975 [March 28th *Indian Express*], when Upper Volta

proposed— at the Tokyo meeting of the 54 nation U.N. Committee on Mineral Resources — the U.N. operate something similar to a commercial mining sales company for the underdeveloped nations. One very great difference would be its principle of no profit operation. There was a strong positive response from developing nations immediately. "However, some delegates said it was not clear how the Upper Volta suggestion would be received" is the last sentence of the article.

We have just briefly discussed three approaches to international business, each with explicit or implicit advantages and flaws. The writer could easily enough vent his opinion: which, or which combination or synthesis of these, will be a greater and truer instrument for approaching global unity. But it would be far more interesting and appropriate to leave the question open for your untrammelled speculation.

PROXIES OF THE FUTURE

One would have to be a student of history to demonstrate that discoveries of new planets have corresponded with new eras and discoveries on earth. But it is a widely held belief and, as we clearly seem to be on the periphery of a new era, may become more prominent than ever with the recent news from Nanking [*Indian Express*, May 8, 1975].

Two Chinese astronomers have announced their discovery of two new planets on May 6, 1975. They say they were spotted last January but are rarely visible, moving in a pattern from Mars that reaches far out near Pluto. The Nanking Observatory is located on Purple Mountain; the planets have been named Purple Mountain One and Purple Mountain Two.

What is being disclosed about the wholeness and details of our solar system has its reflection in similar disclosures of the nature of the earth itself and its unimaginable wholeness. But the implications of these terrestrial discoveries of science lead beyond the space of this month's column and we will have to explore them as they deserve in the next issue.

7 June 1975

NEARER AN ETERNAL IDEAL

Mohanlal Sukhadia

[The Inaugural Address given by the Governor of Karnataka at The First National Convention of World Union Centres at Bangalore on June 8th 1975]

When we speak of world union, we are embarking on an ideal that has been man's eternal quest since the dawn of civilization. Each age in its own way adds to this eternal quest, but the world of today has the advantage of modern communications, which in a sense have reduced the physical distances of the globe. It is possible now for a man to be on different continents on the same day. And there has also been an information revolution. These advances and others have given people in different parts of the world an opportunity for the first time to know each other.

But has this knowledge really led to a greater understanding between the peoples of the world? Have we been able to shed the age old prejudices of race, colour and religion? I am afraid that despite increased contacts, there is still a deep chasm of disunity in the world which manifests itself in wars. The world for the first time has the affluence and the technological and scientific abilities to conquer many of the problems that confront our planet. But unfortunately the affluent nations of the world have become instead the storehouses of the most deadly weapons of annihilation known to man. Billions of dollars are

expended to build this stockpile of terror while all across the globe vast pockets of poverty exist, millions of human beings are living in sub-human conditions.

At no time before has the world had to live with the threat of annihilation as we do. How long can a peace based on force save civilization? This is clearly the time when the nations of the world must build for peace rather than destruction. Three decades have now passed since the end of World War II, but we have already witnessed the holocausts of wars in South-East Asia, West Asia, on our own borders and in various other parts of the world. In what have all these wars resulted? They have left a terrible debris of human suffering, with countless children orphaned or maimed as a result of man's senseless devastation. In Vietnam alone, the toll of suffering has a poignancy that must arouse the conscience of the whole world. Is it right that certain nations in their senseless pursuit of power must destroy human lives?

I address you as one who shares the philosophy of one-world. We may not ourselves see the realisation of our dream, but it is nevertheless possible for all free-thinking human beings to break down the barriers of prejudice that tend to divide man and man

and to understand that we are all human beings sharing a common planet. If human beings can care for one another and share joys and sorrows with one another, they will in the course of time understand the meaning of love. Love and unity are inseparable; and this has been the basis of all major religions; they are practical in their effects on the daily lives of men and women.

In India we have inherited a strong spiritual base and a humanistic culture which for centuries has sustained the nation through very difficult ages. But side by side we have also divisive tendencies that preoccupy us. Caste, creed, and language all add to the diversity, and we have to adopt a more tolerant attitude on these matters so that our differences do not become bones of contention between us. Strictly speaking, parochial sentiments must have no place in the type of egalitarian and secular society that we envisage. If we hold to dogmatic thinking we are jeopardising our chances of being really one nation; and no nation that is besieged by internal disunity can contribute to the making of a united world order. Though we live in different geographical areas, let us view ourselves essentially as human beings sharing a common planet. Still, man's immediate environment is the one that conditions him to be the type of human being he is. His value system is conditioned by the expectations of the society in which he lives.

What is needed today is a questioning by all societies as to the type of environment they are creating and to the type of generation that will emerge from such an environment.

In the affluent nations, science and technology have ushered in a highly materialistic society. Its young people are sometimes like rudderless ships, drifting in a sea that offers them no moorings. In the less developed nations the story is different. The majority of people are living below the poverty level. The psychology that such dismal poverty breeds is as harmful as the dilemma of the over-affluent societies. How then do we balance this paradox of fundamental inequalities? For obviously if the world is to come closer together it can only be possible at a reasonable level of political, social and economic equality. To my mind, peace in the world depends on bridging the gap between the haves and the have nots. It is only when we acquire a common base that we can think of the possibility of a world union. We are in an age when the movement for world union needs practical translation so that it can touch the lives of many more people and make them aware that our contemporary society needs a change of heart and mind. Material progress must be matched by spiritual awareness. We need to create a new humanism, and out of this humanism can ultimately emerge the universal solidarity which is our goal.

NATIONAL AND WORLD INTEGRATION

A. B. Patel

[The Presidential Address given at The First National Convention of World Union Centres at Bangalore on June 8th 1975]

It will, perhaps, be appropriate if I preface my remarks by briefly telling you about World Union. It is a non-profit, non-political movement for unity, peace and progress on a spiritual basis. It believes that the ordinary humanitarian or religious outlook and motivation are not adequate to meet the challenges of present world conditions and to usher in the new age; our spiritual development must now match our scientific and technological achievements. Mankind must realise that all life is one and that unity is already a fact which must be manifested on every level to achieve integral fulfilment. World Union welcomes and invites contacts and collaborations with individuals and organisations around the world interested in human unity, world peace and world order and has established friendly contacts with a number of such persons and institutions. To acquaint people with the aims and activities of World Union, we publish a monthly journal and periodic bulletins, and hold seminars and conferences on a variety of subjects relevant to human unity and world peace. We have World Union Centres in India and abroad.

Broadly speaking, human unity means building up right human relations in all spheres of life, recognising the principle of unity in diversity. The One has become

many, and the many have to evolve towards the realisation of oneness. Human unity also means recognising a human being as a human being free from all inherited prejudices based on race, religion, caste, creed, social status, sex, nationality, or ideology. Unless we free ourselves from prejudices inherited either from the past or from educational institutions or from the social environment, true human unity is not possible. Let me emphasise that unity is a quality of the heart and not of the head, and unless man expands the horizons of his mind and broadens the basis of his heart, it is highly difficult to be free from prejudices and to practice the ideal of human unity in its pure form. Education can play an important role in this direction if it is influenced by the great ideal of *vasudhaiva kutumbakam*, the whole world is my family.

The principles governing national integration apply broadly to all nations, particularly to those who acquired independence after the Second World War. But here we shall apply our mind to the national integration of India. If an average Indian understands human unity in its true sense, and his life is sufficiently influenced and guided by it, national integration will be easy. But there are many forces which help or hinder our

true practice of human unity. It is therefore necessary to understand a few relevant matters governing the attitude of people towards each other. Consequently it is important to take note of the present world conditions which have a bearing on the subjects before us.

The world is radically changing and the social systems and institutions in every sphere of life which have served humanity in its evolutionary march are rapidly becoming outmoded. Never in the history of the human race were the changes so rapid as today. The old order is dissolving and a new one is in the course of taking a shape.

World conditions today are different from any age in that: (a) there is an unprecedented clash of ideas, ideals, ideologies, opinions and beliefs on every important issue or aspect of life; (b) there is a widespread restlessness, confusion and chaos in which reason often abdicates, and spirituality is discounted; (c) there is a generation gap and a challenge by youth to the present social order's harbouring of wars, huge armaments expenditures, racial discrimination, religious intolerance, social and economic injustice and exploitation within nations and between nations, national fanaticism and ideological conflicts; (d) formerly the population took several centuries to double itself, but now it is likely to double in two or three decades; (e) industrial and agricultural production has increased and is rapidly increasing manifoldly, yet there are shortages; (f) under the impact of science and technology, particularly modern transport and communications, the world has become small and interdependent; (g) yoga and meditation are spreading from the East to the West with great rapidity, promoting the exploration of the inner universe of man as science promoted the

exploration of the outer universe. All these and many other new situations and conditions have created numerous problems, some of which cannot be solved by a single nation, however powerful or rich; thus the need for cooperation and collaboration between nations has become essential and extremely urgent if the world is not to drift towards a disaster. For this international collaboration between nations, each nation ought to do its best to put its own house in order by maximum national integration. Unity within nations is essential for reaching a lasting world unity.

Happily there are many encouraging trends towards cooperation and the avoidance of conflicts in world affairs and international relations, and even in the fields of religion, culture, politics and economics. Happily, too, the need for human unity and even a world authority, or at least international cooperation and peaceful coexistence, are generally recognised in order to avoid nuclear war, to solve ecological problems, to meet world food requirements, to remove the gap between rich and poor nations, to develop the land and sea resources for the common good of humanity.

There are signs that humanity is on the eve of entering a new age. Many expect that man will move forward in the evolutionary process in the new age and exceed himself. Several saints and sages have foreseen and affirmed that India will play an important role in reorganising earth life on a spiritual basis in the coming age. They foresee a great destiny for India provided her soul has an opportunity to manifest itself so that she may fulfil the law of her being. Some of them have affirmed that India is not destined to become a big military power or an affluent nation, but is destined to accumulate spiritual

power which will flood the whole world. By providential design or accident, all kinds of contrary elements and parochial attitudes arising from religion, language, caste, etc., have been thrown together in India to provide her with an opportunity to synthesise and harmonise them, as was done during her great periods of history. In fact India is a miniature world, and if she succeeds in building up right human relations among her peoples, she will not only secure her own bright future but will be an example and an influence for the evolution of the world in the right direction.

But to play such a noteworthy role, India must recognise the spirit behind her spiritual and cultural heritage, and must reshape the forms of her spirit in conformity with new conditions and circumstances. The spirit behind the past forms has to be perceived, disengaged, preserved and realised and given a new and powerful thought significance, a set of cultural values, appropriate new institutions, and made a new instrument for greater forms. So long as India recognises these essential things and is faithful to her spirit, it will not matter in the least if even very drastic adaptations and the most extreme cultural and social changes are made. But these changes must conform to the spirit of India, and must not be in the spirit of America or Europe. The future of India should be moulded according to her spiritual heritage and not in the mould of Japan or Russia. This does not mean that we close completely all the windows and doors of the house of our nation and refuse to admit any fresh or new breeze of ideas and truths. We must be ready to receive fresh ideas and truths from any quarter and to assimilate them as part of India's national being. If India aspires and is inspired on these lines, it will not be difficult

for her to regasp the spirit of synthesis and the evolution of unity in diversity that will take her to the establishment of unity and the institutions and systems necessary in all spheres of her national life. In addition she will be able to give a lead in international relations for the introduction of the ideal that every nation must aspire to render selfless service to weaker or poorer nations in the same manner as a strong or rich individual aspires to render service to his weak or poor brethren.

If India can fulfil her destiny and work according to her genius, she will help the political field to realise a world union of free and independent nations in which unity in diversity will be the largest principle of life, and freedom its cornerstone; and in which no nation will be subordinate to another, though some may exercise a greater natural influence. In the social development of humanity, India can enjoy the privilege of placing before the world the need of raising higher the collective consciousness of the human race and helping to rapidly move towards a subjective age from the present rational age, leading ultimately to a spiritual age. This will necessitate modifications of political, social, economic, educational and other institutions under the impact of higher ideals, motives and attitudes in proportion to the growth of consciousness. In the economic field, India will provide leadership for a new economic order in the world based on social justice, pushing towards the removal of poverty, hunger and disease and narrowing down rapidly the gap between the rich and the poor, either among individuals or nations. She will help in creating a social order in which the resources of the land and oceans will be developed for the common good of humanity. In education, India can

give a lead to the promotion of world consciousness, emphasising that education does not merely mean training of body, emotions, mind and intellect, but also the awakening of the soul of the child.

All these possibilities would appear to most people utopian. Considering the present state of the world and of India, it will be found extremely difficult to believe such a development likely in the future. I have dared to suggest what India can and must do on the basis of the vision of many saints and sages. The change of fortunes of individuals, groups or nations are not unknown, and sometimes

they take a sudden turn. As Sri Aurobindo stated once, the impossible is the base for the possible tomorrow. On this evolutionary planet there have been continuous changes of forms, principles of existence and states of consciousness. And in this era of revolutionary changes, it is unwise to judge future possibilities and potentialities on the basis of present conditions. What is happening today in India could become a passing phase of history, and her destiny can compel revolutionary changes in the principles governing her life and her performance in the national and international spheres.

WORLD UNION FOCUS 7/75

BANGALORE CONVENTION A NEW LANDMARK

Though much that had previously seemed secure and stable is being shaken, *this higher consciousness, with its wider and deeper range of awareness will later enable man to function more effectively, drawing nourishment and vitality from roots that are deeper than he can over-throw—as well as drawing inspiration from a goal towards which he can move hopefully and creatively.*

A. Graham Ikin

To our Members and Friends,

The World Union movement moved a step forward, and its concern for the National Integration of India was emphasised, on the 8th, 9th and 10th June 1975, when the First National Convention of World Union Centres of India, organised by the World Union Bangalore Centre, met at Bangalore. The preparation for this event was made with due care and enthusiasm and the World Union Centres and members of India responded to the invitation to attend in good numbers. The Convention gave careful thought to the main theme: "World Union Aim—Human Unity—Aids Best National Integration", and the four seminars held during the period considered the subject in four sections (i) Society and Culture, (ii) Education and World Citizenship, (iii) Politics and Economics, and (iv) Science and Spirituality. The deliberations were largely influenced and inspired by the ideals of human unity and national integration of India. This spirit was duly reflected in the proceedings and the outcome of the convention.

The World Union journal will in its August 1975 issue publish the statement adopted by the Convention with which will be attached the four reports presented by the four seminars. This is the first time that a representative gathering of World Union members of India was held outside Pondicherry and we congratulate the World Union Bangalore Centre for giving a lead in this regard. This is also the first time that the meeting of the Executive Committee of World Union was held in Bangalore, and outside Pondicherry. The world Union movement showed unmistakable signs of its growth in many ways. The enthusiasm of the delegates who attended the Convention was encouraging and the support received from those unconnected with World Union was very helpful.

His Excellency Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, the Governor of Karnataka, inaugurated the Convention and Sri A. B. Patel presided. It was the untiring effort of Prof. N. S. Govind Rao, the president of the Bangalore Centre and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. T. Prasannasimha Row, the Convener of the Convention, and Sri P. Krishna Raju, the Vice-President of the Bangalore Centre and the Chairman of the Souvenir and Finance Committees of the Convention and of many members of Bangalore Centre which contributed to the success of the Convention. Our thanks are due to all of them.

Sri K. C. Reddy, an Ex-Governor of Madhya Pradesh, had consented to inaugurate the seminars but could not attend owing to indisposition; his inaugural speech was read by Sri H. K. Shantaveerappa. The International Women's year was celebrated at 5-30 P.M. on 9th June, 1975. The gathering was presided over by Smt. P.R. Jayalakshamma, Ex-Deputy Mayor of Bangalore City Corporation, and was inaugurated by Smt. Eva Vaz, Minister of Food in the Government of Karnataka. At 6 P.M on the 10th June, 1975 Sri Rohit Mehta, Hon. Lecturer of World Union, delivered an inspiring address to a gathering presided over by Sri S. Mallikarjuna Swamy, Hon. Minister for Education in the Government of Karnataka, on "World Union Aim—Human Unity—Aids Best National Integration."

The draft Constitution of the Indian National Centre of World Union, which was published in March, 1975 Focus, was given consideration on the 10th June, 1975 morning and after a lively discussion was referred to the Executive Committee of World Union held at 3.00 P.M. the same day. The Executive Committee approved the formation of the Indian National Centre of World Union but referred the draft Constitution to a Committee for consideration and report as early as possible. The representatives of the World Union Centres of West Bengal state expressed a wish to hold in West Bengal the Fifth Triennial World Union Conference and the Second National Convention of World Union Centres in India in December 1975 and would inform of their decision as early as possible.

These are very encouraging developments for the World Union movement. We urge all Centres to make serious endeavour to formulate projects for the promotion of human unity and national integration and to implement them earnestly. Simultaneously every effort should be made to increase the number of World Union Centres and of members. We would however reiterate that in a movement of this nature number alone does not count. What is most important is that a substantial number of members endeavour to live this oneness and to build right human relations in whatever conditions or surroundings they are placed. We should not overlook the fact that we have embarked on an adventure of realising within ourselves that the whole earth is one family and that unity must begin with oneself, and reach one's family, one's region, one's nation and finally embrace the whole world. This needs an unshakable faith in the cause of human unity and national integration, and the will to practise these ideals. We are confident that the World Union centres and members will respond to this call and consider themselves instruments or channels for this great and divine work of forging human unity and national integration,

which are absolutely essential if humanity and India are to fulfil their destinies and march forward in their evolutionary journey to a higher state of consciousness.

New World Union Centres:

We welcome the formation of the World Union Centre of the West Bengal State at the meeting of the Secretaries and Chairmen of the World Union Centres in West Bengal held on 11th May, 1975 at 24, Haranathpur Road, Bhadrakali, Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya presiding. We are glad that the first regional centre of World Union has been constituted in West Bengal. We welcome the Committee of this Regional Centre consisting of Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya as Chairman, Sri Samar Basu as Convener and nine Ex-office members who are Secretaries of the World Union Centres of Calcutta, North Calcutta, Chinsura, Konnagar, Rishra, Kamarkundu, Chandernagore, Asansol and New Alipore. The names of the present Secretaries of these nine centres are: (i) Sri Samaran Ghosh, (ii) Sri Tripti Kr. Sinha, (iii) Sri Panchugopal Saha, (iv) Sri Dilip Kr. Ganguli, (v) Sri Parimal Goswami, (vi) Sri Amarendra Nath Belel, (vii) Sri Dr. Biswanath Boral, (viii) Sri Satyabrata Das, and (ix) Dr. Sukumar Mukherjee. The present address of the office of the Regional Centre is 24, Haranathpur Road, P.O. Bhadrakali—712232, West Bengal, the residence of the Convener.

World Union Vikhroli Centre was established at a meeting held on 24th May, 1975 at 3/92, Tagore Nagar, Vikhroli, Bombay—83. The meeting commenced with meditation followed by the reading of passages from the writings of Sri Aurobindo. Sri N.S. Amin, Sri K.N. Shenoy and Sri K.R. Hegde were present in the meeting. Sri P. Sadagopan initiated a discussion and the meeting was of the opinion that the members should meet at least twice a month and effort should be made to increase membership. Sri K.G. Kini was elected Chairman, Sri K.P. Rao Secretary and Sri Ganesh Rao Treasurer. The address of the Centre is 3/92 Tagore Nagar, Vikhroli, Bombay—83.

Activities of World Union Centres:

The World Union Calcutta Centre held its 2nd meeting for the year at 44, Dr. Nilmoni Sarkar Street, Calcutta—50, the house of Dhiren Sarkar, on 2nd February 1975, Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya presiding. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Smt. Utpala Dutta Chowdhury followed by group concentration. The President spoke briefly on "Sri Aurobindo and World Union Movement". Sri Samiran Ghosh announced that the next monthly conference would be held at Sri Somen Chakraborty's house at Bhadrakali. The meeting ended with a musical programme of thirteen selected spiritual songs of Tagore sung by the students of Suradhani Music College of Baranagar, Calcutta—36 as directed by Sri Dhiren Sarkar. The third meeting of the Centre was held on 2nd March, 1975 at Sri Somen Chakraborty's house at Bhadrakali. The meeting commenced with songs by Miss Spira Chakraborty and Mrs. Soova Goswami and group concentration. Sri Chunila Goswami

spoke on "Politics and Economics" and Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya answered questions asked by members and guests on the subject of "Science and Spirituality". Sri Samiran Ghosh answered questions raised by Sri Samir Ghatak and Sri Sukumar Roy on "Culture and Society". It was recommended that some members of the Centre should submit papers to the First National Convention of World Union Centres of India to be held at Bangalore on 8th, 9th and 10th June. The Centre held its fourth monthly meeting on 6th April, 1975 at 6, Dakshinayan, Sodepur and had general discussion on "Education for World Unity", Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya presiding. Many eminent persons of the locality attended the meeting and the main participants were Sri Kalyan Dasgupta, Sri Babir Ghatak, Sri Sushanta Roy, Sri Samiran Ghosh and Sri Samir Ghatak. Sri Samiran Ghosh announced that thirty-nine members were enrolled to attend the Bangalore Convention. The meeting ended with a devotional song by Sri Swapan Brahmachary. The Centre held its fifth monthly meeting at 403, R. N. Tagore Road, Calcutta at Sri Chunilal Goswami's house. The meeting commenced with devotional songs by Soova Goswami and Sri Swapan Brahmachary followed by group concentration. Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya spoke on "The Human Cycle" by Sri Aurobindo. Dr.N.R. Karmakar proposed to open an Aurofarm where education would be given to students on the lines of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. To formulate the necessary project a committee was formed, including Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya, Sri Samiran Ghosh, Sri Chunilal Goswami and Dr.N.R. Karmakar. Sri Samiran Ghosh proposed to organise a cultural evening at his house at 10, Dakshinayan, Sodepur. The meeting ended with devotional songs by Sri Durga Sen.

On 11th May, 1975 World Union Calcutta Centre observed "Rabindra Sandhya", at Sodepur when Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya reviewed the Internationalism of Sri Rabindra Nath and Sri Aurobindo. Selected Rabindra songs were sung by Smt.Sunanda Roy, Smt. Anuradha Ghosh, Sri Swapan Goswami, Sri Amit Mallik, Sri Ashok Chakraborty, and Sri Mihir Dey. Sri Manas Goswami recited a piece and the Suradhuni Music College presented Rabindra songs having bearing on integral spirituality, Sri Dhiren Sarkar, Sri Debidas Bhattacharya, Sri Bhabani Prasad Ghosh Roy, Sri Rabati Nath Datta, Sri Chandan Mukherjee, Sri Nikhil Bose, Smt. Anima Chatterjee, and Smt. Anjana Guha participated.

The eleventh Seminar meet of World Union Chandernagore Centre commenced with meditation at the residence of Sri Sibaram Chakraborty, Palpasa at 5 P.M., Sri P.G.Dey presiding. Sri B. M. Baral read the report of the last meeting which was confirmed. Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya, Chairman of the Calcutta Centre, made observations on "World Union Movement and its impact on National Development". He took a global and comprehensive view of the subject and emphasised his points with examples and quotations from the Vedas and *The Ideal of Human Unity*. Questions asked were answered by him. The meeting concluded with a devotional song by Esha Mazumdar.

World Union New Alipur Centre held meetings on 7th, 14th and 21st May, 1975. On 7th May, Dr. S. Mukherjee presided and Mrs Mira. Mukherjee spoke on "What is

Divine Life" and Dr. S. Mukherjee on "Integral Yoga and its Difference with Traditional Yogas." On 14th May Mrs. Mira Mukherjee presided and spoke on "Life of Sri Champaklal" with special reference to Karma and Bhakti Yogas. Mrs. Archana Chatterjee narrated the story of how the Ganges was brought down by Bhagirath and compared it with Mahasakti and transformation. Dr. S. Mukherjee spoke on Integral Yoga as compared with Tantra. On 21st May Dr. S. Mukherjee presided and spoke on the five qualities for psychological perfection namely: surrender, sincerity, faith, aspiration and lastly endurance. In these meetings devotional songs were sung by Mrs. Nila Roy, Mrs. Mira Mukherjee, Miss Tanuja Mukherjee, Mrs. Lakshmanan, Mrs. Swamy and Dr. S. Mukherjee. Dr. H. K. Roy, Sri Indubhusan Majumdar, Mrs. Shobhana Banerjee, Mrs. Nilima Ghosh, Miss Panla Roy and Mr. Swamy took part in the readings from Sri Aurobindo and the Mother on different dates. On 25th May, 1975 the meeting of "Unity Centre" was held at Sri Aurobindo Bhavan, Dr. S. Mukherjee presiding. A resolution was adopted suggesting that all the centres connected with the teaching of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother in West Bengal should work on a common platform without disturbing their individual activities.

The Bangalore World Union Centre held its monthly meeting at Bharat Scout Headquarters, Irvin Circle, Bangalore-2, on Sunday the 11th May, 1975 and took up the theme : "Is the concept of world unity changing from time to time". Prof. N. S. Govind Rao presided and spoke on the subject explaining the various attempts made in the past for world unity and the essential requirements for achieving it. Prof. Ramkrishna, Dr. Lingaraju, Dr. Lakshmi Narayana and Sri P. Krishna Raju participated in the debate. Dr. Prasannasimha Rao brought to the notice of the members the steps taken concerning the forthcoming Bangalore Convention. Sri P. Krishna Raju sought the co-operation of the members to raise necessary finance. Another monthly meeting was held in the Scout Headquarters on the 1st June, 1975, Prof. N. S. Govind Rao presiding. The detailed programme of the forthcoming Bangalore Convention was placed before the meeting. It was decided that Sri Haneef Jawaid and H. S. Narayana Setty represent the Centre in the Executive Committee meeting of World Union to be held on the 10th June.

A meeting of the Women Wing of World Union North Calcutta Centre was held on the 24th May 1975 at 4, Jagadish Nath Roy Lane, Calcutta-700006, the residence of Sri Sujit Kumar Palit, Sri Sushanto Mittra presiding. Sri T. K. Sinha inaugurated the meeting and Sri Sujit Kumar Palit gave an introductory talk. After giving consideration to the resolutions passed on 9th April, 1975 and the suggestions made by Sri Samar Basu, the members adopted a programme of nine items for immediate action and of six items to be implemented later. Besides approving that programme the president suggested that it should be borne in mind for the future to commence a children training centre as proposed by Smt. Anita Bose, Organiser of the Wing, and to start a small unit on trade and commerce. The programme was proposed by Smt. Anita Bose and seconded by Smt. Sati Das.

The World Union North Calcutta Centre held its 14th monthly meeting on 20th

May, 1975 at 7 P.M, at 18 A, 'Ramidhone Mittra Lane, the residence of Sri Susanto Mittra, Sri Samar Basu presiding. The meeting commenced with a devotional song by Smt. Debrani Bose, Smt. Sati Das and Smt. Anita Bose followed by group concentration. The proceedings of the last meeting were read by Smt. Sati Das. Sri T.K. Sinha announced that Dr. Makhanlal Dhar concluded the classes on *The Ideal of Human Unity* and the *Essays on the Gita* and hereafter the Centre's monthly programme would be study circle meetings on subjects to be announced and monthly meetings. He informed the meeting that the free dispensing Homeopathic Unit of the Centre was attended by 62 cases in the last month. He mentioned the names of the new members enrolled by the Centre. Smt. Anita Bose spoke on the advent of renaissance in every aspect. She informed the meeting that the Mother's talk to the women of Japan was translated into Bengali by Smt Hena Sinha and referred to several other matters. Sri Samar Basu spoke on the Uttarpara speech of Sri Aurobindo and the meeting turned into a symposium on the speech.

On the 5th May, 1975 a meeting was organised by the joint management of Sri Aurobindo Society Centre and World Union Centre of Tatanagar when Sri C.N. Sharma of Pondicherry spoke on the teaching of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother and explained why we ought to follow their path.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

219. Mr. Rustom K. Ruhbux,

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220. Smt. Kusumben S. Mehta,

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WORLD UNION
PONDICHERRY-605002


General Secretary,
23-6-1975

WORLD UNION

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***BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT***



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

International Women's Conference

It is a pity that the spirit of the long awaited conference held in Mexico City of women from all parts of the world was marred by the injection of politics. Even before the delegates met, the value of the event had already been diluted by the action of several governments who sent their own politically selected persons instead of promoting representation by genuine leaders among women who have worked for the cause and known the problems involved at first hand. It was natural after all such interferences that no firm or tangible results issued from the deliberations. Not that it matters really. For the ultimate action is to be taken by women themselves.

The crux of woman's general state of subjection lies in the economic dependence upon man—at any rate in most countries. By legislation and other social measures, this state of economic inequality must be mended. Secondly, women themselves must develop a spirit of independence instead of looking to men for help and support in all situations. That woman is the weaker sex is one of the myths built up by man down the ages. Given the necessary opportunities, women have demonstrated that they can very well equal men in all walks of life. This has been amply shown in countries like Russia and China where the old social structures have been uprooted and women and men given equal opportunities to work for a new order. This is not to say that the world must adopt the ideologies of the said nations in order to restructure its social set-up. Actually things can be better done, and with lasting results, within a democratic frame. What is needed is an honest acceptance by the society of the truth that all human beings must have equal rights and equal opportunities. Nobody should suffer a handicap because of sex or birth. Freedom for the human race is impossible as long as half the population of the globe is condemned to inferior status.

M. P. P.

AFTER FRANCO--WHAT?

Harold T. Murphy

Frank S. Riddel

Introduction

Since the end of the civil war in 1939, Spain has experienced nearly four decades of relative stability, and her internal affairs have seldom attracted the attention of her European neighbors or the rest of the world. However, the contemporary scene in Spain suggests that this situation may soon change. The potential for a serious crisis is rapidly developing—a crisis which could precipitate a renewal of the political instability so characteristic of the nation's past.

Speculation, both in Spain and abroad, that a crisis may be approaching derives primarily from the declining physical condition of the head of state, Francisco Franco. Questions concerning Spain's political future are not particularly new, but they have become increasingly pertinent during the past year as *El Caudillo* rapidly approaches death or a state of incapacity necessitating his surrender of the reins of government.¹

The relevance of questions and speculations related to the nature and direction of Spain's future political development has also been increased by recent events in Portugal. The coup and subsequent drift to the left undergone by Portugal have demonstrated the folly of assuming that an authoritarian regime will necessarily perpetuate itself after the demise of its principal figure. Considerable interest has, therefore, been stimulated in the extent to which the experience of Portugal might influence or presage the course of Spanish politics.

Given the widespread feeling of impending change, it is not surprising that many Spaniards are now awakening from the long period of political somnolence resulting from three and a half decades of authoritarianism. Growing numbers of the population have been jolted into the realization that the question, "After Franco—what?", is no longer merely rhetorical, but an increasingly relevant one which must soon be answered.

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1. The current expectation among many Spaniards, including members of the regime, is that Franco will retire in the fall of this year.

In addition, serious doubts exist concerning the viability of Franco's prearranged answer in the form of a resurrected monarchy which he expects to continue his policies in the future.

Franco's continued presence and the failure of his authoritarian approach to achieve a realistic, non-vindictive, and permanent resolution of the schisms which have long divided the nation constantly evoke bitter memories of a war and an era that refuse to fade away. More important, however, is the growing fear that his demise will not signal an end to the nation's pent-up frustrations and bitterness but instead may usher in the most trying period post-war Spain has yet experienced. The vacuum created by his disappearance from the political scene will provide a setting within which the many unresolved and divisive issues of the past may well reappear and the arbitrarily imposed policies may be called into question, including his plan to perpetuate the spirit of Francoism through the monarchy.

How then will Spaniards answer the question, "After Franco—what?" Will the masses, denied a voice in their destiny for so many years, have an opportunity to respond to the question short of rebellion? Will a peaceful, orderly transition of power occur, or will armed conflict and the involvement of the military decide the issue? Will liberalization or continued authoritarianism characterize the nation's future? In view of Spain's turbulent political history, it would be foolhardy to speculate about the nation's future with any pretensions of certainty. However, some helpful insights into the possibilities and probabilities of the post-Franco period can be gained by evaluating several factors which will almost certainly influence the political future of Spain.

The Nature of the Franco Regime

Any attempt to appreciate the difficulties inherent in the present Spanish dilemma or to probe the future, necessitates a brief look at the nation's stormy past as well as an analysis of Franco's political behavior which is in many ways a response to that past. In Spain the politics of the past, present, and future are inextricably intertwined.

Of particular importance in understanding the long history of political instability which made possible the appearance of the Franco regime is the period beginning with the advent of the Bonapartist interregnum in 1808 and continuing to the collapse of the Second Republic in 1939. It was during this era, characterized by almost unremitting conflict among the proponents of rival political, social, and economic views, that many of the most divisive elements within the Spanish polity either originated or were exacerbated to a considerable degree. The origins and nature of the deep ideological cleavages which typified Spanish politics during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are too complex to consider here in detail. However, some sense of the impact of Spain's turbulent past on her present and its potential for influencing her future can be

gleaned from the following summary of Professor Kenneth Medhurst's analysis of the most dysfunctional elements of the Spanish political heritage:

(a) A general lack of agreement as to the basic political, social, and economic objectives which should be pursued by Spanish society, widespread suspicion of all authority, limited interest-group consciousness or activity, and a tendency of the body politic to alternate between periods of indifference to public issues and violent struggle. To a considerable extent the chronic political instability of Spain stemmed from the ideological conflict that erupted between those groups which were attracted to the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and those which perceived such ideas as distinct threats to traditional Spanish values and institutions.

(b) A long history of economic underdevelopment, particularly in rural areas, accompanied by an uneven distribution of wealth, a rigid social structure, and the inability or unwillingness of successive governments to deal effectively with the multitude of problems presented by the working-class movement.

(c) Traditional regional loyalties grew even stronger during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries making national integration extremely difficult.

(d) Repeated clashes between a conservative Catholic hierarchy which committed the Spanish Church to the preservation of the existing order and liberal factions which saw the Church as a major obstacle to the reforms they sought.

(e) The persistent political interference of the military which came to consider itself the arbiter of the nation's destiny. 2

Despite high hopes that the Second Republic (1931-1939) would, unlike previous governments, mollify the discord of the past and usher in an age of stability and harmony, it too fell victim to the divisiveness that had plagued the nation for more than a century. Spaniards had still not arrived at enough of a consensus to enable them to construct a stable system of self-government on the order of the parliamentary democracies of Western Europe. The civil war which destroyed the Republic was a disastrous culmination of the political, social and economic conflicts which had divided Spanish society for generations. Thus, Francisco Franco, who came to power as a result of that civil war, found himself like many of his predecessors confronted with the difficult problem of establishing a government which could somehow bring order out of the perpetual chaos of Spanish politics.

2. Kenneth W. Medhurst, *Government in Spain: The Executive at Work* (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1973), pp. 6-18.

Considering the state of European affairs in 1939, the recent economic and diplomatic successes of Fascist states, and his military background, it is not surprising that Franco's approach to the problem of governing a nation with such a strife-torn political heritage reflected the ideas of his war-time allies, Hitler and Mussolini. Nevertheless, the political system Franco eventually created and which has proven so durable differs in a number of respects from those of the German and Italian dictators. The Franco regime is authoritarian in nature rather than totalitarian and is primarily a personal dictatorship rather than one in which the military or a fascist party dominates. According to Professor Juan Linz, the Spanish government is characteristic of authoritarian regimes. He defines these as:

political systems with limited, not responsible, political pluralism: without elaborate and guiding ideology . . . ; without intensive nor extensive political mobilization; and in which a leader (or occasionally a small group) exercises power within formally ill-defined limits but actually quite predictable ones. 3

An analysis of the philosophy and behavior of the Franco regime confirms that Spain is an authoritarian personal dictatorship rather than a totalitarian state. It also reveals how a man with so little political experience has managed to remain in power for so long in such a turbulent political arena, and provides some insight into the relationship between Franco's policies and the current fears of an approaching crisis.

When the civil war ended in 1939, each group within the victorious coalition including monarchists, the military elite, several Catholic factions, and the Falange had certain preferences as to the type of political system which should be established. During and immediately after the war, Franco held this disparate coalition together by refusing to make his own position clear on the matter of Spain's political future. When it finally became apparent that Franco had no intention of surrendering his position of leadership, discontent mounted. But lacking effective leadership and the willingness to act cooperatively, the disgruntled factions were in no position to attempt a coup.

Franco's intransigence was no doubt motivated by a variety of factors, but among the most important was his fear that Spain's future might continue to be marred by instability and disorder unless there was a strong figure at the helm whose vision was not blurred by partisan considerations. Convinced that God was responsible for his rise to power and that his leadership reflected the will and direction of the Almighty, Franco accepted as his mission the task of leading Spain to internal stability, prosperity, and unity. This necessitated the permanent leashing of Spain's historical furies—identified some years

3. Juan J. Linz, "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain", *Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology*, ed. Erik Allardt and Stein Rokkan (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 255.

later in a speech as the anarchical spirit, negative criticism, lack of solidarity, extremism, and mutual enmity. 4 According to Franco, the political immaturity of the Spanish people must be recognized and dealt with by eliminating the major vehicles of the furies: political parties, self-serving factional interests, and republican institutions. Power must be entrusted to one capable of utilizing that power for the common good of the nation. To achieve this mission, then, Franco was convinced he must remain in power and implement policies that not only reflected his assessment of the national interest but which also provided a framework for the continuation of Francoism after his death or retirement.

Franco's success in retaining power can be attributed in the main to his practice of not ruling through a single group or faction but rather through an adroitly balanced and carefully manipulated coalition of several groups which he has played off against one another. His balancing act has necessitated a limited amount of pluralism, as Linz has pointed out, and virtually guaranteed that there would be no heavy reliance upon a monolithic party or a strict ideology as in totalitarian regimes. By the astute use of his considerable political skills, he has never allowed any group or individual to achieve and maintain an advantageous position within the regime for an extended length of time.

Franco carefully curried the favor of both the military and the hierarchy of the Spanish Catholic Church, thus assuring himself of the support of these two powerful institutions. However, it is his dealings with certain political factions that best illustrate the method by which he has frustrated the ambitions of those who posed a potential threat to his position of preeminence.

In the period following the civil war, many observers expected the Falange, a fascist group organized during the 1930s, to become the dominant political entity in Spain. Over the next two decades, Franco kept the Falange's power in check by assigning them only a few cabinet posts, denying them a monopoly on patronage, deemphasizing the importance of ideology, and pitting the fascists against other factions such as the monarchists and various Catholic groups. The Falange did have considerable impact on economic policy, but even this came to an end in 1957 when Franco elevated several technocrats to important positions and entrusted them with the task of formulating plans to stimulate Spain's lagging economy.

The appointment of the technocrats signaled the rise to political prominence of a new faction, for these men were either members of or sympathetic towards the increasingly powerful Catholic lay organization, Opus Dei. Differences of opinion within the order give

4. Franco identified these "furies" in a speech made before the Cortes on November 22, 1966. See *Referendum 1966: Nueva Constitucion* (Madrid: Servicio Informativo Espanol, 1966), p. 33.

some support to the claim that Opus Dei is not a political organization with a clearly defined ideological position, but it is obvious that during the 1960s Opus members and sympathizers gained control of a number of key posts and wielded considerable influence particularly with respect to economics and education. This occurred despite the growth of public suspicion concerning the order's power and vigorous opposition from the Falange, some military officers, the Jesuits, and many liberals.

Franco, always wary of possible threats to his power, was not willing to allow the Opus technocrats complete freedom of action. Therefore, late in 1966 he partially revitalized the nearly defunct Falange by including a provision in the new Organic Law which empowered the National Council of the Movement⁵ to bring to the regime's attention policies or practices which were perceived as being dangerous to the government. This process of institutionalization provided the Falange with only a modicum of new power, but it did serve to establish a safeguard against the possibility that the economic policies and the limited amount of political liberalization pursued by Opus ministers did not get out of control. The Opus faction was not pushing for radical political change, but many of them did feel some liberalization would be supportive of their efforts to generate economic growth. It was this situation that prompted Franco's wariness.

Franco's timetable for the eventual weakening of the Opus group was apparently speeded up by the assassination of Premier Luis Carrero Blanco on December 20, 1973. With the Opus technocrats now deprived of their most important supporter within the regime, distrusted by the public, and blamed by the right for promoting policies which had led to growing dissent and disorder, they suffered the fate of others who had once been influential in Franco's government. To assuage the wrath of the right and, perhaps, due to concern over Opus' long period of ascendancy within the regime, Franco moved to offset their power. Carrero Blanco's successor, Carlos Arias Navarro, removed Foreign Minister Laureano Lopez Rodo, chief spokesman of the Opus technocrats, and replaced several other Opus ministers as well. It now appears that the Falange and other rightist groups will assume a more prominent position in Spanish affairs although Franco, to the extent he is physically and mentally able, will no doubt continue to play the various factions off against one another.

There are other aspects of Franco's approach to governing which also help explain his political longevity. Of special significance is the regime's heavy emphasis on economic development which, combined with limited political liberalization and the adept handling of opposition groups, has succeeded until recently in preventing widespread demands for an end to authoritarianism. Spain experienced very rapid economic growth during the 1960s and the government took full credit for the new prosperity. As Stanley Payne has noted,

5. The name Falange was largely replaced during the 1950s by the term National Movement. Officially the Falange has no legal status as a formal organization since all political parties were banned in 1967.

"the official ideologists of the regime have based their political apologia not on ideological theories but on the success of the regime in achieving industrialization and technological modernization." 6

In accordance with the advice of the moderates within the cabinet, Franco permitted a very gradual and limited political liberalization to accompany economic development policies. The liberalization program called for some relaxation of press controls, revisions in the penal code, and more freedom of religion and expression. A certain amount of divergence would be allowed, but there would be no increased political participation on the part of the citizenry, and the fate of those who demanded more rapid change than Franco would permit served as an effective warning to the majority of Spaniards.

Rising prosperity and increased opportunities for employment plus a gradual softening of repression were generally successful in maintaining a low level of militancy, and those who remained militant could be severely repressed without creating much of a public furor. In the face of these policies, opposition groups found it difficult to increase their numbers or effectiveness.

The situation of the opposition in Spain during the 1960s and early 1970s was rather misleading to outside observers primarily because certain individuals and groups openly criticized the government, thereby giving the impression that they were more secure and powerful than was actually the case. In reality, the degree of activity permitted the opposition depended upon the extent to which they were perceived as being innocuous to the regime.

For purposes of analysis, Juan Linz has categorized the opposition under three general headings: the semiopposition within the regime, the alegal opposition, and the illegal opposition. The semiopposition, comprised of critics who are or were part of the regime, often supports policies somewhat different from those in favor with Franco and his political elite of the moment. They are tolerated and largely ignored because they do not provide a real political alternative, and their credibility has been reduced by their collaboration with the regime. Since they operate within the system, they are not viewed as a substantial threat by the government.

The alegal opposition, made up of intellectuals, Christian Democrats, dissident monarchists, and some important figures in the world of finance, is also tolerated by the government, for their protests generally stay within the framework of the system and many of them retain ties with people who are or were members of the regime. Like the semiopposition they do not present a particularly viable alternative and, while they do make public their

6. Stanley G. Payne, "Political Ideology and Economic Modernization in Spain", *World Politics*, XXV (October, 1972), p. 179.

opinions, their impact is limited by the fact that they are not leaders of organized parties or powerful interest groups.

The illegal opposition, however, is afforded little, if any, toleration. Such groups as the Communist Party, certain socialist factions, anarchists, the Worker's Commissions, and regional nationalist groups in Catalonia and the Basque provinces provide radical alternatives to the present regime and are, therefore, considered threatening. They have been severely repressed whenever possible. ⁷

Historically the opposition's effectiveness has been rather limited. Besides the problem of widespread citizen apathy, the most glaring weakness was reflected in the internal dissension within each faction and the lack of common goals and cooperation among the various groups. As a result they did not exert much collective pressure. The increasing level of dissent and the growth of organized opposition in recent months, however, suggests that the weaknesses of the past may eventually be overcome.

Despite Franco's success to date with respect to the retention of power, it is now becoming apparent that several of his policies and practices have in the end led to serious problems for the regime. It is possible that they may even have jeopardized the old dictator's hope of assuring the continuation of his influence via his hand-picked royal successor, Juan Carlos.

As noted before, several critical and very divisive political, social, and economic issues out of Spain's past were inherited by Franco. In some instances the regime has dealt rather successfully with the nation's traditional problems, particularly in the area of economic development. Nevertheless, deep ideological differences still divide the citizenry, rapid economic growth has not eliminated many of the pockets of rural poverty, the legitimate demands of workers and students have not been satisfied, the regional problem remains unresolved, and the military is still considered by many as the potential arbiter of the nation's political future. The reasons underlying the regime's failure to deal realistically and effectively with such issues are numerous, but of prime importance has been Franco's preoccupation with the maintenance of his own power. Changes that would alienate powerful supporters among the upper class, monarchists, clergy and military have been anathema to him. Moreover, he has often refused to respond positively to the demands of even the most moderate dissidents for fear that this might weaken the regime's authoritarian position. These factors, combined with his belief in the political immaturity of the Spanish people, have necessitated a heavy reliance on arbitrarily imposed solutions or denials of the existence of long-standing problems. Consequently, the twilight years of his rule seem

⁷ Juan J. Linz, "Opposition In and Under an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Spain", *Regimes and Oppositions*, ed. Robert A. Dahl (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 191-238.

destined to be shattered by interminable upheaval as opposition to the regime mounts; his successor will be confronted with Spain's age-old conflicts, and the chances for an orderly transition of power and a peaceful period of adjustment will be considerably reduced.

[To be concluded in the issue of September 1975]

LIGHT RETURNED

Three Poems

*A mantle of clouds covers but cannot fog
The evening; a roof of reluctant mirrors,
They return as silver all light below that reaches.*

*

*Bronze, peaceful, the settling rays
Touch an unstirred sea as a flower;
The waters also mirror by simplicity
And a face serene, upturned widely
By faithfulness, the cascading ardour.*

*

*Upon an edgeless verge of sight and love,
The spirit heir by birth and pure askesis
To the fused gold of a dual and future light,
Shall meet the infinite dark indifference
And the jealousy of the night toward a star
With a flame made fuller than a thousand suns.*

Tate

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY — III

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought: Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY: Having assimilated the essential truth underlying Marx's view of man, we can now turn to that aspect of Marxism which makes it particularly relevant to our conditions. In this context we can study Marx's approach under two main concepts. First, history in its entirety is viewed by him not as a series of chaotic occurrences but as a meaningful process with a general direction and a final goal (classless communist society). Secondly, the actual process of history is seen as one continually involving class struggle, the ultimate cause underlying all historical change and evolution being the evolution of the forces of production. Taking the former concept first, it needs to be noted that the meaningful and goal-directed evolution of history as conceived by Marx imparts to his theory an unusually powerful and inspiring quality. Victory being certain, difficulties and contradictions instead of being occasions for despair are converted into the very conditions for social progress. In India, on the other hand, a philosophy of history has hitherto been totally lacking, and it is this which is the ultimate support for the widely prevalent disposition to refrain from serious and whole-hearted commitment to the processes of social life and history. It is

necessary, therefore, to go to the root of this question—not specifically Marx's philosophy of history which, being based on dialectic, we can take to have been refuted, but the absolutely fundamental issue concerning the significance of a philosophy of history as such.

It was Kant who was the first to clearly formulate the issues involved in, and the necessity for, a philosophy of history. History, it has been said, is little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind. If so, not history alone but life itself appears meaningless. What is it all for? Why must man live and endure at all? If life is meaningful and a moral life represents its fulfilment, history cannot be an irrational process but must also be a meaningful and ultimately moral process. For individual life and history (which is the record of social life) are merely two facets of human life in general; and if the one is meaningless, it stands to reason that the other too is without meaning. Kant thus makes explicit the integral relation between significance in individual life, and purpose in history; and it is in this inseparable association of the two that he finds the imperative for a philosophy of history. His own clue, as he calls it, towards a solution of the

apparently cruel, contradictory and senseless nature of history, is that it can be seen to be meaningful if we transfer our attention from individual historical occurrences to the entire human species. What appears incoherent from an individual point of view becomes intelligible from the larger perspective of the species. And the conflicts that we see are the device of nature to ensure the development and expression of the potentialities latent in man: "But for these anti-social properties, unlovely in themselves, whence springs the antagonism every man necessarily meets with in regard to his own egoistic pretensions, men might have lived the life of Arcadian shepherds, in perfect harmony, satisfaction and mutual love, their talents remaining for ever undeveloped in the bud."

Now when we turn from the issues raised by Kant, to the dominant Indian philosopher, Shankara, we are struck by the extraordinary fact that the problem never presented itself to him in the manner propounded by Kant. Meaning in life and meaning in history were simply never seen as having any interrelation whatsoever, the connection being bypassed by the marvellous concept of Maya. Brahman is the sole reality which, in the words of Hiriyanne: "appears both as the objective universe and as the individual subject. The former is an illusory manifestation of Brahman, while the latter is Brahman itself appearing under the limitations which form part of that illusory universe." Diversity as such having been denied as illusory, there remains no necessity to seek any principle of coherence such as Kant thought imperative. While it is impossible to withhold one's admiration for the sweep and subtlety of Shankara's philosophic genius, it is equally not possible to conceal the bitter fact that the tenor of his philosophy is world-negating in the highest

degree. For by placing the naked sword of Maya between the jiva (the individual soul manifested in the world) and all else, it drives every individual in the last resort into his own little private shell. Specifically, the life of action is accorded an inferior, almost contemptible status, being permissible for the ignorant alone; and the sphere of action itself, jagat, the world, is totally obliterated, being but a superimposition of name and form on Brahman.

Therefore, that great hero of modern India, Swami Vivekananda—who felt with such burning passion the misery and degradation of the country that he was once led to exclaim, "I do not believe in a God or religion that cannot wipe the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth"—strove with all the force of his leonine strength to impart an affirmative, vigorous and powerful philosophy to an enfeebled and dying nation. Though he remained formally a follower of Shankara, he became a channel for the entry of dynamic new ideas into the old, debilitated theory and the impotent society that clung to it. On the one hand, he elevated karma, works, to a status at least equal to that of jnana, knowledge; and indeed went so far as to insist, "so long as even a dog is starving in my country my only religion will be to feed it". On the other hand, he appropriated for Indian thought the theory of biological evolution; he incorporated it in the general course of the cyclic evolution of nature as understood in Sankhya and gave it a profound significance by unveiling its direction: the manifestation of the divinity latent in all life. Moreover, into a society based upon crass privilege and disposed to treat this condition as a law of nature, he hurled like a thunderbolt his revolutionary proclamation that history is

a record of the successive domination of the four great castes; and that the coming age belongs to the sudras, the humiliated, exploited and untouchable masses.

But despite these great and stirring ideas, there was one task which he did not perform, one limitation which remained: he failed to develop a coherent philosophy of history which would tie together the meaning of individual life with the meaning of social life and history. And without this, social action could not but in the last analysis appear largely pointless even to him. Thus he repeatedly states his conviction that the ills of society are like rheumatism in the human body: if you drive them from one place they will go to another. Action, karma, is good ultimately not for what it does for society but for what it achieves by way of purification for the doer. Behind this failure of the great Swami to formulate a philosophy of history, lay the incompatibility of Maya with evolution, the contradiction between a view which perceives no inherent meaning in jagat and a view which sees in it a growing mass of possibilities. After Swami Vivekananda, the choice was either to go back to Maya or forward with evolution. It was left to Sri Aurobindo to terminate this unstable alliance and to forge ahead with evolution.

Sri Aurobindo, whose first great task was the refutation of Maya, gave a cosmic scope to all earlier concepts of evolution by relating it to the larger and profounder tendencies of nature on the one side, and by placing the process of social life and history at the head of this unwavering, inexorable stream of general evolution, on the other. Matter, Life, Mind form an ascending series in the progression which is evolution. Human history, forming part as it does of this progression, has the same goal, an identical inner meaning

and purpose: the ascent to and expression of the Divine. Jagat is not mithya, false, but a realm of purpose and value. Man is not to turn back from nature and life and society as so many entanglements, but is to act and impinge upon them with full force for the fulfilment of the divine purpose—always, however, in a spirit of self-surrender. Evolution and human history have so far been proceeding with little or no conscious participation in its purposes by its agents; but man has it in him to grasp the sense of history, the flow of evolution and thus consciously to hasten the next step, the advent of the Supemind, the Truth-Consciousness. Man, therefore, not only may but must strive for the unravelling and finding of a clue to the present evolutionary crisis of mankind. India, which has a profound role to play, a message to deliver, must resolutely tackle its own crying problems and stand forth before the world as one of the largest instruments for the resolution of the crisis humanity is faced with.

Here, then, we have for the first time in our history a conscious, explicit and full-blooded philosophy which reconciles significance in individual life with purpose in social life and history, which unlike Marxism is in the full spiritual tradition of India without being world-negating in the slightest degree. The inspiring quality of Marxism, to which a reference was made above, is herein automatically incorporated by Sri Aurobindo,

PROCESS OF HISTORY: We can now turn to the other point concerning Marxism, that relating to the process of history. According to Marx, the cause underlying all historical change and evolution is ultimately a single one: the evolution and growth of the forces of production which alter the modes of production, which in their turn transform

the entire social structure and cultural values, etc. Marx's argument is that men have to produce to eat and exist, and to do so they have necessarily to act upon nature in some organised way. But in so doing they automatically act upon one another. For in order to produce at all they must enter into definite connections and relations with one another; and only within these social connections and relations does their action become productive. Now, it is obvious that the character of these social relations cannot be the same in, say, the stone age when certain kinds of implements were used, and in the industrial age when highly sophisticated technology is employed. In other words, the nature or character of the means of production themselves has a determining effect on the character of social relations. As the means of production change and develop, therefore, there occurs a corresponding change and development in the relations of production. The windmill produces one kind of society (feudal), the steam engine another (capitalist). So far so good. There can be little quarrel with these great insights of Marx. But now he comes forth with more doubtful propositions. He wants us to believe, first, that all historical or epochal changes take place only as a result of developments in the forces of production. We have already agreed that if the forces of production change radically, a consequent change in the relations of production will inevitably take place. But Marx's point is that this is the only way changes take place: "At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. . . . From forms of development of the productive force these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution." He asserts, further, that the philosophical beliefs,

political ideas, legal principles and indeed the state itself are all a "reflection" of or a superstructure on the relations of production which constitute the true foundation of any social order. He affirms, finally, that the actual process of change as a result of the contradiction between forces and relations of production, involving as it does a rearrangement or new-formation of the relations of production, takes place through a struggle of the classes that constitute the original relations of production. Class struggle indeed, he goes on to assert, is the normal condition of any society.

Now if we critically examine these three ideas we will find that, though not wholly true, they are not wholly false either. Indeed, we will rarely find Marx completely off the mark, which is not altogether surprising in view of his towering intellect and deep scholarship. Taking the first of the above ideas, we have accepted that a development of the forces of production must react on the relations of production. But, in view of Marx's exclusive emphasis on this, two questions arise: Has there really been a continuous development in the forces of production from ancient to feudal and on to bourgeois epochs? Has this development been the only factor in changing the economic structure of society? It is becoming natural for us today to think of a continuous development of scientific techniques in an endless sequence. But did such development really take place from — to take Marx's own example — the ancient Roman society to the feudal society? It did not. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that there perhaps occurred a loss in knowledge and techniques and hence in Marx's "forces of production" as well. The true change that took place was the breakdown of the Roman Empire, the destruction

of the one centralising authority over Europe. This, indeed, is the characteristic feature of all periods that are designated "feudal" — the breakdown of central authority and the consequent and inevitable reorganisation of society on a smaller, hierarchical pattern. The second element in this "development" to feudalism was the "ideology" of Christianity. Epochal changes, therefore, have occurred and will occur again whenever a basic change in political organisation (not merely dynastic) takes place, regardless of the development or otherwise of the forces of production.

A yet more fundamental difficulty with this theory is that it has no clear explanation to offer as to how and why the forces of production themselves develop. We are expected to take it on the authority perhaps of the dialectic that, as a commentator puts it, "the forces of production unfold from within by their own inherent momentum and create their own expressions in the institutions and the ideology of a society". More specifically, the theory fails totally to account for India's particular evolution. Why did India, which possessed the requisite scientific knowledge, never develop a technology and an industrial civilisation? Why did the forces of production not "unfold from within" here also? This is a question that is dealt with fully in a later part of this essay, and it will suffice at this point merely to note that we have here yet another instance of an inherent limitation of Marxism coming to light when the doctrine is sought to be applied to India. India's ethos, her sense of values and vision of life, her specific historic evolution, are all unintelligible in terms of the concepts of Marx alone. It is no wonder, therefore, that his philosophy should have failed to stir the imagination of the people.

The second notion of Marx involves two

ideas: that changes in epoch take place as a result of the contradiction between the forces and the relations of production when the latter become a fetter in the course of the growth of the former; and, that the relations of production constitute the real foundation of a society—legal and political ideas as well as philosophy, literature, etc., represent a mere superstructure. As regards the first point, we have already shown that continuous development of the forces of production has not in fact taken place in history, that the change in Europe itself from ancient to feudal society did not involve a development of the forces of production. The contention that contradiction between the forces and the relations of production is the ultimate cause of epochal changes cannot, therefore, be accepted. Significantly, this explanation of revolutionary transformation is not applicable even to the changes brought about by those who claim to be followers of Marx himself. The communist revolutions have occurred not in nations and societies where one would have thought "material conditions already present", but in relatively or absolutely non-industrialised countries. It was not the contradiction between the developed forces of production and the incongruous relations of production that led to the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese or Cuban revolutions. On the contrary, the revolutions by first altering the relations of production have everywhere created totally new forces of production—which is exactly the reverse of what the theory posits.

The other point involved in the concept of Marx stated above pertains to the position of ideas in general. We can deal with this issue from two points of view or under two kinds of situations: in the period of revolutionary change of epoch, and within a specific

epoch. In the period of social revolution a "distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production . . . and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short ideological—forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out". In other words, the essence of the situation is the material transformation and not men's thinking or ideology which later is merely a form in which they "become conscious of it and fight it out". It follows, therefore, that no revolution can occur merely because of the thought and action of revolutionaries so long as the stage of contradiction of material life has not been reached. As already pointed out, the practice of the Marxists does not at all conform to this formula. Che Guevara, the most charismatic of revolutionaries, recommends that the revolution should be started through guerilla activity in rural areas without waiting for or even considering the ripeness of material conditions. So too Castro; and he did succeed in Cuba. This is a plain reversal of Marx's theory; and indeed were it not for the intellectual dishonesty of Marxists which leads them to accept whatever succeeds anywhere on earth as, "Marxism in the epoch of imperialism or neo-colonialism" (or whatever is the latest cant phrase), the link with Marx's theory (though not necessarily the general inspiration from Marx) would have been snapped long ago.

Lenin himself started the process of making the connection with Marx a tenuous one when he declared that "the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade-union consciousness", not "Social Democratic consciousness . . . [which] could only be brought to them from without". Lenin was not taken very seriously

by West European Marxist intellectuals; but when he succeeded, Marxism-Leninism became the new orthodoxy and Kautsky was branded a revisionist. And Trotsky, one of the greatest leaders of the revolution, was condemned as a Menshevik—because he had not the cunning to retain power. Mao Tse Tung, devoting himself to the peasantry instead of the working class, was considered heretical until his success became a definite possibility; and now "Mao Tse Tung thought" has acquired the status of an alternative orthodoxy. Mao, moreover, has been sending students and even workers to rural areas for being educated in correct ideology, as though Marxism is a philosophy of peasants. Evidently, the connection of all these rival orthodoxies with Marx's theory as such is largely a matter of dogma. In certain other countries the general inspiration of Marx admittedly exists, but this is not the same thing as theoretical continuity. Not his specific leading ideas or basic theoretical framework, but the very general notion that the world is not just to be interpreted but changed; and that this change must involve an alteration in the relationship of classes—this is about all that the best of Marxists with all their talk about dialectic really believe. For the rest, their concern is with the methods of capturing power; which range from genuine revolutionary activity in Latin America to humdrum politics in India like any other bourgeois party. This is claimed to be "living Marxism"; in fact it represents dead Marx.

The other situation to be considered is that of ideas in a definite epoch. Marx's assertion that each epoch has its own ideological and cultural superstructure issuing from the economic foundations of society was an important statement so long as the economic factor had not been taken note of; for it can

be used for the purpose of distinguishing the culture of one epoch from that of another. But once it is accepted, difficulties at once arise. For one thing, it can tell us little, if anything, about the specific cultural content of any given epoch. It may well happen, as in fact it does, that the same productive forces and relations of production result in quite different cultures over different national groupings. The evolution of West European nations has been broadly similar in respect to the forces of production, but that the culture of each has its own characteristic mould and distinct personality not unrelated to the presence or otherwise of Catholicism, is something which has never been questioned. Cultures, therefore, have a reality which goes beyond economic roots, though they may indeed derive some, at least, of their immediate concerns from the latter. That is why we have a hard-headed revolutionary like Mao Tse

Tung telling his party: "Marxism must take a national form before it can be applied. If a Chinese communist, who is a part of great Chinese people, bound to his people his very flesh and blood, talks of Marxism apart from Chinese peculiarities, this Marxism is merely an empty abstraction. Consequently, the sinification of Marxism — that is to say, making certain that in all of its manifestations it is imbued with Chinese peculiarities—becomes a problem that must be understood and solved by the whole party without delay." Again, "If we have only received this theory but have not used it as a basis for research in China's historical and revolutionary actuality, have not created a theory in accordance with China's real necessities, then it would be irresponsible to call ourselves Marxist theoreticians."

[To be continued]

THE LEAP SYSTEM AND MANKIND

Gerhard Hirschfeld

Political corruption, economic exploitation, social injustice on a global scale have brought modern society to a state of material deterioration and moral decay. The need is for a mankind-oriented society, not governed by self-satisfaction and self-interest but by the interests of all mankind.

This will require a new awareness of mankind's emergence as a meaningful entity; a new understanding of its enormous significance; a new perspective of its problems and opportunities; a new insight into human motivations and social relationships in the mankind framework—in brief, a revolution in human thought. What is being done today is not very effective, either in correcting deterioration and decay, or in bringing us closer to the mankind-oriented society. What, then, about the new meaning?

Revolution in human thought means more than a mere change in our approach to mankind problems such as the threat of thermonuclear war, pollution, population, illiteracy, poverty, drug addiction. It means the development of new concepts, the design of new tools and methods, the formulation of new leadership principles. Above all, it means the development of new speed concepts. For better than half a century, nations have tried to establish global cooperation; reformers have sought to modernize education; the effort to give a voice to the starving, illiterate, disenfranchised people, making up half the

world population, is practically ageless.

We have wasted much time. The mankind-oriented society will be realized not by tiny steps but by big leaps. Such leaps for quick results marked the past development of scientific technology; of modern nations like Russia, China, Israel; of explorations like space and submarine vegetation.

If the leap system were applied to current mankind problems, we might see old problems in new clothing. Mankind education can begin at a very early age, as long as it is communicated by sound and vision. Infants can be exposed to mankind-inspired and mankind-oriented compositions such as a Bach Fugue, Beethoven's "An die Freude" from his Ninth Symphony; quotations from the prophets of the Bible, the Sermon on the Mount, Akhenaton, Asoka, William Shakespeare, Ralph Waldo Emerson, many others. Children would try to imitate some of the words and music, which would gradually become part of their vocabulary, personality, character, sense of beauty, longing and aspiration.¹

Global radio and television satellites such as Prometheus and Krishna, proposed by the late Professor Oliver L. Reiser, might be used to speed up mass education in devel-

1. Adapted from the Japanese music teacher Shinichi Suzuki; see *Reader's Digest*, (November 1973), p. 289 ff.

oping countries. 2

In the mankind-oriented society, people would feel neither inferior to those in power, nor superior to those of different race, color or nationality, but share mankind loyalty, and adopt new mankind concepts of speed and efficiency, equally and globally in serving the good of mankind.

By the same token, leaders would not be any more important because they have special talents or authority; they would be servants of mankind the same as the people. Their

talents would cause them to owe greater responsibility to society, and thus entitle them to greater recognition and honor by the people. Nature has prescribed for the leaders to render a different service than it has prescribed for the people. But the same principle of duty to society, the same respect for the dignity and the rights of the people would prevail.

It is in and through the leap system, in and through the thinking in mankind terms, that the new awareness, the new understanding, the new perspective and insight must build the foundation for the mankind-oriented society.

2. Oliver L. Reiser, *Cosmic Humanism* (Cambridge, Mass : Schenkman Publishing Co., 1966), p. 552 ff.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND UNITY

World Union Consciousness—XVII

T. Govindarajan

(In the sixteenth article of this series, the discussion centred round the junior or elementary school as a continuation of the Montessori nursery school. The junior school serves the six to twelve year old child. Froebel and Montessori envisage an education which will give prominence to the understanding and appreciation of the "ever-living unity that is in all things". The junior school has to be related to the wider life of the community and is to be regarded as a place for "a preparation for going out". The child develops a moral as well as a social consciousness.)

The child in the junior or elementary school is full of curiosity and energy. The whole world is open to him; its mysteries and wonders will naturally rouse the interest of a normal child. His environment, wider and no longer protected, should stimulate the impulse to learning. The basic principle is that at every stage, the impulse to education should come from the pupil. If a child has had a proper educational environment from the beginning, a good teacher can always evoke his keen interest in learning. The teacher is a friend and guide, not an authoritarian. The child thus learns faster, feels no boredom or fatigue, and the teacher can depend upon his personal initiative. When this initiative is active, new pathways of knowledge open.

The junior school stage is mainly concerned with implanting elementary skills. The teacher obviously plays an important role in this process. More than simply being an expert in academic subjects, he should have a substantial knowledge of how human nature develops; that is, his professional training should be adequate for his work.

A most essential feature of the curriculum at the junior school stage is the provision for the study of at least two languages, and if possible three. One of them naturally is the mother tongue; and another or the other should be that language which best brings the pupil into contact with the rest of the world. This second language should have the merits of a flexibility and vigour able to convey all significant knowledge, and the inherent strength and

popularity to become at some stage the lingua franca of the planet. A common language will enable direct communication and thus help lead to understanding and an emotional fraternity as well.

English has an overwhelming claim to serve as the international language. Of course, here and there voices may rise in protest, but unbiased opinion is likely to favour its adoption. It is needless to expatiate the merits of the English language for this role. If English is the mother tongue, the second (and perhaps third) language may be of a neighbouring country and/or any other chosen. If a country, like India or the Soviet Union, has several languages within her national frontiers, the local language, the national language, and English may all be studied. A uni-lingual, non-English speaking state could adopt a three language formula: the local language, English, and perhaps the language of a neighbouring country.

Thus universally organising language education at the junior school level, a major step toward education for world-union consciousness will be taken. For man builds harmony on the basis of communication, replacing confrontation.

The desirability self-evident, is it pedagogically advisable to impose two or three languages at the junior school stage? Many eminent psychologists and educationists agree that the child at this stage would not feel even a three language curriculum a burden. For it is during this time that the child has immense reserves of energy that can be drawn upon; and, importantly, the sensitive period for language assimilation is then in full bloom. The capacity for learning languages is thus at its optimum during this period of mental growth, and the potential should be fully utilised. The child does not, at this age, confuse one language with another. Though the facility in the mother tongue would be of a high standard, one or more additional languages can be learnt without mixing idioms or syntax.

The age of colonisation of vast areas of Asia, Africa and America by the industrially advancing nations of the West, created circumstances where education, at least of a minority in the colonial regions, had perforce to be organised on the basis of a two language formula: the local language and the language of the colonising power. India affords an example of a country where, during the days of British hegemony, a minority became well-versed in another language; but too often at the cost of the mother tongue. The same could perhaps be said of the French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish colonies which, along with the British, covered practically the whole globe before the Second World War.

Of course, colonisation in the last two centuries has had both powerful negative and positive effects. The colonised countries were subjected to economic exploitation, and they often as well lost their cultural moorings; but they were at the same time exposed to a new and vigorous, revolutionising culture which brought certain blessings. The founding of political and economic empires in many parts of the world brought about a meeting of

great cultures; particularly those of the Orient and the Occident. A new composite culture was born and continues to grow. And it will, perhaps, not be stretching historical interpretation too far to call the collision and mutual absorption of cultures a great historic force (perhaps divinely ordained) of immeasurable importance for the good of all mankind.

Through this meeting, there was an expansion of the human mind; new dimensions in all fields emerged; new relationships were forged; ethical values were invigorated; cultures based on the material reality and those founded on the non-material, the spiritual reality, met to understand each other and interact; the encounter of rationalism and faith gave a new blend to thought and action; ideas of democracy, socialism, equality, freedom and liberty began to act. Ideas of human brotherhood and world union at the social, political and economic levels (ideas which had hitherto remained nebulous and present only among a few evolved souls), gathered a new vigour and entered into the consciousness of ever growing numbers of people. The role of the European colonisers in thus creating a new awakening among the large masses of people in the Orient cannot be dismissed as having been trivial or marginal. The languages through which these unifying forces were carried in both directions were definitely Western.

With this background of the growth enabled by shared language—an evolutionary as much as a revolutionary process—the utility of purposefully cultivating on a world scale the bond of a common language becomes even clearer. So it is that this plea is made for universal adoption of a two language or, still better, a three language formula at the junior school stage.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY, PEASANT REVOLUTIONS AND THE POLARIZATION OF GLOBAL TENSIONS

Part I: The Cambodian Revolution as a Form of Cultural and National Isolationism

Henry Winthrop

1. Rise of Popular Interest in Foreign Policy

Americans are currently experiencing a dramatic surge of interest in foreign policy. In part, this surge of interest has resulted from the fall of Cambodia to the Khmer Rouge and the fall of Thieu's South Vietnam to the combined forces of North Vietnam and the various groups of insurgent and revolutionary forces that operated underground against the Thieu government. In part, it has been produced by the unexpected appearance of Marxist strains of thought in certain revolutionary elements among the military in such nations as Portugal and Ethiopia. Perhaps the most potent cause of our current and increasing national interest in foreign policy and international relations has been the general recognition that the fate of the U. S. is now inextricably linked with that of other nations because our world has become an interdependent network of nations. This interdependency has also brought on the recognition that all nations are now facing the highest levels of social complexity in history. In addition, Americans are discovering that raw materials shortages,

overpopulation and ecological imbalances reflect situations with which every nation is currently struggling.

This surge of popular interest in American foreign policy—its rationale, its objectives, its implementation and its consequences—is clearly a proper response to the historical crises through which the world is now passing, in this, the last quarter of the twentieth century. It means that the political innocence—at least on the international level—of the general run of our citizens is ending. It also means that the average taxpayer is beginning to recognize that among the forces in the near future that will be determining the fate of our country will be important, often tragic, events that will be taking place elsewhere. In this sense the remarks of President Ford, following the collapse of South Vietnam and Cambodia in May 1975, to the effect that the consequences of the Southeast Asian collapse will not be shattering for the West and particularly the U.S., may yet prove to have been an ostrich-like evasion of reality. So, too, may be the assurances issued by Dr. Henry Kissinger at the time.

There is a reason why national govern-

mental leaders all over the world, as well as many scholars and intelligent laymen interested in contemporary international affairs and social change on the international level, fail to sense the meaning of much that is now happening. We are mute witnesses to some of the greatest historical changes of all time. "System breaks" are occurring with breathtaking rapidity before our eyes, but Western leaders view the significant historical dramas that are now unfolding in terms of mental models utterly inappropriate for understanding these events. These are the models that have been explicitly or implicitly employed quite regularly in a number of contexts: diplomacy; international relations; trade treaties; cultural exchanges; peace treaties that punitively incorporate special advantages for the victor; the protection of private and public investment abroad; Monroe Doctrines that are eventually translated geopolitically into guarantees of the hegemony of a strong power in some faraway corner or area of the globe; informal arrangements that ensure the financial and power elites of the technologically advanced nations of the West and of Japan that their values and selfish concerns will be dominant factors in the framing of foreign policy; the guarantee of security for the new types of colonialism, in the form of financial and industrial investment (multinational corporations), that have been so characteristic of the post-WW II period; and many other of the routine goals of foreign policy that are now frustrating a patient and long-suffering world. In addition, the models of traditional foreign policy and diplomacy include conferences that degenerate into debating forums in which the representatives of advantaged nations deliver admirable examples of humanitarian rhetoric but make certain to preserve every selfish advantage they have,

rather than make the sacrifices that would actually improve the condition of man.

The one characteristic of all these models is that they try to freeze history for those nations that are in the saddle. Unfortunately, when national leadership operates with models that attempt to freeze history, so that one's national interests are met stably and well, the human central nervous system produces a backlash of its own. It makes Western leadership, particularly that found in the U.S., utterly blind to the momentous social and international changes now taking place all over the globe, so that such leadership is unable to read the testimony of history and unable to discern the first outlines of an emerging future that will ruthlessly ignore the models by which the advantaged nations of the world view events. The meaning of the changes now taking place are, I think, largely beyond the comprehension of President Ford and his advisors, largely incomprehensible to British Tory governments, largely distorted by the Pompidous or D'Estaings of France or the "moderate" government leaders of Italy, etc. That is why history will probably pass by the United States if its present leadership remains in the saddle. Kissinger's assurances issue from another source. He is, I am sure, quite aware of the momentous forces of history that are now rolling over us like tidal waves. His assurances, I am inclined to believe, do not issue from out-of-date models. He is too intelligent for such intellectual inelasticity. Rather his assurances proceed from a desire to retain power, prestige and influence by reinforcing the archaic and maladaptive outlooks of various American power elites.

Blithe evaluations of historically significant social change can no longer be taken seriously when such evaluations issue from ad hoc

models of thought, that is, from models that emphasize the current relations and interests of the countries involved and that look forward only to such adjustments of these relations as will be of benefit to both sides. GATT and the Kennedy Round are typical examples of such ad hoc models. The coming effort on the part of the U.S. and Cuba to achieve some sort of rapprochement will constitute a future example of such an ad hoc model. Nor can evaluations that stem from diplomatic juggling to make current foreign policy work for us rather than for the other side, be counted upon to provide a matrix for determining what the effects of international social change—particularly Marxist revolutions—will be upon the stability and security of a great power like our own. Diplomatic juggling and diplomatic models in most cases—though not all, of course—have one conspicuous deficiency. Almost always—as I have already remarked—they try to freeze history. Nothing is more inane and more inhumane than to try to preserve international relations that served a purpose yesteryear but are poorly adapted to new forces at play in the contemporary world. Such international relations make little provision for an imagined and sought after future that, at present, is an ideal in embryo but an ideal that—lodged in the hearts and minds of millions—will be acting as midwife to the birth of a wholly new future. But such a coming future is certain to make the whistling in the dark of President Ford and the blithe assurances of Henry Kissinger, a kind of historical provincialism that will be most puzzling to future historians.

Let us return then to the possible impact on mankind of revolutions that have been successful and have been brought about by well-disciplined and well-organized human

effort. The revolutions in Cambodia and South Vietnam have proven to be revolutions of this nature. Even more impressive is the fact that the ideological leadership in both countries—as well as Laos, too, for that matter—has constructed a design for living that it seeks to usher into being. That leadership has a blueprint for a new social order that it hopes will serve human potentials, eliminate the exploitation of men, end post-WW II colonialism of the economic, financial and military types, and liquidate the social pathologies of industrialization and urbanization. Industrialization and urbanization are two processes that have run wild, both in the West and in nations greatly influenced and manipulated by the West in the recent past.

If new forms of society emerge from the revolutions of Cambodia and South Vietnam and probably, very shortly, also from Laos, the West will simply not be able to remain marginal to these revolutions. Either the nations of the West themselves will be forced to move somewhat in the direction of improved social orders, turning their backs to some degree on some of the archaisms of their own pasts, or these nations will be forced to become rigid in order to make no drastic changes of any sort in their social structures. In either case the revolutions of Southeast Asia will have definitely produced shattering effects upon the West—President Ford and Henry Kissinger, notwithstanding.

2. The Possible Significance of the Peasant Revolution

The revolution in Cambodia, for instance, may prove to be one of the great changes to which the nations of the West would like

to remain marginal but will find it impossible to do so. Thus Sydney H. Schanberg, *New York Times* correspondent in Cambodia, reports the following from Bangkok:

"The victorious Cambodian Communists, who marched in Phnom Penh on April 17, ending five years of war in Cambodia, are carrying out a peasant revolution that has thrown the entire country into upheaval.

"Perhaps as many as three or four million people, most of them on foot, have been forced out of the cities and sent on a mammoth and grueling exodus into areas deep in the countryside where, the Communists say, they will have to become peasants and till the soil.

"No one has been excluded—even the very old, the very young, the sick and the wounded have been forced onto the roads—and some will clearly not be strong enough to survive.

"The old economy of the cities has been abandoned and for the moment money means nothing and cannot be spent. Barter has replaced it.

"All shops have either been looted by Communist soldiers for such things as watches and transistor radios, or their goods have been taken away in an organized manner to be stored as communal property.

"Even the roads that radiate out of the capital and that carried the nation's commerce have been virtually abandoned, and the population along the roads, as well as that in all cities and towns that remained under the control of the American-backed government, has been pushed into the interior.

"Apparently the areas into which the evacuees are being herded are at least 65 miles from Phnom Penh.

"In sum the new rulers—before their overwhelming victory they were known as the Khmer Rouge—appear to be remaking

Cambodian society in the peasant image, casting aside everything that belonged to the old system, which was generally dominated by the cities and towns and by the elite and merchants who lived there. . . .

"Judging from their present actions, it seems possible that they may largely isolate their country of perhaps seven million people from the rest of the world for a considerable time—at least until the period of upheaval is over, the agrarian revolution takes concrete shape and they are ready to show their accomplishments to foreigners. . . .

"Was this just cold brutality, a cruel and sadistic imposition of the law of the jungle, in which only the fittest will survive? Or is it possible that, seen through the eyes of the peasant soldiers and revolutionaries, the forced evacuation of the cities is a harsh necessity?

"Perhaps they are convinced that there is no way to build a new society for the ordinary man, hitherto exploited, without literally starting from the beginning; in such an unbending view, people who represent the old ways and those considered weak or unfit would be expendable and would be weeded out. Or was the policy both cruel and ideological?"¹

It should be noted that the Cambodian military do not call themselves Communists. They refer to themselves as liberation troops or nationalist troops and call one another "brother", the Khmer equivalent of "comrade". This distinction seems to be borne out by the fact that the Cambodians initially gave the indignant citizens of East Germany and the USSR, who were rounded up in Phnom Penh immediately after the fall of that city, the same rough and inconsiderate treatment that our newspapers reported they gave to

1. Reported in the *Tampa Tribune*, 9 May 1975.

other nationals. These facts suggest that the Cambodian blueprint for a new social order is likely to be very much different from either that of the USSR and countries that seek to follow the Soviet model or from the model that inspired China. It is also very likely to be different from the models of Communism found in industrializing countries like Yugoslavia. All of which reinforces the growing recognition in the West that Communism is no longer a monolithic ideology but, instead, has achieved its own type of Marxist social pluralism—a pluralism that leads to polycentric forms of a socialist society. Each of these forms can be a hybrid of Marxist thought and the indigenous culture of the country involved, so that the West will be forced to frame foreign policies that take stock of this basic fact. What form of socialism, then, can we expect the Cambodian peasant revolution to take?

The revolution in Cambodia—where the Khmer Rouge have forced millions to leave the city of Phnom Penh and return to the countryside—may portend one of two possibilities. Since the Khmer Rouge have made it clear that they intend to organize a peasant revolution in Cambodia, the fact that millions have been forced to return to the countryside may be the earliest sign of a regional and community type of decentralization. This would be a type of regional and community decentralization that seeks to reshape both the nation and its regions in terms of the Maoist political philosophy that holds that only rural communities are authentic communities. In this Maoist philosophy cities are seen as tending to become parasitic outgrowths on agri-communes unless constant vigilance is exercised to preserve a proper rural-urban balance. A proper rural-urban balance obtains when

highly industrialized and urbanized metropolises serve the countryside of a nation and not the other way around.

On the other hand, the trek to the countryside that has been forced upon the teeming millions of Phnom Penh and other cities may presage only an effort to purify the minds and hearts of millions of urban residents that have lost touch with basic realities—basic realities, of course, in terms of the ideological outlook of the Khmer Rouge. When the Khmer Rouge leadership has satisfied itself that the work of purification has been completed, they may allow a large fraction of the millions of Cambodians who were driven out of Cambodian cities to return to them. After all, the Chinese also drove out city-dwellers for purposes of “purification” and later—satisfied that life in the countryside had cleansed the souls of millions of decadent city-dwellers—the Maoist regime allowed them to return to the big cities. It is too early to predict which of these two possibilities reflects the political thinking of the Khmer Rouge. We may find, in fact, that as the peasant revolution makes headway under Khmer Rouge leadership, both objectives may receive some degree of expression, namely, a period of purification followed later by planned and systematic efforts at regional and urban decentralization.

On the other hand, we should not overlook the possibility that the Cambodian revolution may emerge as a full-blown Marxist revolution that—despite all its blueprints for a society superior to that of the decadent West—matures into a full-blown authoritarian tyranny. It may, instead, wind up as a mixed economy. Cambodia may yet prove to be a country that will be primarily agricultural, yet one that

devotes itself to the goals of economic growth and technological progress, in exactly the fashion that has been characteristic of other developing economies of The Third World. Years from now, any Cambodian ideology that continues to stress a peasant revolution and/or urban and industrial decentralization, may prove to be rhetorical only and nothing more. For the present, however, we can assume that the peasant revolution—in its later stages—may, in considerable measure, embody some of the leading ideas of decentralist philosophers. We suspect that some of the ideas of decentralist thinkers will be imported into the continued peasant revolution of the Khmer Rouge. Should the Cambodian revolution follow in the footsteps of the Communist giants, the USSR and China, then everything I assume about the potential of the Cambodian peasant revolution for achieving a new type of social order whose roots will be in moderately sized communities of decentralist persuasion, will be starkly in error. In such an eventuality, a decentralist philosophy will simply have no bearing on the future of Cambodia.

The consequences of the momentous global events now occurring will reverberate so widely and so deeply—and in so many ways—that they will probably impact on the average American daily, from here on out. I am not thinking solely of unusual expenditures—such as relief for the refugees of South Vietnam—that can be met only by a rise in the tax load and a possible change in the tax structure that our citizens will have to bear. I am thinking, instead, of considerations of much greater importance, such as, for instance, the geopolitical and international consequences—in relation to

the industrial civilization of the West—of a Southeast Asia that exhibits a common Marxist strain politically, in spite of preserved differences in culture and quality of life.

Or—to focus attention on an even more important event—I am thinking of the peasant revolution of Cambodia, a revolution which *promises* historically to be the first large-scale experiment in urban decentralization and which, if successful, may inspire drastic social reconstruction in countries or regions of the Western world. Thus, the peasant revolution of Cambodia offers a large-scale laboratory exercise for some of the leading ideas of Maoist ideology, in particular the notion that the important communal areas of the world are rural areas and that cities are essentially parasitic upon the countrysides of the world. If Cambodia should largely shut itself off from the world while running a large-scale experiment of this sort, its results will carry consequences, presently unassessable, for the future of humanity. These results will eddy widely, whether the experiment proves a failure or a success.

Everything I have said in this section therefore assumes that the Khmer Rouge will go forward with the peasant revolution and its freight of decentralist ideas. If the Khmer Rouge leadership later abandons this project, then everything I have said in this section will clearly prove to be wide of the mark. My remarks are germane *if, and only if*, the announced peasant revolution, aimed largely at the restoration of the countryside to dominance in the life and culture of Cambodia, is carried out. If it is carried out and if it proves successful, then a famous old adage will have to be applied most pejoratively and postdictively to the assurances of President Ford and Henry Kissinger

— assurances to the effect that the fall of Southeast Asia will have little effect on the Western world. That adage will be, "Whom

the gods destroy, they first make mad!"

*[To be concluded in the issue of
September 1975]*

The principle of self-determination really means this that within every living human creature, man, woman and child, and equally within every distinct human collectivity growing or grown, half-developed or adult there is a self, a being, which has the right to grow in its own way, to find itself, to make its life a full and a satisfied instrument and image of its being. This is the first principle which must contain and overtop all others; the rest is a question of conditions, means, expedients, accommodations, opportunities, capacities, limitations, none of which must be allowed to abrogate the sovereignty of the first essential principle. But it can only prevail if it is understood with a right idea of this Self and its needs and claims. The first danger to the principle of self-determination, as to all others, is that it may be interpreted, like most of the ideals of our human existence in the past, in the light of the ego, its interests and its will towards self-satisfaction. So interpreted it will carry us no farther than before; we shall arrive at a point where our principle is brought up short, fails us, turns into a false or a half-true assertion of the mind and a convention of form which covers realities that are quite the opposite of itself.

—Sri Aurobindo
War and Self-Determination

A SOUL'S ODYSSEY—VIII

Pratibha

[This is the concluding instalment of this series]

As my father had paid the fare for one brief return home from Greece, I didn't venture to ask him to do so a second time. I seized the opportunity offered by a friend who was a successful American commercial artist; he accompanied me on the journey from Crete to Luxemburg, and loaned me the plane fare.

Now, in New York I had the happy chance that, after writing what I then called a "pale blue", rather accurate resume of my studies and working experience, I was admitted to a position in a new experimental children's psychiatric hospital. They desired workers who had special interests and ideas, who wanted to try out better methods of treatment. The building had just been constructed by the New York State government and it had received an architectural award. On the day of inauguration our director gave us these succinct instructions: "The therapy here must be like the architecture: no walls." My function was that of institution teacher; after passing a specialized state examination, I qualified for teaching in reformatories or in the type of institution where I was. It operated exclusively for emotionally disturbed children of school age. Before their acceptance there was a careful screening with a battery of tests so that, if the problem was organic, they were sent to another appropriate corrective hospital. We worked with the most extreme cases of behavioral disorder in our section of the city. Many had been expelled from five schools before the age of eight. Most were illiterate, including those who had attended school till adolescence. They were all in good physical health and of normal intelligence; their handicap was an inordinate excitability. Naturally, the origin of their illness could be traced to the parents, and the threads of the parents' derangement were dissolved in the vortex of communal indeterminateness.

The chief psychiatrist was an influential millionaire who exerted considerable power in the state capital. He considered that the funds allotted for service of some two hundred beds were indeed suitable for the perfect treatment of somewhat less than fifty children. The principal distinctive feature of our method was that there was no punishment. The idea was to break the adamant chain of retroactive pain infliction to which they were relentlessly conditioned. The psychologists on the cognitive team prepared special learning techniques for the foundations of reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as for other common necessities

such as telling time. In the school set-up we were to refashion their image of school by making it pleasing to their inquisitive though troubled intellect; for this purpose we availed ourselves of material allurements like games, creative toys, and a multiple assortment of devices. They were attended by therapists in the fields of art, crafts, music and dance. They also had speech and recreational therapists, and a team of gym teachers in the well-equipped gymnasium. The staff included "guides" who accompanied the children everywhere, often helping them to communicate their needs. Finally, there were the nurses and nurses' aides to administer medication, and care for them at meals, during after-school hours, and at night. Both boys and girls attended cooking, sewing and wood and metal-working classes.

Each teacher was in charge of a class of no more than six children whom were taught mostly in individual shifts. My first pupil was Alicia, an eight year old Puerto Rican girl whose vocabulary consisted of some twenty words. We spent many mornings together in the classroom developing our conversation day by day. My attitude was to remain always the student and to let the child teach me. She began to accumulate a larger and larger pile of children's books which she never tired of reviewing. On Martin Luther King's birthday, as a group of people was entering the hospital for a small ceremony in the auditorium, Alicia uttered her first full sentence: "Wow! Teacher, [she thought that was my given name] look at all those people!" The first time she dared remove her eyeglasses, I saw her unveiled eyes appear to be those of a Buddha. Two years later I was informed that she was the first to leave the hospital to return to a normal school. Ten year old Sharon was the second child I worked with; she had been in psychiatric hospitals since her infancy. When the cognitive expert came to interview her, she amazed us by naming several psychological tests which she didn't want and began to weep. I regarded it an important task to protect my pupils from the cold abstractness of the cognitive methods, for affection is ultimately the true and great means. During the time I worked with Sharon she was writing an interminable novel about a squirrel whose adventures bore a close resemblance to her own daily experiences. Lastly, I was assigned Leatrice and Francis with whom my sympathy was warm but less intimate.

Not only did we conduct our individual classes, but each teacher took on a specialty in order to spend an hour with each of the other classes. One was the science or arithmetic teacher, and so forth; I was the writing teacher. I edited a magazine with mimeographed reproductions of samples of writing from each child. We composed collective poems, and with large-print words I cut out from magazines, they made nice collages. As a reward—it was an effort for them to sit at a desk calmly for any length of time—they eagerly accepted school supplies from the storeroom. I presumed, and rightly so, that everyone loves new pencils, notebooks, rulers, and sharpeners and erasers as much as I do.

The months passed swiftly and for the most part uneventfully. I no longer held

nor attended social gatherings. I was assured by that time that I had faithfully fulfilled my quota of worldly inquiries. The contemporary art, cinema, theater, reflecting the perilous state of our culture, no longer bore any novelty. Chris had been the last with whom I held a reciprocal exchange; for a long time I was bewildered by the inexplicable, and at the same time, unavoidable rupture of our connection. After working hours, I remained in my bedroom at my father's house dedicating myself exclusively to contemplative reflection and to smoking marihuana in great quantity. I underwent a partially unsuccessful operation of a breast tumor; aside from this expense and repaying for the plane fare, I felt morally obligated to defray the expenses for Knut's lawyer, as Knut had previously assisted me in my pecuniary distress. I also kept up a lavish correspondence with him out of compassion. As the school year ended at the hospital, I packed my sparse belongings in a trunk. That, and the bookcases with a few hundred books for which I no longer had use, were left behind as I tentatively set out for India. I had met several modern Western pioneers of the Indian spiritual path, and knew well that the matter was decreed rather from on high. After spending a few days with Madelyn and her husband in their idyllic English cottage, I passed through Munich to visit Knut, and also his family. There the breast tumor was completely removed by a superb surgeon. It was confirmed, upon seeing Knut in the prison, that he was hopelessly involved in an inextricable web of lies, and I therefore opted to cut all ties with him. I then went to Athens where I spent the summer with my friends at the Aegina Art Centre. One day, Linda, a poetess, and Jim and Pat asked me to go overland by bus to India with them. I saw the road open before me.

We reached Turkey after a short ferry ride from the Greek island of Cos. As one of her refined hobbies, Linda liked to dabble in sixteen different oriental languages. Jim only cared about becoming a monk, whether in this or a future lifetime. Pat, his sister, was seventeen; she was one of those who might fittingly answer to the appellation of "hippie". On crossing thousands of miles of Turkish "lunar" landscape, we never saw even one person smile; the same circumstance was observable in Iran. Afghanistan was a welcome relief, never having known foreign rule nor influence; it was like entering into Aladdin's land. After traversing Pakistan, which experience one could almost totally ignore, Linda awoke me at daybreak pointing at the Indian soil. I had no particular fixed idea about where to go; whenever I was ready I would find my Teacher. It was agreed we would go wherever they pleased, and I would be delighted in any case. We headed for Bodh Gaya. The place was suffused with inspired silence; even the small market was pervaded with a quiet flux. The bells and timely chants from the various temples enhanced the atmospheric transparency. There were three monks at the Burmese Bihar where we lived, one of whom we never saw during our stay of one month.

In Benares we dwelled for a fortnight on a houseboat on the Ganges. I deliberated each day whether that water, with its occasional floating corpses of children and

animals, would really purify me; my body always said "no", although I knew there were scientists analyzing the causes for its unpolluted condition. After a brief sojourn in Delhi to collect our new passports, the original ones having been misplaced, I had the imperative need to travel alone. My friends returned to Bodh Gaya for an intensive meditation course. I intended to scale the Himalayas hoping to find the Holder of the knowledge. But before doing that, I had to take rest, as I had undertaken the wearisome journey with my incision stitches hardly healed. I left Delhi by way of a minuscule plane ride to Agra where I duly marveled at its famous shimmering architectural gem. I then went to Khajuraho, long, long before I had glanced at its images in a book, and their impression was indelible. Khajuraho offered not only a timeless but a spaceless expanse to the mind's eye. Those magician sculptors and architects had doubtless been entities from a dimensionless ether. I spontaneously sought for the philosophy underlying such artistic spirituality. On taking LSD there, my mind, used to nimbly pursuing each thought to its logical end, finally ascertained that it could proceed no further; thought, and therefore nature, wouldn't offer up the essential truth. Yet I had often marked that events in life were interrelated as motifs in a work of art are related. I had found the miraculous quite natural at the time of its experience. I had reduced my own physical maintenance to a science of a space-traveling organism. I left off my visit to the Ajanta paintings, and sought repose. Finding Bombay heavily charged with vibrations of terrific magnitude, I set out directly on the boat cruise for Goa. Thousands of hippies had inundated a particular area, wherefrom I directed my steps in an opposite direction. I would have gladly lived in complete solitude near one of the fishing villages, but for a woman this was rather risky. On a little-known beach, I saw three months mildly make their course.

A certain young Spanish fellow, an accomplished painter, was traveling as a humble mendicant; he was on his way to a particular Ashram in Pondicherry that he had heard of. For thirty days we spoke and then decided to unite our lives. He modestly received my open-hearted substantial generosity, but I couldn't bring myself to share a mendicant's life with him. I persuaded him to work with me in America which would enable us to reside in India permanently thereafter on a sound economic basis. We returned to Europe together in the same manner in which we had come separately. We were married in a simple church ceremony among his family in Madrid, thus expediting his entrance into the United States.

I perceived that the foundations of Indian society were divine in their origin, although this verity was obfuscated by superficial strata of falsehood. I wished to probe the Western afflictions from my new Eastern perspective. In New York we opened a small original-design dress boutique with the moderate capital my father provided. There might have been easy success and easier decadence in store for us. It was nonetheless a rude shock for everyone when we abruptly determined to abandon everything within three months.

I had unremittingly examined the sacred Tibetan translations by Evans-Wentz; in the Zen koans I had on occasion discovered a fountain of mystic humor. A book on Tantric art signalized a vaster esoteric advancement. And, upon consultation, the mysterious *I Ching* often prophesized "supreme sublime success". The war in Bangladesh precipitated the following impetuous assertion to my acquaintances: "I prefer to die of starvation in India rather than truckle to its aggressor." I hoped to work in a moneyless community which I expected to discover somewhere. My father impassively volunteered the expense for our direct flight to our definitive goal.

When we arrived at dawn, the first lotuses my eyes had ever beheld were being taken into the Ashram building. It was February 29, 1972. Within hours, my mind and body were immersed for ever and ever in the illimitable grandeur and supremacy, the ineffable power and glory of the Real, of the true and beauteous Avatars, the Mother and Sri Aurobindo.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

THE ONE IN SCIENCE

The first instance of earth exploration promised in last month's column may be the grandest. It must have struck British scientist James Lovelock as very grand when—as *Newsweek* of 10 March 1975 reports—he proposed that

... living matter, the air, the oceans, the land are parts of a gigantic system . . . which seems to "exhibit the behavior of a single organism—even a living creature."

Unwinding backward, we can see what led him to such a pervasive conclusion which looks into lilliputian rooms of biology and ecology through the tiny windows of previous ideas. His supporting perception—that all living things adjust their environment to ensure their sustenance, rather than only vice-versa—is evident from an unexpected example of relationship: subterranean bugs and the stratosphere. Mr. Lovelock and Lynn Maroulis, a Boston University biologist, found that the production of methane gas by bugs in the earth helps transport hydrogen from there to the stratosphere in adequate amounts to eventually maintain the right proportion of oxygen in the lower atmosphere.

Speaking about it, James Lovelock allows the implication that his hypothesis might help adjust scientific thinking toward the rim of oneness.

There are biologists studying bugs on the ground who have noticed that a certain amount of methane was being released, but it didn't mean much to them. And there are aeronomists studying the upper atmosphere who have noticed the methane there but know nothing about bugs.

In another example, he says that according to the laws of chemistry most atmospheric oxygen (and nitrogen) should have entered the sea as nitrate ion. But it hasn't, suggesting it is maintained in our breathing atmosphere by biological processes.

Like many new scientific hypotheses, this one emerged from an unscientific

christening of raw insight. Mr. Lovelock was looking at his first satellite photographs of the earth when it struck him that the thick atmospheric blanket around it looked "like the shell of a snail—a part of a living organism".

When well-intentioned men declare "the world is one" they may not quite have *this* in mind. The shock of a scientific perception which confirms—in Lovelock's image of the ancient Greeks' earth goddess, Gaia—our ancient and modern and humanistic and spiritual ideals of world unity also foreruns a next step of science: the empirical dimension of the unity of humanity within this single organism of the world. James Lovelock's closing words already lean toward it.

In man, Gaia has the equivalent of a central nervous system. We disturb and eliminate at our peril. Let us make peace with Gaia on her terms and return to peaceful co-existence with our fellow creatures.

To truly begin to act in this understanding would probably bring far fresher, more balanced and wiser responses to so-called crises that normally bristle our reactions into a war effort on Nature, some of Nature's species, or some of ourselves. The report by *Newsweek* on 24 April 1975, for instance, about the cooling trend of earth temperature since the 1950s has raised alarms about shorter growing seasons which have already led to a slight diminishing of worldwide grain production. Rather than drawing the normal response of saving more food, better government planning and all that, a deeper brooding might prompt answers to questions like: What may our nervous system have done to the rest of our body (the earth and the biosphere) to chill it like this?

Science is opening to the discovery of unity on many sides, and there are 1970s clusters of new discoveries in general. You may have read recent press coverage on a newly found, distinctively long-lived subatomic particle. Or the very recent confirmation of years' expectations that a huge galaxy many multiples the size of our own lies several thousand million light years more distant than humans have yet been able to track the universe.

But aside from these and the two new planets described in July, some discoveries send reverberations more directly in the direction of Gaia. The *Indian Express'* June 19th headline was one; it read, "A droplet of charges". Simply, some American scientists have photographed electricity in the form of a liquid drop. But the blurring of distinctions between such reliably believed separates as liquid and electricity was widened a bit when the scientists reported the droplet, produced in an ultrapure crystal of Germanium, has some properties of a metal sphere and also behaves like a raindrop.

THEN IN INVENTION

Any sensitive person following the seemingly antagonistic energy and environmental

crises may have decided nothing will truly be solved until both the needs of virtually limitless energy and of benevolent inexpensive operation are found in something beyond oil, coal, and other known flaws from the past—no more difficult to achieve than the obvious task of developed populations to deflate their "needs". Two more breakthroughs in solar energy work have been made that enhance the vision of a coming solar age. *Newsweek*, 5 May 1975, reports that Martin Marietta Aerospace of Denver, Colorado has, with two other corporate collaborators, increased the reflection of specular energy from a solar beam up to ninety percent. With such an increase they believe an entire medium sized city can be electrified by solar means from a mirror-filled field seven miles long. But the second breakthrough goes further: a solar water heater that works on cloudy days and at nighttime. This was accomplished by Michael Robert Ling, Australia, when he designed his solar collector to receive from the entire visible sky rather than previous designs which collect only from a part. In the *Sunday Standard* of July 6th, he goes on to say his system can be manufactured for the same cost as conventional heaters. Up to now solar heaters have often been as much as four times more costly to buy.

Just as it seems a time for discoveries it seems a rich time for inventions, particularly those which key a new balance and harmony with the natural world and the felicity of humanity. This is a radical change from previous inventiveness concentrating on increasing comfort, wealth and exploitation of Nature. A glance at some:

A "Melter-Dryer" machine for snowbound roads which uses hot air as an agent, avoiding the damage to roads via plows or salt and salt corrosion to automobile underbodies. Could anything be so free of pollution as hot air? [*Newsweek*, 27 January 1975]

A new car exhaust purifier which completely resolves all toxicity into nitrogen, carbon dioxide and water. Despite this accomplishment it does not reduce engine performance, will last 83,000 kilometers and is very inexpensive. [*Newsweek*, 3 March 1975]

A parking lot design with holes interspersed in its concrete which are planted with hardy grass that eventually grows across and covers all the concrete—called "grasscrete". The holes protect the roots from car damage. At maturity, grasscrete recycles enough fresh oxygen for twenty-five people a day and reduces the area's temperature on a hot day by more than ten degrees Fahrenheit. [*Newsweek*, 15 February 1975]

The worldwide paper shortage has been joined to the food shortage in one, at least, partial solution: growing kelp. This variety of seaweed provides fine nutrition and a means has been invented for processing its cellulose remains into high quality paper from tissue to cardboard. [*Newsweek*, 27 January 1975]

Much of the dependence on chemicals may go to a far pleasanter and more beautiful way of purifying water now that successful experiments in the capacities of reeds, rushes and irises are being demonstrated. Water these plants grow in is oxygenated and relieved of both inorganic and organic contaminants, pollutants and pathogens. It is already being tried on a large scale in the Rhine River, in Holland and New Jersey. [*Newsweek*, 31 March 1975]

Exactly at a time when ecological spokesmen are concerned about aerosol spray cans' indirect depletion of the atmosphere's ozone, Risdon Manufacturing Company has developed three new spray mechanisms which are harmless: one with no propellant, one with a carbon dioxide propellant, and one with a compressed air propellant. [*Newsweek*, 16 June 1975]

Weather forecasting has now been swept into the imperative for planet-scale operations. It has become clear that full, reliable, long-range forecasts can only be made if data regarding the entire planet are available. The *New Times Observer* of Pondicherry, in its June 10th issue, concludes that weather predictors throughout the world have now realized that country-by-country efforts must be replaced by a wide joint effort to solve the problem of long-range forecasting.

Although the weather item is obvious, one might question the relevance of these inventions to human unity, despite their gracious gesture to Nature. But that is just the path, through Nature, that obstructs human division and conflict. For Nature is the same everywhere, while corporations' and nations' apparent interests are often antagonistic; and in the rising selflessness encouraged by trying to find a harmony with Nature who stands behind us all equally, men cannot avoid progressing in relationship with each other. Last, inventions being such tangible and practical things, they give many persons a direct opportunity to participate in this widening of human consciousness—simply by using them: automobile and aerosol can users number in the millions in some countries.

PERSONS

Tasadays

The Gentle Tasadays, a new book certain to find its way into a great many pairs of hands, claims the subjects of its pages are the most primitive people discovered. Their stone age comes out of 600 square miles unexplored jungle in Uganda, also yielding an equally surprising wisdom most of us are still stumbling toward:

Let us call all men one man.

Other translations of their language reveal they have a single term, *mafeon*, for the ideas of good and beauty—a marriage that Plato and almost 2,500 years of descendants have failed to seal.

Their achievements of omission are no less remarkable. When discovering the Tasaday people have no words for our heavily used ideas of bad, enemy, kill and war, I would like to know much more about them than the June 30th *Time* book review had the opportunity to convey.

The Official World's Women

There is no need to give press references for the amply reported International Women's Conference held in June at Mexico City. All must know that its politicization blurred any distinction it might have had as a meeting of the world's women.

There has been a widely held and persistent belief that women, by their very nature, are more pacific, intuitive and practical about the affairs of humanity than men; its posture has, at times, been extended to an assurance of these as public qualities if only women were to manage political life. Certainly the experience at Mexico City, even replete enough to include a physical wrangle at the podium, can instruct us out of such inelasticities in this belief to a truer perception. Of course it might be said the women, sent officially by each nation, were only pawns of their governments and by themselves would have acted differently. Yet that is the same flaw we have noticed in men who are in pawn positions, too. Notwithstanding the radical change needed to release woman's potential from a nearly timeless domination, this conference indicates the unvarying necessity for a change of human consciousness in general.

9 July 1975

REVIEW

A Theory of Consciousness, by *Arnold Schultz*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1973. 527pp., \$12.50.

This book is like a passage to a new kind of perception, that of introspective discoveries of the great riches modestly hidden in the body. Arnold Schultz looks at mental and emotional lotuses through the body's mud and goes, from that lower end, a surprising distance towards heights of human experience: those of the infinite, the timeless, the Self. I don't know if he has any familiarity with yoga—it appears not—but he has nevertheless gone deep into neurophysiology and physiological psychology by an austerity of personal experience (that the reader may undergo with him in numerous introspective experiments) which tend to draw his (and the reader's) consciousness inward and upward.

This seems to have developed out of his scientific effort to understand what he perceives consciousness is and how it works. The difference between this and most other such books is that Mr. Schultz is interested in questions supernal to similar scientists: if "mental consciousness" (as he understands it) is dependent on the motor reactions of bodily awareness, how is this related to the indisputably real "ontic" sensations and perceptions—of Being, of Self, of timelessness—coming through the same nervous mechanism? In trying to deal with this, his momentous study gives, often convincingly, neurophysical hypotheses to explain such wide ranges of experience as ethics, humor and wit, pain, drunkenness, ego, calm and clarity, physical relaxation, sexual attraction, stage fright, *deja vu*, memory, the development of "consciousness" in a baby, social affectation and many others.

Another difference with this investigator, as alluded to earlier, is the way he constantly makes it possible for the reader to test conclusions in immediate inner experiments while reading. It is true not all of his conclusions survive the experiments, and it is easy to disagree with Mr. Schultz in some places where he builds upon unrepresentative or trivial instances, but these seem minor in retrospect and do not seriously rock the book.

His work yields about thirty years' experiments and introspection, which open this field to an unexpected landscape where, from the other end—acknowledged yogic effort—one can appreciate the emerging knowledge of the body's enormous latent wisdom. Even, in Sri Aurobindo's vision, its secreting of the Supreme Consciousness within a heavy citadel of plasma and bone.

Ronald Jorgensen

WORLD UNION FOCUS 8/75

STATEMENT OF BANGALORE CONVENTION

*For this planet has now reached the stage where
"only the manifestation of a new consciousness"
can save it.*

Mary Victor

To our Members and Friends:

STATEMENT.

On 10 June 1975 the First National Convention of World Union Centres of India adopted the following Statement:

The First National Convention of World Union Centres in India held in Bangalore on 8, 9 and 10 June 1975 had this main theme: World Union Aim—Human Unity—Aids Best National Integration. The purpose of the Convention was to focus attention on contemporary world problems and situations in relation to the World Union movement, its objectives, policies and programmes. Its main theme was discussed in four different seminars having their specific topics—Culture, Education, Politics-Economics and Science-Spirituality. A special function in connection with the International Women's Year was also arranged as part of the convention programme.

Culture and civilization are related to each other as life and form or as experience and expression. And so while one may speak of different civilizations, it would not be strictly correct to speak of a variety of cultures. Culture in the true sense of the term is universal, while civilization is particular. Therefore it is needless to say that culture is more than a cultivation of polished manners. One has to seriously enquire whether, in the present-day technological civilization, we are not witnessing a phenomenon of structure without spirit.

In this connection it would be well to consider the classification of civilizations indicated by Sri Aurobindo, namely, symbolical, typical, conventional, rational or individualistic and subjective. He speaks of the necessity of the civilization

moving from the rational to the subjective phase. Perhaps in this movement humanity will find solutions to many of its baffling problems.

In considering the question of culture, it is necessary to understand the role of women in society. While women's participation in society and its affairs is absolutely essential for the well-being of the human family, it must also be remembered that in the present-day civilization there has to take place a shift from the masculine to feminine consciousness, for it is only when the descent of the feminine consciousness occurs within the functioning area of the masculine consciousness that there can come a state of inner integration. It is such an integration which is the true hallmark of a cultured being, the *Yukta* of the Bhagavad Gita.

The question of culture brings one immediately to the role of education with reference to social well-being and national integration. Education must remain linked with culture, otherwise it will be soulless. Today education and culture are divorced from each other. World Union must play a pioneering role in generating a real educational revolution in this country.

Consequently, it would be highly desirable if World Union could appoint a committee to formulate educational principles and policies which can serve as a guideline to all who are serious about changing the structure and content of education in India. Such a committee may well address itself to the task of coordinating the work of the five constituents of the educational process, namely the students, the teachers, the parents, the society and the government.

In India there is a need to formulate an integrated policy and programme of education from the primary to the university stage. It is also essential that colleges for peace be established so as to give training to people in peace-making in place of the war-making they are trained for today. From such colleges degreed ambassadors of peace will go out to all troubled areas of the world so that peace and amity may be established among warring peoples.

It is this question of war and peace which brings one to the deeper aspects of man's political and economic activities. As in education so in the politico-economic sphere World Union must place before the people its clearly enunciated stand on certain fundamentals which, even though incapable of lending themselves to immediate implementation, can yet serve as a beacon light for those who are seriously concerned with the problems of social transformation. As the quality of politics depends upon politicians, there is a great need to train new leadership which can function on the planes of world unity and national integration at the same time.

World Union must constantly emphasize the ideal and the objective of the United Nations, the only instrument today through which humanity can move towards the realization of its dream of the world state. World Union should also strive to bring into existence a body of people who are completely free from party politics and therefore are able to act independently along the lines which it considers right. It must be a body consisting of people who have found their own inner balance and light in midst of the chaotic dimness around, and therefore have become centres of the truly integral revolution which the country needs.

Politics and economics cannot be separated. However, it needs to be noted that while the modern economic trend is towards international fraternity, the trend in the political realm is still towards maintaining the unfettered sovereignty of national states. It is this dichotomy which is at the root of our troubles. We should continue to move away from the concept of self-sufficiency in the economic field—this concept is rooted in the supremacy of national states. No country can be self-sufficient today.

We seem to be people who worship without faith, indulge in politics without principles and believe in power without obligations. World Union must strive in the direction where political and economic activities spring from moral and ethical standards.

But fundamentally all political and economic changes depend upon our ability to link science and spirituality. Today we seem to display an unscientific attitude in the name of science, for while we do not accept things blindly, we seem to reject many things without experimentation and examination. Spirituality is not to be mistaken for religion. We need spiritual vision to enlighten our scientific attempts.

Modern man, while he knows what comfort is, remains an utter stranger to the joys of living. Science and technology can give comfort, but they cannot give the creative joy of living. Such joy comes to him who has known a particular state of mind, the state which can be comprehended through spiritual perspectives. In this modern age we have mastered speed, but we do not know our direction. Science can take us into a civilization of greater and greater speed, but of what avail is speed if direction is not known? It is spirituality that enables us to discover right direction in the midst of the changing panorama of life. Science is not concerned with the problem of values, and yet the pressing problem of the world today is the discovery of right values. This is indeed the field of spirituality. In management training two words are used—efficiency and effectiveness. The former constitutes technical skill, but the latter comes with inner maturity such as is vouchsafed to the man of spiritual vision.

Science and spirituality are not contradictory, they represent two approaches which together make the whole. In the approach of science there is a study and examination of the measurable phenomena of life. It is concerned with the predictable aspect of existence. But life is not exhausted by examining measurable phenomena. It contains the immeasurable and the unpredictable as well, such as the experience of Truth, Love, Beauty, Goodness. These cannot be measured by any amount of quantitative examination. While through science one can study the measurable, it is in spiritual perspectives that one gets the intimation of the immeasurable and the unpredictable. Both are needed, and so in our schools and colleges and universities there must be introduced an integral approach whereby students are enabled to develop a penetrating intellect to study the measurable, the manifest, the predictable—but at the same time they must grow in such sensitivity of consciousness that they are able to respond to the touch of the intangible and the immeasurable. Science without spirituality is blind, but spirituality without science is lame. One moves in the sphere of the mind, the other brings the intimations of the super-mind.

In the realm of spiritual perspectives perhaps woman can give an effective lead to man. Of course, by woman what is indicated is the entity dominated by the feminine consciousness. In the International Women's Year a sustained endeavour must be made to bring woman to the forefront in all fields of human interest. For this the woman must be awakened not only to her rights but also to the uniqueness of her special role so that she does not become a rival of man nor an imitation of man. The World Union centres should attempt to bring equal rights for women closer to our society. They must fight against all types of social indignities that are being perpetrated on woman at present. The woman is the unifier, and it is this unifying role of woman that is needed for human unity and national integration.

Today our laboriously built channels of communications are dry because fresh waters of life do not flow through them. They will begin to flow when the inner experience of spirituality, vouchsafed to man, comes forward from the touch of our seeking. The real transformation of society will come, according to Sri Aurobindo, through the transformed individual. World Union aims at individual revolution so that it can become a precursor to social revolution of a fundamental nature. In this stupendous task it would be well for the World Union centres to work in close cooperation with like-minded organisations and individuals. For moving along the lines indicated here, World Union will become a powerful force for transforming the minds of people, which alone can be the true foundation for the establishment of human unity and national integration. World Union fully subscribes to the statement contained in the preamble to the objectives of UNESCO which says that "wars are made in the minds of men, and so it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be established". World Union stands for a revolution in the thinking of men and women.

The First National Convention of World Union Centres in India sends out a call to all men and women of the world to join in the stupendous task of the ushering in of this great revolution so that there may be established on earth a new civilization based on brotherhood and the recognition of the unity of all life.

REPORTS OF THE FOUR SEMINARS:

Prior to the presentation of the Statement to the Convention the Reports of the Seminars on (i) Society and Culture, (ii) Education and World Citizenship, (iii) Politics and Economics, (iv) Science and Spirituality were ready and are annexures to the Statement.

Culture and Society

Chairman: Sri Rohit Mehta.

Reporter: Sri K. Ramaswami.

Three papers were received and nine delegates participated in the discussions. Culture was first distinguished from nature.

Life is a fine balance between expression and rejection. For the finer expression of the higher impulses, rejection of the baser impulses is a must. It is possible for one to be highly cultured in outer behaviour, exhibiting qualities of gentleness, softness of speech and polished manners but inwardly cruel and wicked. Such a man has only a veneer of culture.

According to the Dharma Shastra, there are three types of culture at different levels of society: Kula Dharma or Local Dharma; Desha Dharma, obligations to the country or nation; Manava Dharma, obligations to all mankind.

Dharma is a comprehensive term without an equivalent in any other language. It is a unique and happy amalgam of culture and society and duties and obligations.

The Sanskrit name for culture is *Samskriti*. It is a beautiful and expressive term connoting a highly evolved individual. True culture is based on real humility and it reflects the inner man. When the inner and outer reflect each other faithfully, such a one is an integrated individual.

Due to the tremendous transformation that has taken place in the last twenty years as a result of rapid advances in science and technology, the impact of different cultural elements on one another in every field of human activity has

been significant. In art, architecture, interior decoration, music, drama, etc., there has been a greater assimilation of cultural elements resulting in uniformity of standards. These effects are still in the making and we are too close to it to make a proper evaluation.

When there is a flowering of inner culture, the fragrance it wafts must be to produce a climate of harmony among people, opening up the possibility of an emerging world order based on human unity and brotherhood.

Education and World Citizenship

Chairman : Sri Ronald Jorgensen

Reporter : Sri S. Ramakrishnan

Those participating in the seminar agreed first on a discipline that proved to make the discussion richer and more concentrated and almost constantly relevant to its goal. Three dimensions of the subject were eliminated from consideration, as they are dimensions where agreement is already repetitiously unanimous: the nature of education, the value or importance of education, and the problems and flaws of the present educational system. Discussion then worked at what is to be done.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE SEMINAR, I: ACTION BY WORLD UNION

Teacher Education

Teacher education (often wrongly called "teacher training") registered the highest priority of the discussions. Work in this area, begun with the Teachers' Teaching Workshop last October, will go ahead with the holding of teachers' "camps" at colleges and summer schools in addition to sessions at the base in Pondicherry and World Union centres in India.

An informal development of such education would be accomplished by starting teacher and parent associations in connections with World Union centres. As the home is an extremely potent setting for the living process of education, in addition to the school, such teacher-parent associations would connect these two powerful influences. They could become forums of exchange and self-education for both parents and teachers, and a point of light of the consciousness of unity spreading through the community or town from each centre.

Here is a more specific description of this teacher education (and, in turn, student education) we proposed in some incomplete suggestions:

1. Learn how to give a synthesis of secular-spiritual education, which

would naturally involve some mastery of the integral education originated by Sri Aurobindo and the Mother.

2. Part of a secular-spiritual synthesis would include teaching meditation and some other aspects of Yoga. For it is the inner universe of each person rather than the well explored outer universe that has the power and harmony to unify.
3. Use of the world's music and sayings of the world's saints and mystics on oneness—both in teacher education and in World Union centres.
Music: Recordings of the finest compositions from East and West. Their beauty, harmony and melody tends to raise persons to that level of vibration.
Sayings: the sharing of those utterances of all countries; sages who revealed a vision of world oneness in some of their words.
4. Closely related: the awakening of the emotional centre for beauty and values in a simple, sincere approach;
5. and the widening of the mind so it can truly see the genius of other parts of the national culture and not simply tolerate them in condescension.
6. This expanding consciousness goes from personal identification to the society, then to the nation, and the world—out in concentric circles.
7. The other aspects of teacher education will be defined in the following position paper suggestion.

Rural areas and villages are the loci of the greatest need and greatest population; it was proposed we start with teachers from these areas first. But this does not mean dividing education into urban and rural labels, which only promotes division between cities and the countryside. The educational effort would simply adjust means of teaching, materials, and obviously relevant subjects for the same national goals everywhere to suit each locality whether urban, rural, suburban or mountain.

This teacher education would be offered to those already teaching in the educational system and to fresh candidates. A suggestion for using the services of veterans in newly created schools or in new "columns" of the old system referred to the approximately 15,000 teachers in Karnataka, for example, who are now going to be forced to retire at the age of fifty-five with a pension. If the finest, most supple *one percent* of these teachers were to be educated for this work that would bring a force of 150 men and women into Karnataka's education for national integration, with a healthy number of them "employed" at World Union centres also. Other states probably have similar manpower situations ripe for the work. We have a contact in World Union who can help us to identify these teachers and reach them.

Women teachers *per se*: saying they have a generally more developed capacity to teach by the heart generates a cadence of recognition in us; and we also see its essential need in an integral teaching. Therefore an effort to contact and educate women teachers in particular would fulfil this work in a richer and more balanced way.

Although not discussed in the seminar, the chairman estimates the duration of a course of teacher education as partially described above would run for fifty-two weeks (one year). This includes some essential curricular work not discussed in the seminar.

Three Day Education Seminar

This session's scheduled three-hour attempt stimulated our proposal for a three-day World Union Seminar devoted exclusively to education. This could be the catalyst, for the proposed position paper (below) on an education of national integration. Each major cultural part of India, with invitees chosen for their clarity on and expression of these areas as well as their educational consciousness, could be represented.

Position Paper

In the harvest of events we might look to much or all of the position paper committee's appointees being the cream of the three-day educational seminar's participants. The position paper itself would be World Union's comprehensive statement on education for national integration, needing about six month's research and colloquy before final drafting. We agreed the final printed paper would not exceed approximately fifty pages; there would be no danger of a mammoth, dry treatise.

Some of the areas of research for this position paper were proposed:

1. The purpose, philosophy and policy of education.
2. The role of the "teacher" in the setting of "Nothing can be taught"... (Sri Aurobindo).
3. The nature of the child—a blank slate, or else and more.
4. Job-oriented education—useful? The earliest level at which bifurcation into academic and trade curricula could begin.
5. The utility of, e.g., assigning agricultural work as a practical aspect of university education.

Mass Education on World Union

This means educating ordinary people about World Union (the organization) through-

out India with small booklets done in all major languages. This might blossom naturally after the position paper is done, since extracts from it might make up part of these booklets for mass distribution. These booklets, however, must be done in a very simple, direct style which would require skillful paraphrasing of the position paper.

Establishing New Schools: No and Yes

Although it now appears premature to attempt a number of new schools based from World Union centres, it was agreed that one new school should be established as an experiment to apply the ideas in the teacher education programme and the position paper in a completely free setting: a concentration of the best effort into one school as a possible model for others. The first five years of World Union work would absorb this before we could consider starting several new schools. However, World Union centres themselves are proposed as informal education radiating stations through the parent and teacher associations. The part-time guidance by retired teachers, and discussions with the communities about World Union's educational views.

Therefore, work would go on in three major areas: World Union centres, one experimental (private) school, and in the present educational system. The leading mode of action to all three areas would be our teacher education effort, based on the position paper's philosophy and principles.

Forming New Centres in Colleges, High Schools

This, like some of the above proposals, can be most effectively done when World Union has spun out a philosophy of education into both theoretical and practical flanks, through the proposed position paper. For this would be the flint of contact to strike with young students and teachers ardent for the light of a way out of their situations in the country's colleges and high schools. It could move into projects like beginning to prepare badly needed new educational materials in history, local Indian cultures of social customs, art, music, political organization, etc. Only three persons are required to start a new World Union centre anywhere.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE SEMINAR, II: ACTION BY LARGER AGENCIES

A National University

State universities might lose much impetus for quarrelling if they were re-organised into parts of a national university: e.g., the Karnataka and Maharashtra Branches of the University of India.

A national university for the country would have the power to mean what an international university does for the world. The mother campus might be laid out in the

heart of the country: near Delhi for example. Rs. 1001/- has already been offered towards the laying of the foundation stone of the mother campus.

Here research could begin towards an acceptable national language. At present the Devanagari script could possibly be adapted for the most common Indian languages as an aid in communication and in drawing closer to our major vein.

National Excess

A dangerous imbalance in this work: moving from individual ego to a national ego. Like, India is the greatest in spirituality, in diversity, in richness of traditions; in whatever way the claim turns, it turns away human unity where all nations are unique, not competitors. We request an awareness of and effort to weaken this tendency.

Colleges of Peace

It is now time to press for the founding of peace colleges—counterparts of military colleges—that would educate students in the strategies and techniques of negotiation, reconciliation of disputes. The graduates of these schools would be asked to do exactly that work, where the present dissimulations of local and national diplomats and politicians have failed. There would be an arrangement, with the agreement of governments, for students placement and employment after graduating.

History Writing

We propose the present history books be replaced by a completely re-written generation of material that would view all historical processes through the vision of an evolving humanity. The process would reveal the evolution of all men and women, including ordinary humanity, toward an increasing integration and progress of oneness with other nations. International competition would not be a motive, but the achievement on the globe, expressed through various nations (as parts of one global being), toward a planetary integration of diverse, rich unity.

Politics and economics

Chairman : Sri T. Reuben

Reporter : Sri Haneef Jawaid

Twelve delegates participated in the discussion which was lively and purposeful. Here is the summary of the points made during the discussion.

Mr. Shiva Kumar: 1. Love and service should be the basic principles of economic

and political life. 2. The wealth of a nation should be converted into the welfare of its communities. 3. For, an equitable distribution of wealth is absolutely necessary if a bloody revolution is to be avoided. 4. Democracy should not merely count the heads of its people, instead of breaking them, but look into their contents.

Professor N.S. Govinda Rao: 1. As there is a sort of dichotomy between the developed and the developing nations in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the other Agencies of the U.N. where this is not so strong, such as UNESCO, should be strengthened. 2. In every annual U.N. Session some time should be focussed on the purpose and objectives of the organisation to keep the delegates actively aware of them. 3. This Convention should appoint a committee of experts to draw up a global economic plan based on new global principles and philosophy.

Sri K. Ramaswamy: 1. Big powers should be asked to refrain from pressurising smaller nations and from interfering in regional or local affairs which, when they do, creates and aggravates tensions. This applies in particular to the Indian sub-continent. The super powers should not try to carve the world into different spheres of influence among themselves. The U.S.A. should apply democratic principles in the international field in the same way as it does in its domestic matters, and not interfere in the affairs of other nations. Then there is bound to be considerable change in international affairs. 2. In the domestic field we must have leadership with a vision that really leads the masses and not merely caters to popular demands. 3. Economics and politics should be kept separate with politics as an art, economics as a science. 4. World Union members should think and work on a global level and try to bring up a new generation with entirely new ideals of international cooperation and harmony, by eliminating egotism altogether.

Mr. K.N. Shenoy: 1. We should, instead of indulging in the criticism of other countries, raise ourselves over and above the ordinary level. 2. Men should not think that all that matters on all levels of politics is power and on all levels of economics, money. It is a distortion. Wealth and power, in their turn, should not be used for selfish purposes or for the exploitation of others. 3. World Union must provide guidance in politics and economics: not an apish imitation of the West nor an assimilation of its crudities while missing what is best in Western culture. 4. The quality of politics depends on politicians. Good politicians who are straightforward, truthful and without greed are among the guidelines World Union may provide in this field.

Ronald Jorgensen: 1. Democracy is not the last word in political organisation. We must go beyond it and evolve a better system, partly by encouraging the emergence of a new kind of leaders who care for truth and unity. 2. Economically, each country should produce only that which it can make best. Comprehensive self-sufficiency is impossible in this world. India should produce only that which issues out of her manufacturing and commercial Dharma. Prosperous consequences and a balanced economic life with

nations will follow. 3. A completely floating exchange rate between the Rupee and foreign currencies is suggested. It will in the long run be economically beneficial, being based on the true value of exchange, though in the short run will create economic problems. 4. Labour should be given its full share, i.e. what it generates, in the production of wealth. If this is done there will not be any labour-management wage problems at all. 4. The problems of black marketing, food adulteration, over-pricing etc. cannot be solved by legislation, which always lags behind anti-social ingenuity. What can be done is to encourage the honest, the truthful shopkeeper, and those who care for integrity. If they prosper by such encouragement, they will attract other merchants to such ways of doing business by the popularity of their thriving example.

Sri M.G. Nayak: The only way to arrest evil in society is to stop evil doers from doing it and remove them.

Sri G. Shivanna: 1. Politicians should be given training just as it is done in other professions. 2. In the economic field free play should be given to the operation of the principle of supply and demand. Each individual should be left completely free to pursue his profession without interference from the government.

Sri N.S. Rao: Mere grandiose sermonising and indulging in empty praise of our ancient heritage will not take us anywhere. What we should do is to improve ourselves, better ourselves, here and now make some concrete and constructive contribution by producing more food and other goods. Practical deeds are more important. The first thing that each one of us should do is to be honest and truthful instead of expecting others to be honest and truthful. The idea of trusteeship should be spread; more equitable distribution of wealth is a must. Everybody should act: do more, produce more, distribute more, grow bigger and better.

Sri Samar Basu: Ideas of brotherhood have been there for centuries but the ideal has not been realised. People should follow Gandhian principles and attempt to raise the level of consciousness. The idea of Sri Aurobindo is commendable; that since our minds and bodies are the gift of God whatever is produced with the help of these should be given away to others, keeping for oneself only one's minimum requirement.

The Chairman's resumé included the following undiscussed points: Politics by itself is not bad; it is politicians that make it dirty. An integral revolution and exercise of power for constructive purposes is the only solution for all the problems of society. Plato's ideal of philosopher Kings is to be commended. We must emphasise duties as against only rights.

Science and Spirituality

Chairman: Sri P. V. Raja Gopal

Reporter: Dr. H. S. Lakshminarayan

Dr. Raja Gopal introduced the subject, its scope and the criteria for its discussion. Ten speakers took part in the discussion that followed. The salient points brought out during discussion are described.

1. Achievements of science have been great and it has brought great comfort to society but it has not brought happiness which can be realised only through spirituality. Science does not recognise anything without verification, rejecting whatever does not conform to its tests of verification. Whereas in science we have proof but no certainty, in spirituality we have certainty but no proof. Whereas science deals with the measurable, analysable and predictable, spirituality grasps the unpredictable, immeasurable and un-analysable. Love, beauty, goodness, are examples of the latter. Science and spirituality are complementary, not contradictory.

2. Science is objective, spirituality is subjective. Man being an imperfect being, as are his senses, science has its own limitations. Between the physical and natural sciences and humanity we have distinct fields of study in the normative sciences, like history, sociology, psychology and economics.

3. The modern mind, that is to say the better type of modern mind, is practical and pragmatic, ethical and social and humanitarian. It is governed by a practical idealism for social betterment and happiness. We have to function in line with the highest ideals of the age we live in, though we may add to them or mould them in accordance with our national genius. These ideals may be classified under two heads: scientific-spirit and spirituality. There has often been an apparent conflict between the two. But great upheavals of thought, great discoveries and rapid progress in technology, with its questioning of all values, is removing all barriers between these two approaches, between the external world of science and the internal world of introspection and spirituality. There is a growing synthesis between the two. Science, while holding on to fact, has ceased to contemptuously deny other domains that are not in its comprehension. There is an attempt to find a harmony between the world of fact and the world of spirit, for it was becoming increasingly obvious that the over emphasis on the former was crushing the spirit of man. The problem today is how to reconcile the phenomenal life of the world with the inner spiritual life of the individual. In facing this question, modern science has many advantages, as it possesses stores of accumulated information and a method which has abundantly justified itself. But the very accumulation of grains of information it possesses is its weakness for it has failed to take a synthetic view of the whole, thus failing in its fulfilment. One speaker quoted John Stuart Mills: "I am now convinced that no great improvements in the lot of mankind

are possible, until a great change takes place in the fundamental constitution of their modern thought."

4. How science and spirituality could be made use of to bring about world union and national integration was also touched upon. One speaker emphasised that in India we have abundant spirituality, perhaps overflowing, but not made use of. Let us make full use of the achievements of science to solve our problems, first, and the abundantly existing spirituality in our country will make us happy.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :

The 16th Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of World Union met at the Institution of Engineers (India) Karnataka Centre, Bangalore, on Tuesday 10 June, 1975 at 3 p.m. Twenty eight members and invitees attended the meeting which commenced with a brief meditation. We bring to the notice of the World Union centres and members some of its decisions : (i) Life Members who do not subscribe to the journal will henceforth be called "Associate Life Members" and not "Friends of World Union" (ii) All the World Union centres should celebrate 20th August as World Union day, the theme for the purpose adopted by the Committee is "The Role of Women in Human Unity". The guidelines for the celebrations are that the function will be arranged by the concerned World Union centre who will invite the participation of the Women International Year Group. If 20th August, 1975, being a working day, is not convenient, the celebration could be held on the nearest adjacent holiday but the celebration shall be termed that of the 20th August. (iii) An expert Committee will be constituted to generate a position paper for World Union on Education for National Integration, particularly focussing on the philosophy and purpose of education. Eleven names were suggested for this committee in the meeting. It was decided that Sri Rohit Mehta be given these eleven names and that he be requested to draft the terms of reference of the study and suggest the names for the formation of the Committee. (iv) The idea of forming an Indian National Centre of World Union was approved and the Draft Constitution was referred to a Committee of six who were asked to submit their report to the Executive Committee as soon as possible. (v) It was agreed that World Union needs to do more active work, and that it asks and be open for suggestions, and for doing work better than it has before. The stress was particularly on a more active aspect of work than the conventional conferences and written articles.

NEW WORLD UNION CENTRES:

We are advised that World Union Calcutta Centre, having members spread over long distances, has been split into five World Union Centres. It continues to function at 26-E Turf Road, Calcutta-25 with Sri Lakshmi Narayan Dutt as its Chairman and Sri Samiran Ghosh as Secretary. One of the five centres is World Union Baranagar Centre

at 28/ 1, Mannapara Road, Calcutta-50 with Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya as Chairman and Sri Chunilal Goswami as Secretary. The other three are Alambazar, Sodepur and Barasat Centres from whom we are awaiting fuller information.

ACTIVITIES OF WORLD UNION CENTRES:

The World Union (UK) Centre held two meetings at Mr. J. I. Patel's house at Colchester when the members discussed the topics of (i) Education and (ii) Man and Possessions. The meetings commenced with meditation and the Chairman Mr. J. I. Patel recited some mantras.

The World Union Centre and Sri Aurobindo Society of Tatanagar held a special meeting on 30th May, 1975 when Sri Babulalbhai of Pondicherry presented the tape record speeches and recitations from "Savitri" by the Mother. After that Durga Stotra songs and speeches of Satprem were played.

World Union Shillong Centre held its Annual General Meeting on 22nd June, 75 when Sri B. B. Dam, the president of the Centre, resigned in order to give place to a younger man. The meeting was conducted by Sri R. N. Barua, ex-President of the Centre. Sri S. J. Das was elected as President of the Centre, Sri N. Shaha as Secretary and Sri R. G. Mukherjee as Treasurer. Sri R. N. Barua and Sri B. B. Dam were elected as advisors on organisational matters. Sri N. Shaha as secretary and Sri R. G. Mukherjee as Treasurer were authorised to operate, under their joint signatures, the Bank account of the Centre opened with the United Bank of India, Shillong Branch.

World Union Bangalore Centre held its monthly meeting on Sunday, the 6th July, 1975, in the premises of Bharath Scout Headquarters, Irvin circle, Prof. N.S. Govinda Rao presiding. The minutes of the previous monthly meeting were read and passed. The President read out and explained the minutes of the 16th Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of World Union held at Bangalore on 10th June, 1975. It was suggested to include the name of Sri Kireet Joshi in the Committee to be constituted to generate a position paper for World Union on Education and National Integration. The President expressed that the Centre ought to take up more active work based on the proceedings of the First National Convention. To find ways and means to do this a general body meeting would be convened when details will be discussed. Thereafter the Convener of the Convention and the Conveners of Sub-committees submitted brief reports of their activities. It was unanimously resolved to place on record the unstinted and devoted service rendered by Dr. Prasannasimha Row as the Convener of the Convention. Later there was discussion on "Can Spirituality and Material Prosperity Co-exist?" The discussion was initiated by Prof. N.S. Govinda Rao and several members participated.

World Union Uttarpara Centre held its 21st and 22nd monthly meetings on 3rd May and 5th July 1975 at the residence of Sri K.C. Bhattacharaya and Sri N.D. Basak respectively. The 21st meeting commenced with a devotional song by Kumari Nabanita Bhattacharaya and group concentration, Sri S.R. Guha presiding. Sri S.N. Nag, Sri S.N. Roychowdhury of Konnagar Centre and Sri B.B. Bhattacharaya spoke on "Education and Morality" and Sri Samar Basu explained the evolution of Ethical Laws as envisaged by Sri Aurobindo. The 22nd meeting commenced with a devotional song by Smt. Kamala Basu and group concentration, Sri S.K. Gupta presiding. Sri Samar Basu submitted the report of the first National Convention and the Executive Committee Meeting held at Bangalore. Sri T.K. Sinha of World Union North Calcutta Centre spoke on the necessity of Women Wing and it was decided that a Women Wing would be formed and commence functioning as early as possible. Smt. Kamala Basu was entrusted with this work.

World Union North Calcutta Centre held its 15th monthly meeting on 20th June 1975 at 18-A Ramdhona Mitra Lane, Calcutta, residence of Susanto Mitra, Sri Baidya Nath Mullick presiding. The meeting commenced with devotional songs by Smt. Kheali Ghosh, Smt. Sati Das, Sri Hemendra Nath Kar and Sri Amar Bose and the Mother's music and group concentration. The proceedings of the last meeting of the working programme of the Women Wing were adopted. Sri T.K. Sinha gave a brief report of the first National Convention of World Union Centres held at Bangalore. He also referred to the observance of the International Women Year at Bangalore on 10th June 1975 when this Centre's Women Wing was represented. Two resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee of World Union on 10th June 1975 were mentioned by him. These were in Calcutta being the suggested venue of the next triennial conference of World Union and of the Second National Convention to be held in December 1976 and the celebration of 20th August 1975 as World Union Day with the theme "The Role of Women in Human Unity" with the participation of the Women International Year groups.

The suggestion of Sri Samar Basu to observe World Union Day by conducting oratorical competition among students on the subject of "World Unity and the Role of India" was accepted. The meeting was informed of the talks given by Sri M.P. Pandit at Pondicherry to the teachers and the delegates of West Bengal on 13th and 14th June, 1975 when the necessity of organising joint camps of teachers, students and parents at Pondicherry was explained and some guide-lines for World Union movement were mentioned. Sri Sinha asked the members to form the Centre's Youth Wing with the help of their children for imparting to them the teaching of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother. He announced that hereafter some joint activities of different World Union Centres would be formulated in addition to each Centre's activities. He requested members to open weekly meditation centres at their houses and to utilise the Centre's Library and other allied Libraries. He informed them of Homeopathic unit and of the last Study Circle meeting on 24-5-75. The meeting later turned into a symposium on "Rabindra Nath and Sri Aurobindo, conducted, by Sri Sujit Kumar Palit. The participants were Sri Amar Bose, Sri Sujit Kumar Palit, Sri

Tapan Battacharjee, Hemendra Nath Kar, Sri Gour Mohan Chatterjee, Smt. Kheali Ghosh, Smt. Sati Das, Smt. Krishna Sinha, Smt. Leena Sinha. The President Sri Baidya Nath Mullick then read Mother's words before the meeting terminated.

Prof. M. V. Ramachandran, Hon. Lecturer of World Union addressed meetings in Neyveli and at Chidambaram on 25th June and 9th July respectively. The Meeting at Neyveli was held under the auspices of the Institution of Engineers and was well attended by the officers of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation and was presided over by Sri N. Karuppan Chettiar. The meeting at Chidambaram was held under the auspices of the Lions Club under the Presidentship of Dr. S. P. Adinarayan, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

WORLD GOVERNMENT JOURNAL

Bandula Sri Gunawardhana, the founder of the World Government Movement, 270 Park Road, Colombo-5, Sri Lanka, and the Editor of the World Government Journal, a supra-national bi-monthly devoted and dedicated to the establishment of everlasting Peace on earth and goodwill among all men through a Non-military Socio-Democratic World Federal Government, has sent to us the first two issues of the journal. We have always welcomed any endeavour for human unity and world peace, and gladly welcome the publication of the journal which supports World Government Movement.

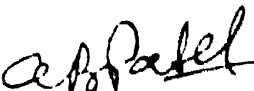
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- | | |
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WORLD UNION
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General Secretary,
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WORLD UNION

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*BASED ON THE FACT OF HUMAN UNITY REALISING
THE TRUTH OF THE SPIRIT*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Emergency Measures in India

We have received quite a number of anxious enquiries from abroad regarding the state of affairs that led to the proclamation of an internal emergency in India, and particularly regarding the current situation. A correspondent of an international newspaper asked, as many have, the effect of the measure on the life of the common people. It is clear from the tone of the questions that even well-wishers of the country have misunderstood the situation.

The emergency measures have done a great deal of good for the country, and especially for the common man. The decay and disintegration in public and social life to which we had drawn attention at the outset of this year have been arrested. Irresponsibility which was rampant in public life has been given a decent burial. Even some of those who participated in the negative movements are glad that things have been checked. The emphasis has shifted from rights to duties. There is a growing confidence that the authorities are serious in this effort, and the honest are no longer in fear of the unscrupulous. There are encouraging reports of improvement in the efficiency of public services such as the railways and post offices; hopefully this will spread to banks, insurance offices, and all other public and private services as well. A happy enthusiasm has been generated in the people though there is an understandable grumbling among those professional politicians, traders and commercial interests given to corrupt practices.

All who love India heave a sigh of relief at the note of positive urgency that is evident in many spheres of the nation's life. India renews herself.

M. P. P

THE HUMANISTIC REVOLUTION

Aurelio Peccei

Future historians will probably consider the mid-70s of this century as the great turning point in the human venture. Not having the advantage of their hindsight, we do not know whether their commentaries will conclude that after all man was capable of struggling through and emerging victoriously from the planetary mutation he had brought about, or that he was unable or too slow to grasp what was occurring, and succumbed. (Here *man* stands for *anthropos*, indicating the individual of the species, not the male specimen. Hence, *man* is considered to "embrace" *woman*—which is appropriate in a discourse concerned with the species. Similarly, *mankind* is the shorter word for *humankind*). Although lacking the elements of judgment which will be at the disposal of our successors—who by the way will praise or damn us for what we did or did not do during this momentous period of change—in this the year 1975 we realize that we can and must do much more than just speculate or sit back and wait.

There are already sufficient indications of the sense of events and an abundant body of factual information to show, albeit in very broad terms, the extreme alternatives before us—ranging from the total self-destruction to full self-realization of homo sapiens. Between these black and white extremes, there are various gradations of possible grey futures. However, even if the final solution of a macabre nuclear holocaust of man, sacrificed to his own stupidity, is discarded as unthinkable, we can imagine other frightening scenarios obtained by plausible projections of present trends into the future. It would be foolish not to consider these possible outcomes with the utmost attention and make a supreme effort to prevent them from materializing.

Nobody any longer possesses prophetic virtues—there are too many intricate signs to decipher nowadays—but who can responsibly dismiss a future dominated by gigantic battles between competing human groups to control the Earth's space and resources, or one of generalized socio-political chaos and poisoned environments, or an Orwellian society of

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illiberty, alienation and cultural pollution? The stance of humanity, after twenty centuries of Christianity, seems in fact to point in these directions rather than towards brighter prospects. Its dominant motivations remain a mixture of nationalism, egotism, materialism, voracity and intolerance.

Our generation has accomplished portentous feats and made of the City of Man a formidable empire extending over the entire globe, but its mentality is still parochial, its art of governing antiquated, its concept of power barbaric, its vision of society classist, its foresight dim. The bulk of mankind feels estranged from much of what it has created, and is frustrated by unaccustomed realities which escape its control or comprehension. The more this situation develops the greater the danger for it to end in anger or in collapse.

The objective, problem and hope is man himself

The call at this juncture is to mount a supreme effort aimed at breaking this vicious circle while in time. This can be done, as we will see in a moment. But, in all evidence, in order to succeed, it is the protagonists themselves who must be involved: *something fundamental must be done to change human society and man himself*. Only in this way can the course of history again be set in a safe, sound direction. And only the emergence of a *New Humanism* can engineer this conversion.

This is what I will try to show in this article. To this effect, it is not necessary to elaborate in great detail the alternatives ahead, although a stern warning about the sour harvest our current deeds are likely to produce is quite in order. However, the message I really want to convey is a positive and hopeful one, for *there is still time for mankind to regain control of its destiny* and, by changing course, to open up a new chapter in its history — provided we all commit ourselves in the right direction.

As I have mentioned before in these columns, to reach a true understanding of the human condition and prospects at the threshold of what can be an entirely new age of promise or threat, one must consider them in a global context. The concept of globality has many dimensions. However, since the object of all our interest and concern is man, it is the *multiple dimensions of man* himself, with his complex personality and growing needs, wants, aspirations and manifestations, which are the very essence. It is erroneous and misleading to confine our analyses, as generally is the case, mainly to the material aspects of his existence, however important they may be, as indeed they are, then add political, social and cultural considerations as if they belonged to subordinate spheres.

Not only, as an individual, must man be taken in his total humanity but, as a gregarious, social and organized creature, he must also be viewed in the overall dimension of his societal enterprise—which, for the first time, is rapidly acquiring the structure and

span of an organic planetary system. This *oneness of mankind and society* by no means obliterates the great internal diversities and differentiations which characterize all life systems—and which in the case of the global human system enrich and make it so appealing. However, the wide cultural and motivational variety of its members and components should not obfuscate the fact that the thickening network of interconnections and reciprocal conditioning among all of them has become so overwhelming and inescapable that any fresh dismemberment of society may be fatal. Besides these, two other dimensions of novel human relevance must be contemplated nowadays: the *long-term* and the *normative*. They are consequent to man's newly acquired technology-based power which has made of him the main agent of change in the world. Man has in fact lost no time in using this power, accelerating the tempo of events and originating wave after wave of changes which can radically sway the future one way or another for a long time. He is thus compelled both to see farther ahead, anticipating or forecasting future conditions with a much longer view, and to act more responsibly, defining his targets and charting his way for time spans now to be measured not in years but decades, because most of what will happen depends on him.

This new order of dimensions of the global human context creates entirely new orders of difficulty as well. We are no longer confronted by identifiable, discrete problems, each one amenable to be dealt with on its own terms, but by an intricate and dynamic maze of situations, mechanisms, phenomena, and now disfunctions, which, even when they are apparently disjointed, indeed interfere and interact one with the other, creating a veritable problem system. This is what The Club of Rome has termed the *problematique*. Analyzing it, one can see that some of its elements have gathered worldwide extension or impact, or are characterized by long cycles and will probably cause important effects even in periods far ahead in time. We have thus a confirmation that, to handle them intelligently, our framework of reference must embrace their ensemble and expand both spatially and temporally beyond anything so far conceived; and that our objective must be the attainment of clusters of coherent goals, not be limited to the pursuit of individual ones.

I am the first to admit that the acquisition and amalgamation into our thinking of such a gamut of stupendous dimensions is a task defying our imagination. However, the escalation to ever new plateaus of understanding is made necessary by the precipitous development of events and the manifold, often traumatic consequences they have on all of us, our societies and our habitat.

Discussion, even from philosophical angles, of mankind at the crossroads was one of the main purposes of the last annual meeting of The Club of Rome held in West Berlin in October 1974. In view of the generalized preoccupations about immediate situations, quite apart from the much graver effects that today's runaway problems can produce in the future, the meeting started with a review of the present world situation, recognizing that it has recently worsened to the danger point.

For one thing, since The Club of Rome was initiated in April 1968, the Earth's inhabitants have increased by more than the combined population of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. This tremendous increase has occurred in the brief space of only six and a half years, and it continues at the rate of 70 to 80 million per year, more than 200,000 per day. Only callousness, dogmatism or irresponsibility can confuse our judgment about this dramatic explosion. The stark reality is that the outdated economic, political and social structures of the world—not only those of the less developed countries—are cracking under demographic pressure and congestion. They are already totally inadequate to provide the wherewithal of life and a satisfactory framework for orderly coexistence to the present four billion people, and nobody knows how they can accommodate a supplementary batch of another billion every ten years.

More than consumers

It is however a great mistake to become mesmerized by the sheer physical size of the population phenomenon and its material consequences. This common optic prevents us from giving adequate attention to equally, or even more, important qualitative aspects and issues. Currently, humans are considered mainly as biological organisms, economic entities and generally consumers or users whose average requirements, duly quantified, have to be met. We have already seen that this reductionist approach is wrong, because human needs are far greater.

But we are even more in error when we fail to realize that at this stage *the quality of world inhabitants is the decisive factor*. At present this human factor is unbelievably neglected, man's extraordinary potential as participant, problem-solver and self-regulator largely undeveloped. Only a very substantial amelioration of the human quality can counteract the tremendous population growth in the offing. In my opinion, it is vain to hope that without such a qualitative improvement the problems we will now briefly review can ever be successfully attacked.

Three spectres haunt mankind: megafamine — economic collapse — nuclear destruction

In the last few years the world's meteorological climate — which for half a century was exceptionally favourable in comparison with historical records — has returned to what seems to be normality. By 1972 grain crops were already severely affected practically everywhere by bad weather, and climatologists fear that this less benign phase will continue, with colder air at the high latitudes, perturbations in the monsoon cycles and greater temperature and humidity ranges changing the agricultural patterns on which people depend and use to base their projections.

As a consequence of this and other factors, food production and distribution and economic development generally are not keeping pace with demand. Absolute poverty and

squalor remain the lot of vast populations, and suddenly the spectre of biblical famine has reappeared in unprecedented proportions, threatening to lengthen its shadow still further in the years to come. According to the UN World Food Conference, at the most conservative estimate there are nearly 500 million people permanently hungry. But the number of malnourished, diseased, illiterate, unemployed and otherwise marginal men and women at the base of society is probably double — greater than at any time in the past, and still increasing. It is beyond question that the hope of a better quality of life has abandoned large areas of the planet for a while.

Even in rich countries many more millions than ever before are in the grip of unemployment, uncertainty or insecurity. It has taken just a few years for the world economy to drift, for the very foundations of international trade to be upset, for the monetary systems to be in a quandary. The industrial countries used to praise the efficiency of their economic system though deploring the inequality it produced. Now this efficiency has become doubtful whilst the imbalances remain very real.

Moreover, these countries had become so intoxicated by cheap oil as to assume this abundance to be an invariable underpinning the rationale of their prosperity and guaranteeing a continuously expanding future. With the world economy geared to this false assumption, the awakening that occurred in 1973 was a very rude one indeed. All energy-poor nations, though not only they, are now confronted with the agonizing necessity of establishing their economy and way of life, and possibly the bulk of their socio-political structures as well, on different bases, or of converting them substantially — without actually knowing on what new assumptions this can be done.

Their plight repercussions across boundaries, aggravated by vicious inflation spreading like wildfire everywhere. The shattering effects of inflation at present-day high levels need not be underlined. Particularly desperate is the condition of what is now being called the Fourth World. A galloping revolution of rising expectations, which we were unable to control a few years ago, is thus being turned into a nightmare of declining prospects, which we are even less prepared to handle. Another ugly spectre—that of the great world depression of 1929, with its aftermath of suffering, turmoil and dictatorship—is thus being evoked in our memories; and the fear mounts that it may be about to stage a comeback.

Those of us who live in Western-type, constitutional democracies are already watching the decline of our form of government with apprehension. Is there an irreversible involution in its functioning? Will it withstand the still greater turbulence looming ahead? These questions, however, are not limited to us. Unfortunately, the deep-seated crisis of the traditional democracies is not balanced by healthier conditions elsewhere, nor does it alleviate the malaise or precariousness of other types of political organization and their similar inadequacy to face up to this onslaught of problems.

The entire world setup, both nationally and internationally, is being put to the test; and one perceives that, among the social inventions and innovations which are urgent, most certainly the renewal of political institutions occupies first place. What is needed are political models and a world system of governments so congenial to the different cultural families and at the same time so sensitive to the overriding global interest as to permit the citizens of the various regions to participate responsibly in the decision making processes at all levels of organization. However, we are a far cry from developments in this sense, one of the main difficulties being that they are resisted all along the line by the ruling elites in practically every country.

In these straits, the gallant attempts to protect our waters, air and soils from further contamination and to preserve the biosphere, the world ecosystems and remaining wildernesses as a common heritage of all mankind, which a few years back were gaining momentum, have now lost much of their appeal. The present generation tends to find in the pressure of other, more immediate preoccupations a self-righteous justification for being delinquent ecologically.

These other preoccupations exist indeed, but to derive from them this justification is preposterous and downright immoral. Take my lifetime as a yardstick. When I was a youngster, there were two billion people in the world. Now, in the span of a few decades, they have not only multiplied by two and are on the way to siring more billions, as I have said before, but out of greed and caprice they have pillaged and polluted Nature at will, as if it were their unquestionable right to seek the maximum comfort no matter if this condemns the next generations to overcrowded greatly impoverished and degraded environments. To condone this misdemeanor, let alone encourage it as a natural, legitimate assertion of man's personality and will in a world which belongs to him, shows how deeply ingrained is society's moral disorder, how surely the purification of our souls and revision of our outlook are needed.

It is quite clear that no nation, however powerful, can stay this adverse tide of man-made problems at its frontiers. This simple truth permits a few considerations. On the one hand, it proves that the very concept of sovereignty has grown old and artificial, and that policies of national independence can be effective, hence justifiable, only in the measure that they are not incompatible with the real world of interdependencies. On the other hand, it evidences the heavy responsibility resting on the most powerful nations which can exercise a governing influence over the world system; and, at the same time, it underlines their interest to act for its general good because it is finally the state of the total system which will determine their own. But simple truths are often hard to swallow. Among the die-hard defenders of the irrational and unstable status quo again we find everywhere, as always, those in power, impermeable as they are to any change of the existing order which might imperil their privileged position.

As a result, instead of uniting in a cooperative effort to restore healthy global conditions, our nations remain self-centred and antagonistic. They are arming one against the other to defend their individual and more often than not contrasting, even conflicting, policies. Everybody knows that international trade in every sort of armaments knows no crisis or slump, and that the thermonuclear stockpiles in existence can, in a few hours, wipe out all human life on Earth many times over. And yet, year after year, some of the best scientific and political energies and six to eight percent of the world's total product are devoted to perfecting the doctrines, technologies and armouries of extermination still further. The Hiroshima spectre which shocked and horrified all of humanity thirty years ago has now swollen to monstrous proportions and is ready to cloud our skies again and hold the whole planet in a compelling deadly embrace.

The vicious circle must and can be broken

This pitiful state and insane conduct of modern society but reflect, in another sense, its moral disintegration. It is tragic irony that its members trust their international security to their capacity of mutual destruction while, as an unwanted but inevitable fall-out from their endeavour, new means and forms of civil violence are multiplying and undermine their very internal security. More important than guns, technologies and treaties are the people behind them. A society so out of step with reality, possessing so much more power than wisdom, and so inadequately manned, particularly at high levels, is inherently vulnerable and unstable, and prone to disaster.

This combination of situations and trends is without precedent in human experience. It may be that all of them can be found, here and there, in the societies of the past, though with different orders of magnitude and not all at the same time; but nowadays their cross-impacts are explosive. The overwhelming problems of providing today's expanding multitudes with decent standards of material existence call for stronger technology and more bulldozers, power plants, industrial parks and cropland; but these problems are also closely intertwined with those of satisfying a host of other demands people now consider as essential, and which require privacy and open spaces, safe havens and blue skies. The actual interdependence of all these issues, as well as nations, is clashing with the divergent policies and strategies now prevailing; and all this combines with effects of complexity and scale to make such a colossal tangle of the world problematique that the farther mankind advances along its present course the more it is in trouble. This paradoxical vicious circle, whereby mankind at the peak of its ascent risks being submerged by sequels of mutually reinforcing, uncontrollable crises and discontinuities, must be broken.

Not the least difficulty resides in the fact this vision of impending disaster comes as an anticlimax after a period of hope and faith in a future of unfettered economic growth and near-miraculous techno-scientific achievements obtained without great sacrifices. Be that as it may, and whatever the odds, *the course leading up to this grievous epilogue must and*

can be changed. Nothing is more important. And a clear understanding of these twin concepts, of *danger* and *salvation* is indispensable at this juncture. People must realize that at present man is on the road to ruin, and that it is solely up to him to turn around and head in a safe direction.

Is mankind capable of this epochal changing of course? If the question only lay in a profound transformation of the ways and means whereby human demands are satisfied, a positive answer could be given with confidence. Take the productive enterprise as an example. It can be immensely improved. To purposefully undertake a qualitative change in it, a concerted action by all, or at least the main, human groups is necessary; but, though difficult, this is not impossible. It will in turn call for the deployment of very large financial and material means, recourse to more advanced techno-scientific knowledge and devices and development of superior planning and managerial skills, so as to substantially improve efficiency and performance in the productive sector of society without imbalancing the ecosystems or unreasonably depleting natural resources.

At present, the provision of food, goods or services to consumers throughout the world is a very badly organized and run undertaking, with incredible duplication of effort and enormous misallocations and waste of human and physical resources. Any management expert looking at our planet from far away would be appalled by the incredible state of disorder, fragmentation, incompetence and ineffectiveness with which this cardinal business is carried out. The margins for redressment, restructuring and efficiency are very wide indeed. Of course, it will be a mammoth job that of rationalizing the industrial establishment at a worldwide scale and revamping and reorganizing agricultural activity in the various regions according to global, long-term designs. However, if this is an objective which mankind wants really to pursue during the next two or three decades, it cannot be dismissed as one whose fulfilment is beyond our reach.

Similarly, the amount and variety of technological support required by stepped up and reformed productive plans is much greater than today's. By and large, society not only cannot be de-technologized but, if it has to be organized as a functional planetary system, will demand ever large quantities of ever more diversified technological inputs. However, few of those who are familiar with our potential capabilities in this field have ever had any doubt that the computer, laser, agronomy, cryogenics, coal gasification, metallurgy, birth control, communication, and whatever other sophisticated, intermediate or soft technologies it will need at every stage of its evolution will eventually be developed.

In conclusion, given the political will, this general mobilization of means and techniques and modernization of the human productive undertaking is feasible. However, this and like ones are not the issues on whose solution or non-solution the paramount question—whether mankind will be safe or will fall—hangs. They do not bear sufficiently on the general direction in which we, as an integrated global society, are actually moving.

Social justice is the first prerequisite for change

The real challenge to our generation is elsewhere, and it is more subtle and intricate. It lies in a radical renewal, even reversal of the principles and norms which accompanied our forebearers well enough in simpler, slower times but which ensnare and misdirect our strides in the complicated modern world; it consists in an overall updating of our thinking and behaviour to bring them into accord with and able to respond to the changed and changing situations confronting us; and it is above all represented by the necessity of a profound transformation within ourselves and of our mode of life and institutions capable of leading the human system to a new level of organization and responsibility and a finality of thorough self-realization. The challenge, in other words, is that of a quantum jump in human quality. Nothing less or different can suffice. And only a humane philosophy of life — a *new humanism firmly established as the inspiration and guideline of society* — can generate and sustain this qualitative change.

The enormity of what has to be done to satisfy this imperative is yet to be fully grasped. Maybe we must first fully realize the potential in terms of ultimate social and ecological disruption, man-to-man confrontation, and international class struggle implicit in the present course. If not reason or compassion, then let fear alert our minds and move our hearts towards a new conception of man and his world and new ways of conducting human affairs. It is said that fear is a bad counsellor. But today perhaps it is that alone which can force us to devise new foundations for human society.

This new humanism should not only be capable of reviving, renovating, discovering or eliciting the cultural values and motivation — spiritual, philosophical, ethical, social, aesthetic, artistic — which were left in the background when the major, if not only, purpose of society was material welfare; it should also be able to recreate in human society those healthy checks and balances which are indispensable for its internal equilibrium and harmonious communion with Nature. In a word, it has to be the product of a full-fledged socio-cultural revolution so strong as to match and guide the scientific, technical and industrial revolutions started during the last century and now in full swing.

But on what foundations can this humanism of the technological age be established?

Two of its foundations, in my view, can be detected even now, and are most urgent. One is *social justice*. This prerequisite must be interpreted in a very broad sense. A mass but heterogeneous society of four, five, six or more billion people possessing a great variety of cultures and wielding immense and growing power for good or evil in a shrinking planet cannot go very far if it is not firmly established on a bedrock of justice for all its partners. Conditions of inequality socially and politically acceptable or enforceable in the past, or even today, will no longer be tolerable tomorrow.

Quite apart from ethical considerations, an equitable society is a precondition for everything else. Without justice, there cannot be peace or security; there cannot be economic or social development; there cannot be freedom, human dignity or a quality of life. Without justice, society itself will cease to exist. And the very concept of justice has acquired wider contours. We are thus facing a sharp dilemma which goes beyond a better distribution of power and income: either world society will be capable of guaranteeing the minimum requirements of life and fairly equal opportunities to every citizen, irrespective of his or her merits, or escalating internal tensions are likely to make it crumble.

But the fundamental need is human development

The second and even more primary foundation is *Human Development*. Without it, not even justice is conceivable. Human development means much more than universal education, professional training and productive employment, although these are becoming compelling exigencies for individual emancipation and societal progress. Suffice it to consider that 40% or more of the world's adult population is illiterate and upwards of 700 or 800 million people were never taught how to develop their innate working capacities, and have never had the satisfaction of becoming meaningful producers and consumers. If their condition is not changed, they remain cut off from the mainstream of mankind; but they will not suffer alone because the better off peoples and nations, too, will be morally and materially crippled by the weight of these disparities.

Human development, however, does not just mean educating and activating these marginal masses; it also means bringing the whole of the population to understand their times and live as contemporaries, learning how to adjust continuously to the world complexities, the outer limits of its life-supporting systems, and the transformations we progressively operate in it. The present predicament of mankind appears, and in fact is, so formidable precisely because the majority of people, in both developed and developing countries and in all segments of society—including intellectual, scientific, political, and religious elites—have not yet fully adapted psychologically and functionally to the overall new world our "civilization" has created and is continuously reshaping. The very crux of the pervasive and baffling global crisis we are struggling with lies in this mismatch; and *adaptation* is the name of the key to get out of it.

Adaptation to change is the secret of life; without it, life becomes extinct. This quality whereby life continues is the result of elaborate and painful processes. In the non-domesticated animal or plant species which succeed in surviving, it occurs by natural selection and genetic evolution. With us humans, any natural or biological process would be too slow. We must rely on our brains, on cultural evolution. Everything human ultimately depends on whether and how or how felicitously we are able to make our mode of life compatible with our changing natural/man-made habitat, and vice versa. Hence, our dilemma, reduced to its elemental essence, is in reality even more absolute and awesome: either we upgrade and develop our own existential quality in harmony with the changes we bring about in our

midst and the outside world, or these changes will displace us and cumulatively push us towards catastrophe, with the end of the journey approaching rapidly.

Unquestionably, the first prerequisite for man is to be in good physical and mental health, a condition which is far from being the norm among the world population. When ill and weak, he is in no way ready for change. But I want to refer mainly to the process of human adaptation through acculturation; flexible as this has to be to allow for our cultural diversities, the world community must give it top priority. Two complementary policies have to be envisaged. Sweeping measures concerning man's own advancement must be coupled with a commitment to great restraint and selectivity as to change, with a view to regulating what is improperly called *progress*.

Concerning the human element itself, it is our first and foremost collective obligation to invest whatever treasure and talent is necessary to update and then cultivate people's own preparedness and fitness throughout the world, so that they can always keep abreast of the times, and not lag behindhand as at present. No doubt, the initial effort of catching up is tremendous and will require time and tenacity. And let me repeat once more that, all along, this will be a laborious and delicate process if it is going to promote and modernize different cultural patterns without shattering their identity and character. There is however no wisdom in simply arguing that this uplifting of the human quality is almost impossible. In the future, every large undertaking will be extremely difficult, having no comparison with anything in the past; but none is more important and vital. I therefore submit that a UN World Conference on Human Development should be convened as soon as possible in order to give this issue the central place it deserves—and launch, as a *mission for mankind*, a coherent, long-term world plan of human development.

As to "progress", it goes without saying that it has given man immense benefits. However, it has also brought in its stride the complexity of existence, the rapid, bewildering succession of images and information, the stress of speed, of tensions, of noise, our enslavement to overpowering mechanisms, to abstruse technologies, to more and more complicated symbolisms, plus overcrowding, depersonalization, and the inconsistency and uselessness of the individual immersed in the mass—causing crises of maladaptation and rejection and other psychic and social damage. The phenomenon of underdevelopment casts its roots in this terrain. Moreover, we have committed ourselves so deeply to constructing ever larger and interrelated artificial systems that we no longer succeed in controlling them, risking irreparable chain reactions from a breakdown in one of them.

All this abundantly shows that progress cannot go on anarchically and torrentially as in the past, in the wake of one technological breakthrough or another, irrespective of its usefulness, or of sectoral decisions and contingent programs, let alone military objectives, but that it needs comprehensive regulation—so that only such changes as are in the human interest and within the overall limits of human adaptability are pursued. In this framework,

some developments must be stimulated, others slowed down, yet others stopped outright. This regulation of our techno-scientific enterprise is the function of an internationally concerted, enlightened policy of science and technology that is long overdue. Fortunately, another conference of the UN world series is earmarked for 1978 in this field and its preparation is in good hands. The coming together of all nations around yet another common problem can prepare the ground for a positive evolution—that the goal of our thrust forward be no longer what we *can* or *wish* but what we *ought* to do.

On the verge of the humanistic revolution

With these considerations, the questions before us can be better formulated. Is our generation able to perceive its real challenge? Does it possess the creative imagination and commitment required to give rise to a new, all-inspiring humanism? Does it grasp that this revolution is the only force capable of steering mankind away from a catastrophic course, into another one of self-fulfilment?

I see glimmers of hope. In February 1974 ten senior statesmen from countries of different cultures and conditions accepted the invitation of The Club of Rome to join it informally in Salzburg as private citizens, hosted by the Austrian Chancellor, to discuss the state of the world and human prospects. These were political leaders confronted with everyday problems and short-term alternatives; yet they expressed the conviction that a commonality of basic interests undeniably exists among all human groups over and above their immediate differences, and that a new spirit of active global solidarity and cooperation must be rapidly developed if human society is to survive and progress in the coming decades. Their unanimous stand was encouraging, even if it cannot yet be translated into policy decisions by their respective countries.

This *Spirit of Salzburg* is penetrating many quarters at high levels of responsibility in other parts of the world. In Salzburg it was said that "at the origin of all our problems and all our aspirations, of course, are men themselves, their behaviour and expectations, their capacity to understand the changing reality of the technological age and their capacity to adapt to it or to modify it purposefully. The redressing of the multiple and menacing world situation also necessitates social improvement and development of human potential, and its better use." Another meeting similar to that of Salzburg is being prepared. Meanwhile, in its stride, a declaration was issued in Cocoyoc, Mexico, by the participants in the UNEP-UNCTAD Symposium of October 1974. Here are its conclusions: "We recognize the threats to both the *inner limits* of basic human needs and the *outer limits* of the planet's physical resources. But we also believe that a new sense of respect for fundamental human rights and for the preservation of our planet is growing up behind the angry divisions and confrontations of our day. We have faith in the future of mankind on this planet. We believe that ways of life and social systems can be evolved that are more just, less arrogant in their material demands, more respectful of the whole planetary

environment. The road forward... lies through a careful and dispassionate assessment of the outer limits, through the cooperative search for ways to achieve the inner limits of fundamental human rights, through the building of social structures to express those rights, and through all the patient work of devising techniques and styles of development which enhance and preserve our planetary inheritance."

The United Nations itself, although the gathering par excellence of national states, has become the main standard bearer of globalism and reform. The UN world conferences—first on man and his environment, then on population, and on food, on the oceans, and soon on energy and materials, later on human settlements, and so on—address themselves to problems which in one way or another affect the human system as a whole, and propose to decision-makers and world public opinion new instruments of coexistence and cooperation. Notable among these initiatives, for the profound repercussions they can have, are the proposal for a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of Nations, which is the object of heated discussion, and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at a special session of the UN Assembly in the spring of 1974. It was rightly noted that the United Nations has probably entered a new period—that of its second youth.

At the same time, thousands of smaller meetings are taking place in all parts of the world. All of them are pieces of a mosaic roughly patterned to fall together one day into an overall design. They are unconsciously inspired by the same purpose, driven towards the same finality: how can a more livable and viable world society be brought about? In a haphazard way these groups of politicians, of scientists, of scholars, and of plain citizens, are slowly weaving a fabric which will eventually hold human society together — by sets of new, evolutive institutions and instrumentalities.

A central supergovernment is certainly not needed and should by all means be avoided, but a system-like, orderly and functional hierarchy of governments and authorities working at different levels of competence and jurisdiction is more than necessary. Different priorities, competitive claims on resources, and divergent views on our future common good, and how to attain it, must eventually be reconciled, and the main direction of the human effort and what targets it can make at different points in time have to be somehow agreed upon. The evolution towards such a general understanding of an overall *world equifinality*, capable of assuring unity to human society while preserving the diverse identity of its components, will be long, difficult and embattled; and, as I mentioned before, no satisfactory formulae are yet in sight. But the atmosphere and the mood are changing throughout the world. We have probably entered the long gestation period of world society, all these meetings and endeavours being the forerunners of a world constituent assembly.

This awareness that mankind is on the eve of some change has been dawning for quite a while on ordinary people in many parts of the world, awakening their realization that some

rooted habits and privileges have to be sacrificed in order to propitiate a change for the good, and that ultimately better men and women are needed for the salvation of our humanity and existence.

These are, then, signs of an incipient change of heart. And, if it is true that the world situation has markedly worsened in the matter of a few years, it is no less true that a notable, and probably compensatory, improvement has occurred in people's sensibility and readiness for change. More than a century ago, at the onset of new phenomena of industrialization and urbanization, a force for society's renewal appeared with class conscience. In our time of technologization and globalization, its equivalent is the emerging *conscience of the species*. If this analysis and this comparison are correct, it will be difficult to stop this movement. But it may be too slow in producing its effects. What is therefore necessary is to strengthen it, giving it orientation and the legitimation of wide public support so that it can enter the arena of political decisions in a timely and authoritative manner.

It goes without saying that neither a successful socio-cultural revolution nor its immediate objective of justice and human development, even if attained in the near future, can by themselves, as by a touch of magic, conjure away our deep-rooted thorny problems or usher in a mature planetary society. Beyond any shadow of doubt, to regain control of its destiny, mankind has to take the hard way, with toil and sweat, ingenuity and persistence. But its objective predicament is exacerbated by spurious factors of ignorance, myopia and selfishness which a renaissance of the human spirit would swiftly dispel, permitting mankind to attack the real problems and their underlying causes without handicaps and with a fair chance of success. Furthermore, only with the advent of humanism as its driving force can society negotiate the troubled waters of this transition period without falling prey to the temptation of violence as a short cut when no other solution seems available.

These are the reasons why a new humanism is indispensable, not merely as a corrective to our material society, but as *the* mode of life apt to make human life possible. If this recognition develops and spreads, the choice of radical departures from the present course in order to pursue long-term fundamental human interest globally will seem less forbidding or less utopian, and altogether more acceptable, than most people feel today. Even the reverse attitude is likely to occur in the future. When our successors—having recovered a sense of reality, developed a capacity of synthesis, and rekindled their reliance on tolerance and solidarity among all humans—look back at our generation, they will wonder why it did not discover earlier that this was the logical and probably the sole way out of its predicament.

The year 1975 will be one of major tensions, tests and trials; it can be pivotal for some trends. The humanistic movement can gain ground and become a veritable revolution or have a serious setback. The Club of Rome—whose 1974 annual meeting was focused on the theme of a more equitable and better managed society—will take its activity a step further. The

international fora have busy schedules, and other important events are planned to debate crucial, urgent issues of world society. Everywhere the attention of mass media and public opinion will be forcefully drawn to the overarching alternatives of continuous emergency and deeper crises, or a joint search for safer and saner paths. The perception that the development of human quality is imperative as a means, besides being in itself a fundamental objective, will become clearer as situations get tougher. 1975 will therefore be a very important year. Sometime during its course, I hope I will be able to present those who have the patience to read me some thoughts about what the new humanism could mean in practice—giving examples of new principles and norms to be adopted, and how their implementation could be carried out, and pointing to a few missions for mankind which should be undertaken to actually put the human system on the move in the direction of a promising future.

THE CLUB OF ROME: ITS ACTIVITY AND SCOPE

The Club of Rome (CoR) was started in April 1968 by a small group of people of different cultures, experience and convictions but all concerned about the complexity and interrelationship of the mass of problems that traditional politics and institutions are no longer able to handle. Its membership is limited to 100, and now it comprises humanists, scientists, educators, civil servants and managers from more than 30 countries. Established in the Canton of Geneva as a non-profit association, its objectives are (a) to deepen by research and reflection the comprehension of the nature and dynamics of the *world problematique* and (b) to stimulate consequential political action so as to influence the conduct of world affairs in a more rational and humane direction. CoR being a group of private citizens without any public mandate, it can only have *catalytic* action.

The first research sponsored by CoR was that condensed in the report on *The Limits to Growth*, which was made public in March 1972 and has since been translated into more than 20 languages and has sold 2 million copies. The conclusions of this project, carried out at MIT under the leadership of Dennis L. Meadows, stressed the stern phys-

ical limits existing to human demographic and economic expansion. It aroused a heated worldwide debate on whether it is possible, and at what cost, to maintain the present growth trends of world society. The multiple criticisms levelled at this report did not invalidate its fundamental message—if anything, this has been strengthened by the appearance of ugly food and oil crises in the last two years. Many people consider this project, with all its shortcomings, a milestone in the evolution of modern thinking about the place of man in his world.

A second generation of projects was in the meantime promoted by CoR to get a better insight into some aspects of what it has termed the *predicament of mankind*. A report was presented last November in many languages, with the English title of *Mankind at the Turning Point*, at the conclusion of research led by Mihajlo D. Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel. The global system is disaggregated into ten major interacting regions, and its dynamics are analyzed using recent developments of the theory of large scale and complex systems. The determinant importance of interdependence among nations and the unacceptable cost for delaying policy action when this is urgently required are forcefully set forth. The study also introduces the concept of *organic growth* based on mutually influencing dynamic equilibria among all systems, cycles and phenomena throughout society, as an alternative to *exponential*

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growth (which leads to collapse) and *zero growth* (unacceptable in the economic field at least until population is stabilized and international gaps substantially reduced). The new methodology underpinning this study can be applied in the realm of practical politics, too, as an aid for rationalizing the decision-making process.

An *Alternative Model of the World* has been developed at the Bariloche Foundation under the guidance of Amilcar O. Herrera, the final aim being an egalitarian world society. As a birthright, every citizen is entitled to the satisfaction of his basic needs—for food, shelter, education, health, as may be defined within the framework of the culture to which he belongs—and to full participation in social decisions. The leading concept is hence normative, and the project undertakes to outline a way of arriving at the goals formulated. Preparation of the conclusive report is well advanced, and its publication is expected in 1975.

Another project, just completed by a group of technological "optimists" under the leadership of Dennis Gabor and Umberto Colombo, has studied the physical limits affecting the energy-food-materials complex. Each sector considered in isolation has large growth potential but the constraints each one imposes on the others drastically reduce the flexibility of the ensemble. Another conclusion is that the real limits are those created by political, social, economic and managerial shortcomings. The report, which has the temporary title of *New Directions for Science and Technology*, will appear in a few months' time. An interesting feature is its approach to the question of the institutional implications of scientific research and technological development.

The *World Food Problem* examined in

the light of a population doubling in little over thirty years, is the object of an extensive analysis carried out by a work team led by Hans Linnemann. This study too, nearing completion, is framed in the context of a wider problematique. Its conclusions underline many aspects of the difficulty, now widely discussed, of adequately feeding a growing world population, while offering several policy suggestions. A report will be available in the near future.

The CoR Japan Work Team led by Yoichi Kaya has carried out much detailed research on different problems emerging during the transition of modern society from one which is mainly growth-oriented to one seeking sustainable growth and more balanced socio-economic conditions. This is a matter of interest to both developed and less developed nations. The more recent study, still under way, refers to *North-South Economic Relations and Industry Transfer*.

A project, scheduled to run approximately one year, was started at the end of 1974 with the scope of *Reviewing the International Order*. This has Jan Tinbergen as coordinator and Jan van Ettinger as organization director. It is conceived as a response to the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order approved on May 1, 1974 along with a Programme of Action by the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly. Its outline covers a wider field than the economic order in the strict sense, and an international team of eminent scholars has been asked to cooperate. It is expected that its conclusions will offer an innovative yet coherent and realistic contribution for establishing the economic relations among all peoples and nations on a new basis.

On the initiative of Saburo Okita, CoR

is considering ways and means to encourage studies and policy measures whereby industrialized countries may rationally achieve slower rates of growth consistent with faster growth in developing countries, and also adopt alternative patterns of growth, both qualitatively oriented and sustainable over time.

Finally, CoR gives active consideration to the support of what may be called "third generation studies" centred on values and goals for global society. Tremendously complex and difficult work is involved, complicated by the different priorities and divergent views of nations and groups in our heterogeneous world—however, as the whole of mankind is united in a common destiny, agreement on some overall goals accepted by its various components is indispensable. The first effort in this field is expected to be made by a team under Ervin Laszlo.

The stimulation of political action and new policy designs as a consequence of and in harmony with these new thresholds of understanding has many forms and occurs at various levels. The most important form and level is involvement of world public opinion in the debate of fundamental issues affecting mankind now and in the future. Free and widespread divulgation of CoR ideas and

findings, for criticism or support, has been adopted to this end. Other ways, at intermediate levels of discussion, take the form of working groups, conferences, meetings at universities, public lectures, etc. in which CoR members continuously participate in developing and developed countries of both East and West. The creation of national groups of CoR in various parts of the world—Australia, Canada, Finland, Switzerland, West Germany, etc.—facilitates these tasks.

Moving to the highest level of decision, CoR maintains contact with senior statesmen in countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia as well as Europe and North America, and with high officials of the UN. An informal meeting with ten such political personalities of a wide variety of countries took place in February 1974 in Salzburg—probably the first of this kind even held and, in CoR's view, the first of a series of similar events to be organized from time to time. At its conclusion, the participants "indicated unequivocally that a new spirit of active solidarity and cooperation among all peoples and nations—which we call the *Spirit of Salzburg*—is indispensable for mankind to face the challenge of our time". This kind of activity will be stepped up in 1975.

PASSAGES

Two Poems

*Upon a central, upbearing shaft
Of luminous wind and anxious flame,
The heart whelmed by sharp yearning
And single love, in conscious abandon
Is carried above; that white gale
Of bright desire, self-given to the storm
Of tender and powerful, seeing force,
Is convicted by its passion to swift union
And wideness, to a silent, mystic passage
Marked only by rapture and flowers of fire.*

*

*Admitted to a forest of light, shadowless yet cooling,
Upborne by a translucent wind to an edgeless path
Peopled with the brightness and oblation of each,
With open-winged birds of adoration and song,
With a free water's voice of swiftness and strength
And a fugue of souls alive in fragrance and petal,
There came again, closer, a beckoning, a recognised face.*

Tatsat

AFTER FRANCO—WHAT?

Harold T. Murphy

Frank S. Riddel

[Concluded from the issue of August 1975]

The Present Situation

The present political situation in Spain is one of extreme tension, growing dissent and disorder, intrigue and internal conflict within the regime, and a general mood of uneasiness. The long-lived authoritarian government is exhibiting a considerable amount of strain, and the various policies used so successfully in the past by Franco to placate or control the citizenry are no longer very effective. The Portuguese revolution has frightened the rightists and encouraged the leftists while the assassination of Carrero Blanco, economic recession, and the constant jockeying for power within the government as Franco's demise approaches have seriously weakened the regime.

The decade of rapid economic progress enjoyed by Spain from 1957 to 1967 was a feather in the cap of the regime and helped promote political stability. However, by 1967 economic dislocations began occurring throughout Europe and since then have become increasingly serious. Max Gallo cites the economic woes of the regime as being largely responsible for the renewal of opposition and repression on an unprecedented scale, much to the dismay of many hopeful Spaniards:

The economic difficulties of the years 1967-8 . . . were . . . the cause of a new flare up of conflict in Spain and of renewed repression. Those who had looked forward to an era of mutual understanding . . . now witnessed the reappearance . . . of all the old violent conflicts, the arrests and trials, and the clash of large minorities against the background of an apolitical Spain.⁸

8. Max Gallo, *Spain Under Franco: A History* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1974), p. 348.

The research on which this article is based was made possible by a grant from Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia, where both authors are professors in the Department of Social Studies.

Having taken all the credit for the economic "miracle", the regime now receives much of the blame for the continuing economic decline. Rising unemployment has been made worse by the return of thousands of migrant workers from other European countries caught in the recession, the tourist industry is suffering badly, and inflation rates, spurred by the energy crisis, are climbing rapidly. The number of strikes (which are illegal in Spain) surpassed two thousand in 1974, and despite the repressive measures used against illegal labor organizations they continue to grow.

The regime's efforts to maintain political stability during Franco's declining years were seriously damaged by the assassination of Premier Luis Carrero Blanco, who had been entrusted with the future of Francoism. His charge included the task of overseeing the transition to the monarchy and insuring that the king did not betray Franco's trust. His importance was further enhanced by his ability to preserve the delicate balance between moderates and extremists within the regime. While he had been a supporter of the economic policies of the moderate Opus technocrats, his reticence concerning liberalization and his willingness to use force against dissent and disorder had made him acceptable to the extreme right.

The strong response of the right to Carrero's murder was at least partially responsible for Franco's particular choice of a successor. Premier Carlos Arias Navarro, former Minister of the Interior, had a reputation as a hard-liner and considerable support among the Falange and other conservative groups. However, the actions of the new premier since he came to power have been rather surprising. Promising both change and continuity, he has staked his political future on an attempt to further liberalize Spain without at the same time contributing to the growth of dissent and disorder. By the standards of Western democracies, his plans for liberalization appear extremely limited, but for Spain they are indeed a giant step forward. The most important of his suggested reforms include the election of mayors and certain local officials, doubling the number of elected members in the Cortes (parliament), granting the official labor syndicates more bargaining power, and promoting the formation of political associations (not parties) which, however, must operate within the context of the only legal party, the National Movement (Falange).

The premier's support of *aperturismo* (liberalization) does not mean that liberal moderates will have any real voice in the government or that the repressive actions of the regime will cease. Acts of defiance by workers, students, and others continue to lead to fines, arrests, and intimidation. The few moderates left in the cabinet after Arias Navarro made his initial appointments have had little influence, and since then their numbers have been further reduced. In October 1974, Pio Cabanillas, the Minister of Information and a supporter of liberalization, was fired supposedly on orders from Franco, and Barrera de Irimo, the Minister of Finance, resigned in sympathy as did a number of officials in various ministries. Subsequently, the head of the important National Institute of Industry stepped down, and another cabinet reorganization was provoked in March

by the resignation of the Minister of Labor whose efforts to have strikes legalized were offset by an amendment allowing employers to dismiss striking employees. Another indication of the growing influence of the right and the premier's basic conservatism was reflected in the replacement of the moderate Lt. Gen. Diez Alegria by the ultra-conservative General Vallespin as Chief of Staff.

It is becoming increasingly questionable whether Arias Navarro can succeed in his attempt to prepare Spain for the post-Franco era and ease the nation through the period of transition by way of *aperturismo*. His conservatism, the resurgence of the right, Franco's wariness, and the Portuguese situation all militate against the success of even a gradual and limited liberalization. So too does the negative attitude of those who support reform but feel that Navarro's proposals do not go nearly far enough. Few efforts have been made to organize political associations and fewer still have been approved by the regime. Arias Navarro's hope that the former Minister of Information, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, could organize a broad center-right political association and thus give some impetus to the program has evidently collapsed because of the government's refusal to approve Fraga's demand for universal suffrage, free trade unionism, and constitutional reform. One finds then that the right is generally opposed to reform proposals, while moderates, who want true reform, and the left, which wishes to completely dismantle the system, are either not permitted or are unwilling to participate in the political arena under the rules set down by Arias Navarro.

The premier's difficulties with *aperturismo* and the increase of dissent and disorder are actually problems that he inherited but which have grown more serious during his tenure. For several years the regime had pursued a policy of limited and sporadic liberalization. Instead of reducing political tension as was intended, however, the gradual move toward less authoritarianism has led to more dissent and demands for total liberalization. Arias Navarro, recognizing that a unilateral increase in either liberalization or repression would be dangerous to the regime's stability, has sought to steer a middle course by relying on both as a means of accomplishing his political ends. However, he has succeeded in pleasing virtually no one and angering many moderates as well as the right and left. *Aperturismo* is stymied, and as opposition to the regime mounts, the premier responds with increased force. But repression, so effective in the past, now serves to radicalize growing numbers of people and to foster cooperation among the opposition which was once so fractionalized.

Perhaps the most formidable opponents of the regime at present are the illegal local trade unions known as Worker's Commissions. The failure of the state-controlled vertical syndicates to represent worker's grievances or to achieve significant advances on their behalf led to the rise of the clandestine unions despite government prohibitions against such organizations. The Commissions have grown rapidly during the past decade, and since they are supported by most liberal and leftist groups, the regime is very

concerned about their potential for serious economic and political disruption. The severe sentences, ranging from twelve to twenty years, imposed on ten men accused of meeting for the purpose of organizing Worker's Commissions are illustrative of the government's determination to suppress labor militancy. The Carabanchel Ten, as they came to be known, were tried in December 1973, but after an intensive national and international campaign on their behalf, the Spanish Supreme Court agreed last February to reduce their sentences. This action however, does not indicate a weakening of the regime's determination to suppress the Commissions, for the following month the government brought to trial eight workers and their two lawyers charged with illegal association and attempts to organize SEAT auto workers.

Opposition to the regime has also developed within the Spanish Catholic Church which for many years was very supportive of Franco. The impact of the comparatively liberal attitudes expressed by the Vatican Council and the Papacy plus the increasing sophistication of the younger Spanish priests have contributed greatly to the unwillingness of many members of both the clergy and laity to continue supporting the Church's traditional embrace of the Franco regime. Some Catholics merely want to separate Church and State, but others among the more progressive wing of the Church have escalated their differences of opinion with the government to such a degree that they have become a rather powerful opposition group.

Despite the continued opposition of many conservative elements within the Church hierarchy and the laity, the episcopate has supported the right to strike and form unions, while a number of priests have been arrested for cooperating with the Worker's Commissions. In September 1971 a stunning blow was dealt Franco's claim that the civil war was fought to save Catholicism when a majority of 285 priests and bishops criticized the Church for having taken sides during the war. Relations with the regime continued to deteriorate when late in 1974 four-fifths of Spain's bishops voted for the restoration of democratic rights and an amnesty for political prisoners. In March of this year at the Spanish Roman Catholic Episcopal Conference the bishops again widened the breach by calling for broad political reforms to insure freedom of expression. On several occasions the regime has rebuked bishops for the radical nature of their pastoral letters, and both Franco and Arias Navarro have found it necessary to issue stern warnings to their Catholic critics.

Another opposition group which is of special concern to the regime, particularly in light of recent events in Portugal, is the Spanish Communist Party. The extent of the party's appeal among the populace is difficult to calculate and its potential effectiveness is diminished by internal rifts, but the refusal of the regime to permit moderates and centrists to organize has obviously strengthened the position of the Communists, who by means of their clandestine activities have gradually succeeded in infiltrating labor and student groups and now pose as the champion of their interests. They are in effect

winning support by default as are other extreme leftist groups such as FRAP, a new Marxist-Leninist organization which is growing rapidly.

Hostility to the regime remains very strong in Catalonia and the Basque Country despite government efforts to dilute strong regional feelings by a combination of repression and conciliatory gestures. Basque priests, workers, and students have frequently defied the government; and the activities of ETA, the revolutionary group responsible for the assassination of Carrero Blanco and a number of police officials, have prompted the regime to rescind civil liberties in the region on several occasions. While dissent in Catalonia has not been as extensive or violent as in the Basque provinces, the government has felt compelled to constantly repress left wing groups such as the Catalan Assembly.

Dissenting students and members of the intelligentsia have been outspoken critics of the Franco government for years. Disruptions at Spanish universities were originally struggles for academic freedom and representative student organizations, but eventually the concerns of the academic community turned to political affairs as well. A majority of the public disturbances aimed at the regime over the years have been fomented by students, but the level of dissent and strikes has escalated to such an extent in recent months that the government has temporarily closed several universities. Even the technical universities which are heavily influenced by the Falange and the official labor syndicates are showing signs of unrest.

Opposition from most of the groups noted above has come to be expected by the government although the rapid increase in dissent during the past year has no doubt surprised the leadership. However, the most alarming aspect of the current situation from the regime's point of view is the spread of dissent to the middle class which has generally been supportive of the government or totally apathetic. Many lawyers have spoken out against the repressive nature of the state, the press has become as critical as possible under the circumstances, actors have gone on strike, and housewives and neighborhood associations have participated in illegal boycotts of markets and shops in protest against rising prices. In a completely unprecedented move in February of this year, 500 members of the civil service petitioned the government to establish a democratic state and some went so far as to strike for several days.

Even the army is beginning to concern the regime. Franco has always recognized that the army was the key to both his retention of power and the successful reestablishment of the monarchy. Therefore, he has assigned the most important commands to men whose personal loyalty to him was unquestionable and has aimed at immobilizing the military as a political factor by depoliticizing the officer corps and centering its attention on the task of professionalizing the armed forces. The military will continue to support Franco as long as he lives, but there is reason to doubt that it will remain apolitical and transfer its loyalty to Juan Carlos in the post-Franco period.

Such doubts stem from the obvious cleavages within the military. The leadership is divided between officers who are basically conservative but perceive themselves as apolitical professionals and the ultra-conservatives who oppose any type of liberalization and who consider the army as the only guarantee of a stable, orderly society. While right-wing officers are not as numerous or influential as they once were, they are probably in the majority, and they make no secret of the fact that they do not support *aperturismo* and that they will definitely step into the picture if Juan Carlos proves incapable of maintaining political stability. The attitudes of ultra-conservative officers have prompted the regime to warn them either to avoid all political involvement or resign.

Nonetheless, the army, like other Spanish institutions, is also beginning to exhibit some liberal sentiments. In February an army captain was reprimanded and reassigned to North Africa after refusing to compile a list of Barcelona metro employees who supported the Worker's Commissions. This was followed by the arrest of two more officers who defended the captain's action. An additional twenty-five officers immediately sent a letter to the Minister of the Army and the Commander of the Catalan Region in which they criticized the use of the army for repressive police duties and advocated certain political reforms. Another petition addressed to Franco himself and calling for an amnesty for political prisoners and exiles was signed by 160,000 people including 2,000 army officers.

Such incidents do not, of course, indicate that the army is no longer a dependable defender of the status quo, but they do support the contention of some observers that the political attitudes of a growing number of the younger men in the lower ranks of the officer corps are moving toward the center.⁹ Moreover, the regime's concern about the growth of a liberal element within the army has been heightened by the claims of the Communists and Socialists that they are in frequent contact with a number of officers.

Despite the increasing pressure from the left and center, the most immediate threat to Arias Navarro and perhaps the succession comes from the ultra-conservative faction which is extremely upset by the drift of events in Portugal and the increase of disorder at home. They are convinced that *aperturismo* and the relaxation of internal controls could lead to a leftist takeover similar to the one in Portugal. The influence of moderate elements within the Falange and other conservative groups who are willing to cooperate with the premier is offset by the hard-liners in the cabinet, the army, and the internal security forces. Fanatical right-wing groups such as the Warriors of Christ the King and the New Force are not only critical of the government but resort to the burning of bookstores, disruption of art exhibits, the picketing of objectionable movies, and the harassment of dissenters in an attempt to intimidate liberals. The police rarely take any notice of such activities, nor have they suppressed right-wing demonstrations against the premier which have occurred in the heart of the capitol.

9. "Rubbing Colour Out of the Army", *The Economist*, CCLIV (January 11, 1975), 31. Medhurst pp. 50-51.

Blas Pinar, a spokesman for the extreme right, has stated that he and his supporters will not obey or follow Arias Navarro,¹⁰ and the keynote speaker at ceremonies marking the 41st anniversary of the Falange proclaimed that the premier's hopes for liberalization were dead.¹¹ This speech was especially significant because it had been approved by Franco who was in attendance at the ceremony. Rumors persist that Franco is very dissatisfied with Arias Navarro and that he may soon be replaced unless he begins to deal with dissent and disorder more effectively.

Thus, the regime is buffeted from all sides and the political situation becomes increasingly confused as Franco's demise nears. The old dictator's physical and mental condition make it difficult for him to continue to oversee the affairs of state, yet the premier does not seem to be able to maintain the political equilibrium necessary to insure a calm and orderly transition to the monarchy.

The Problem of Transition and Continuum

Franco declared Spain a kingdom as far back as 1947 when he promulgated the Law of Succession. However, it was to be a kingdom without a monarch until Franco as head of state and regent should select one. As Vicente Pilapil has pointed out, Franco wanted the new monarchy to be something more than a continuation of the monarchies out of Spain's past.

... Franco intended his regime to be the fountainhead of Spain's future government. ... As he underlined in his speech proposing his successor, "I believe it necessary to remind you that the kingdom we ... have established, owes nothing to the past. ..."

In line with this interpretation, the leader of the "Crusade" had the right to be the kingmaker; Franco emphasized that the succession ... would be an "installation" rather than a restoration. The role of the future monarchy would be to perpetuate Franco's system.¹²

In view of his conception of the monarchy-to-be as a continuation of his regime, the choice of a successor was not surprising. On July 22, 1969, Franco, as expected, named Juan Carlos to succeed him. He bypassed the father of the prince and the rightful heir to the throne, Don Juan, who had been critical of the regime's authoritarianism and was, therefore, considered too liberal.

10. Jules Stewart, "The Gathering Storm In Spain", *The Progressive*, XXXVIII (December, 1974), 12.

11. Harry W. Flannery, "Freedoms In Spain: Making No Haste Slowly", *Commonweal*, CI (December 20, 1974), 256.

12. Vicente Pilapil, "Franco, the Monarchy, and Juan Carlos", *Contemporary Review*, CCXIX (July, 1971), 2.

However, Franco's careful plans for a continuation of his policies through the monarchy are beset by several difficulties, including the fact that personal dictatorships have generally proven to be nontransferrable. The designation of a successor prior to Franco's death or retirement cannot appreciably alter the problems involved in passing to Juan Carlos a mantle of power which is based on Franco's personal appeal and authority, his political sagacity, and the firm allegiance of a variety of disparate factions, some of which are opposed to a monarchy.

Franco's refusal to develop either an official political party or ideology as he sought to strengthen and maintain his own position, also threatens to make the transfer of power more difficult. Without an ideology or a monolithic political party, the regime lacks any type of effective instrument designed to develop and sustain mass support for Franco's policies or to thoroughly institutionalize those policies. Since the regime's power has always centered around one man who is now nearing the end of his career, and in view of the fact that no widespread support for his plan to recreate the monarchy has been mobilized, both the opposition and certain factions on the right which have traditionally supported Franco are encouraged by the situation to think in terms of alternatives to a monarchy as the future form of government.

Then too, the potential and the intentions of Juan Carlos are so difficult to assess that the public cannot help but face the future with a certain amount of trepidation. The prince is totally dependent upon Franco's goodwill and cannot at the moment reveal his own political and social attitudes, project any real influence, or develop ties with the key groups with which he will some day have to work. It may be that he will personally favor more rapid liberalization, but given the opposition to him among the ultra-conservatives who consider him a weakling and the probable lack of support from a skeptical public which sees him as Franco's lackey, he will have difficulty in accomplishing reform without endangering his own position. On the other hand, he will face strong pressures to liberalize from leftists and moderates, and his failure to do so will also bode ill for his future and that of the monarchy.

Prospects for the Future

In view of the confused political situation and the extreme difficulties involved in trying to assess the various factors which might play a role in the determination of Spain's political future, no one can accurately predict what the post-Franco period will be like. There are obviously several conceivable outcomes within the realm of possibility. However, considering the current realities of Spanish politics, some are much more probable than others.

It can be assumed that the monarchy will be installed as planned unless the regime's control should deteriorate precipitously between now and Franco's demise. Despite some

opposition, the monarchy as a solution to the problem of succession does have support among certain groups who see their future tied to it. Many of the members of the authoritarian faction now in power as well as the technocrats feel that the monarchy will be advantageous to their interests, and both the semi-opposition and the alegal opposition believe that Juan Carlos will be amenable to further liberalization. With the exception of the most extreme groups, even the illegal opposition is willing to accept the monarchy as a temporary solution through which they can hopefully achieve reforms that will ultimately lead to a democratic Spain.

The transition period may well be marked by protests from the extreme right and left, but the security forces should be able to handle such discontent as there might be unless the transfer of power takes place in the midst of a major crisis. The majority of Spaniards will probably adopt a wait-and-see attitude toward the monarchy.

If the transition occurs without major incident, the critical period for the new government will begin after it has been in power for a few months and makes known its intentions concerning the future. It is possible that the government might move in the direction of total liberalization and democratization, but the likelihood of such an eventuality is very slight given the conservative nature of the premier and cabinet Juan Carlos will no doubt inherit from Franco and upon whom he will have to lean for advice and support. The growing influence of the right and the attitudes of the leadership of the military and internal security forces will also militate against such a drastic change in policy. Even the present organizational structure of the state poses a considerable barrier to rapid democratization, for Franco has done nothing to create the type of political institutions which would serve as the necessary foundation for such an endeavor.

Some headway in the direction of a representative government might be made if the opposition develops more cohesion and enough public support to compel the creation of a coalition government or at least the inclusion of a few of their members in a broadened cabinet. This, of course, is not likely to happen unless conditions are such that the right simply has no other choice or considers it politic to placate the left to some extent.

Another possibility that cannot be totally discounted in spite of the strong forces working against it is revolution. A revolt could conceivably occur during the transition to the monarchy, but the probabilities are greater that it might erupt after the monarchy has been established and the nature of the new government is known. Revolution could be sparked by the activities of the left if repression under the new government does not abate and reform is not forthcoming, or the right if Juan Carlos proves too liberal or if they believe that leftist groups are becoming too much of a threat. The greatest danger, however, is that violence and widespread disorder leading to a conflict of considerable proportions might be set off by accident, for at the moment there are

virtually no major groups which either contemplate or desire a renewal of the violence which has characterized Spain's past.

The terror and misery of the last civil war are still alive in the memory of many Spaniards, and they want to avoid another such conflict at all costs. Then too, the economic development of the sixties, large investments from abroad, and the important tourist industry have given increasing numbers of people a stake in the system which they do not want to jeopardize. Most opposition groups, including the Communists, are very concerned about the possibility of violence, for it would probably work to their disadvantage. They know full well that widespread terrorism and disorder would provoke the government to act repressively on an unprecedented scale and that such measures would receive the support of much of the public.

The most plausible alternative to political continuity is a seizure of power by the military, which, given the lack of political institutions in Spain, is the only significant stabilizing force which can be turned to in the event of a major crisis. The ultra-conservative faction is still rather strong and even the moderate apolitical officers would probably be stirred to action by a breakdown of order after Franco. Having assumed power, the army could establish a military junta—which is unlikely—or eventually turn the reins of government over to a regime comprised of figures from the right. The king might be retained, but it is probable that he would be nothing more than a figurehead.

Since Franco has been very careful to avoid concentrating power in the hands of any single group within his ruling coalition, it is possible that a power struggle might ensue within the government after his demise. If this should occur and if it created serious problems, the military might feel it necessary to impose a solution by backing one of the conflicting factions.

However, the most likely answer to the question, "After Franco—what?", is simply a continuation of the basic policies of Francoism. This will tend to be true whether the country is ruled by Juan Carlos or an authoritarian premier and cabinet which has the backing of the right and the military hierarchy.

It will be very difficult to avoid following a policy of continuism for some time after the transition because the new government will be challenged by the unresolved problems of the past and, above all, because its options will have been so severely limited by the nearly inescapable political dilemma created by Franco's authoritarian paternalism. Like their predecessors in the Franco regime, the conservative faction in the new government will oppose further liberalization, while moderates will be torn between their desire to satisfy growing demands for reform and fear that total liberalization might lead to chaos and bloodshed. The leadership, under pressure from right, left, and center, is likely to conclude, as did the beleaguered Arias Navarro, that the political

quandary inherited from Franco leaves them but one alternative. Consequently, they will attempt to maintain order and stability and to mollify the right by insuring political continuity. As in the past, there will be a slow process of limited liberalization in the hopes of preventing further radicalization of the citizenry, and those among the opposition who refuse to accept the continuation of Francoism will be suppressed.

If the economic situation improves, if some progress is made toward further liberalization, and if the opposition does not press the government too hard, there is hope that a gradual evolution in the direction of a more responsive and viable system could result. Otherwise, the government may simply stagger from crisis to crisis until it collapses or is compelled by its untenable position to choose between an extreme form of authoritarianism and an attempt at a workable democracy.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY — IV

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought: Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

To continue with our main argument, we may very briefly consider Marx's concept of culture and ideology under the categories of science, art, and religion.

It is not clear where exactly science should stand, among the forces of production or with ideology. In either case, insuperable difficulties arise. As a force of production it is dependent upon men's thinking; as ideology it is independent of the forces of production, possessing as it does its own inner logic of development.

Art—all great art, at any rate—is universal, its supreme concern being essentially with man as man, and not just as serf, bourgeois or comrade. And Marx himself was a profound admirer of "ancient" Homer and "feudal" Shakespeare. The greatest creative works, moreover, whether in science or art, are not the products of the conscious, rational faculty at all, but of intuitions, flashes of illumination—a process which has been brilliantly documented by Arthur Koestler in *The Act of Creation*. Unless, therefore, it is argued that these intuitions are the wafted odour of the forces or the relations of production—which is nonsense and certainly not materialism, dialectical or any other—the conclusion is inescapable that to relate art to the economic structure alone is inadequate and erroneous.

But when we come to religion we are up against an absolutely impossible problem; Marx dismisses it as the opiate of the people. It is true that in the West there has been, and still exists, a strong and persistent tendency to identify religion with creed or dogma, no matter how outworn and tattered it may be. From this point of view, Marx's criticism of religion as an "ideology" which keeps men from coming to a true understanding of their positions in society is a sound one. But in India religion has always meant *anubhuti*, realisation; and Vivekananda repeatedly emphasises this point: religion is realisation, it is being and becoming, not books, temples, creeds or rituals. The truly religious men, therefore, are the saints and mystics. And a theory which dismisses such personages—Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed, Shankara, Francis of Assisi, Jalaluddin Rumi, Kabir, Nanak, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Ramana Maharishi, Sri Aurobindo, to name the most outstanding—exposes its own blindness to a profound dimension of the human personality. It was perhaps natural for a great and sensitive thinker like Marx, living in the midst of Victorian cant and hypocrisy, to have developed and insisted upon "hard-headedness and realism", but he appears to have carried this tendency too far and to have totally overlooked the

imponderables of 'this mysterious human existence of ours. The experience of the mystic has repeatedly been attested by the best specimens of humanity in all ages; and it seems both simpler and more logical to accept it as true and significant than to seek an explanation in terms of highly ingenious theories of libido or relations of production. The great task of philosophy is to explain and account for all the facts of human experience—common sense and mysticism, science and art, thought and action—and only in the measure to which it encompasses all these within its frame does it stand out as truly satisfactory. That is why it is so difficult wholly to accept one-sided theories like those of Marx, remarkable though they may be in several particulars.

Marx's concept of culture is indeed the greatest and the most far-reaching of the errors of his remarkable philosophy. It is founded upon the illusion, common enough in Europe in his day, that Western civilisation is the only valid and living civilisation; this illusory view has had the effect of blurring national identity and confusing national culture with the products of its most decadent period. In India it has fostered the emasculating belief that our culture is a thing without substance, grit or vitality, a holdover of feudalism and a rallying point only for reactionaries and obscurantists. It has thus raised once again the very issue (What is to be preserved and what is to be rejected?) that had been firmly settled by India's great renaissance; and to that extent it has put the clock back and certainly been in itself a reactionary tendency. Above all, it has had a profoundly denationalising effect upon the people in general and the youth in particular: it has burnt the roots of national self-confidence and dried up the springs of

enthusiasm and concerted action. Our education, through which new attitudes could have been formed, has remained at least as bad as when Vivekananda condemned it almost eighty years ago: "It is not a man-making education, it is merely and entirely a negative education. A negative education or any training that is based on negation is worse than death. The child is taken to school, and the first thing he learns is that his father is a fool, the second thing that his grandfather is a lunatic, the third thing that all his teachers are hypocrites, the fourth that all the sacred books are lies! By the time he is sixteen he is a mass of negation, lifeless and boneless. And the result is that . . . such education has not produced one original man. . . ."

The third main contention of Marx is that the actual process of change involves a class struggle for bringing about a rearrangement, as it were, of the relations of production. Class struggle indeed, he goes on to add, is the normal condition of every society, there being the ruling or propertied classes which control the state and there being the exploited and poor classes whose interests are at all times in antagonism to those of the ruling classes. It is the latter proposition that is of a more obviously doubtful nature; and it is moreover, not even implied by the first which is perfectly compatible with the view that the movement within an epoch is from class cooperation to class struggle. The latter proposition, the permanent antagonism of class interests, totally fails to explain how government and society come to exist at all. Engels, as usual, makes a few concessions: "the law of division of labour lies at the basis of the division into classes"; "upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification,

the insufficiency of production"; but now the justification no longer exists on account of "the complete development of modern productive forces". To say all this is at least to acknowledge that class struggle was not the *normal* condition of any earlier society.

But now to come to the first and more fundamental proposition of Marx: class struggle as a mode of change. We find that this is not true of all epochal changes; the transition from ancient society to feudalism for instance having taken place as a result of the breakdown of central authority and the resultant new-crystallisation of society. But even where it is perfectly correct to say that a class struggle took place—in the transition from feudalism to capitalist society, for instance—we notice that the struggle was not quite of the kind that Marx's general theory of the classes being in antagonism to one another would lead us to expect. In this case, the struggle occurred not between the classes that constituted the feudal society as such, but between the ruling feudal class and an emerging new one. This fact suggests at once the point made by M.N. Roy in his later years: the interests of classes within a society cannot be merely antagonistic (for they do cohere to form a government and society), and a class can successfully liberate society, as the bourgeoisie did, only if it serves the interests of the whole of society and not just its own.

This raises the further question whether, on historical analogy, Marx was right in believing that the working class would be the vanguard of the socialist revolution. For the workers are part of the same economic and social structure as the capitalists, and history would seem to suggest that it is an "outsider" class, a class that cannot be accommodated

within the frame of the existing system, that has a real stake in bringing about a social revolution. The actual course of the communist revolutions supports this view. Lenin with his "vanguard" party and "trade union" working class, Mao and Castro with their peasant guerillas, and Western Europe with its unabated capitalism all point to an ultimately non-revolutionary working class. Indeed, were it not for the enormous authority of Karl Marx, the dogma of the working class as vanguard of all revolution would have been exploded long ago. The working class may and possibly must form the tail, it can never constitute the vanguard of a social revolution. It is the "outsiders", the landless and poor peasantry and the educated unemployed, that compose the burning core of revolutionary fire. The working class and the lower middle classes represent at best active or benevolent, at worst passive or detached sympathisers of the revolution.

As earlier mentioned, behind all these big and small shortcomings in the philosophy of Marx there seems to lie the one supreme failure of his inability to perceive the living reality of great civilisations other than his own. He permitted himself to share the common illusion of Europeans of his time that regarded Western civilisation as the only valid one, treating the life of the Orient as one dreary record of barbarism and superstition. The consequences of a mistaken perception of fact can be very serious in the case of a powerful thinker, for the characteristic of a great mind is that it is thorough-going and will carry an idea or principle to its farthest point of logic. Since diversity of cultures with similar economic structures was inconceivable to Marx, he felt perfectly satisfied with his explanations which seemed

to fit in equally with European history and thought. Had he been able to perceive the unique reality and living continuity of Indian civilisation, for instance—as Max Muller had done in his own day—he would have been led to revise his contention that the economic structure defines a society, and further on to re-examine the entire question of the relationship between matter and mind.

On the other hand, the peculiar history and development of European thought also encouraged him to make a clear-cut choice between idealism and materialism, the poles between which in a broad way the substance of European philosophical speculations lay. The emergence of modern Europe had been characterised by two tendencies, the declining authority of the Church and the rising authority of science; and this created a terrific intellectual tension between beliefs—like free will, God, etc. hitherto preserved in some of the untenable doctrines of the Church which were considered essential for morality—and the naturalism of science with its need for free scope to delve and inquire into what and where it chose. On the one side, therefore, arose philosophical thinkers who sought somehow to protect free will, etc. against the inroads of science; on the other side there arose thinkers frankly and unreservedly in favour of the view implicit in science.

The first line of thinking, in which even Descartes himself must be included, reached a kind of dead end in the subjective idealism of Bishop Berkeley. The second trend worked itself through the materialism of Hobbes, Gassendi and the thinkers of the French Enlightenment as well as the scepticism of David Hume. Both these strands of thought met in the great work of Immanuel Kant who strove to reconcile them. But Kant followed

the analytic principle, divide and conquer, and his reconciliation involved assigning to science and morals each its own sphere—that of pure reason and that of practical reason respectively. Hegel, however, a philosopher of very vast synthetic ability, could not be satisfied with “this paltry doctrine”, as he called it. In place of Kant’s inert pacification he sought an active synthesis, and in the process developed for the first time a monistic idealism which, unlike Berkeley’s, was not subjectivist but historical. Marx, who disliked the proclamation of grandiose ideals and therefore felt repelled by the “mystifications” of Hegel’s thought, was naturally drawn towards the other alternative, materialism, which had already come to the fore in Feuerbach in a new form. Marx’s turning to materialism had thus not a little to do with the peculiarity of Western thought where idealism and materialism have represented two mutually exclusive alternatives.

In Indian philosophy, on the other hand, the polarity has been between purusha and prakriti, soul and nature, not mind and matter which are both evolutes of prakriti. The true relation between the two has, therefore, been better understood in India; and it may be denoted as *bhedabheda*, difference in non-difference, to borrow a term used in a different context. The essence of the Indian view is that matter and mind go together representing as they do the gross and the subtle forms of the same substance. Therefore, even in Raja Yoga which involves the most abstract of mental activities (if even that, ultimately), we have the use of breathing and a reference to the kundalini and the chakras which constitute a kind of physical counterpart to the abstract mental processes of the Yoga. Similarly, there is the system

of Hatha Yoga which takes its start from the body while seeking to regulate and control the mind. Again, the theory of biological evolution which evoked such fierce controversies in Europe, could produce scarcely a ripple in the Indian mind; Vivekananda straightaway annexed the notion to the Sankhya concept of cosmic involution and evolution. Sri Aurobindo's vision of a spiritual evolution of consciousness with a resultant evolution of forms is central to his entire philosophy; therein he has eliminated the Sankhya dichotomy between purusha and prakriti.

The descent of man from primates and the evolutionary emergence of mind from matter have never signified materialism to Indian thinkers; for the position has been taken as analogous to the transformation of potential into kinetic energy or the manifestation of latent heat. The tension between idealism and materialism has, therefore, never developed in India, and one notices a certain annoyed puzzlement in M. N. Roy when he comes to deal with Indian thought in his work, *Materialism*. Significantly, however, some recent trends of Western science tend to confirm the Indian view: physicists who study matter, exclaims Bertrand Russell, are becoming idealists, and psychologists who study mind are becoming materialists. If, therefore, we take *bhedabheda* as representing the true relationship between matter and mind, it follows that in social life also the economic or physical structure and the ideology or mental state of a given society cannot have a merely one-way connection. It cannot be only that philosophy, art, and ideology issue from the economic structure; the economic structure also must be subject to partial modification or total re-structuring through the operation of philosophy and

ideology.

Marx has stated: "In the social production of their [means of] existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will. . . . The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness." This is one half of the total picture. There is another half. As a condition to and in the course of their social existence men inevitably acquire and develop a more or less definite view of the world they inhabit, a metaphysical framework in the context of whose secure certainty alone is life and action for them possible. In this sense every society is based on an idea, and every civilisation is at bottom a worldview, a *Weltanschauung*. The history of a civilisation is the history of the persistence and development of this *Weltanschauung* through all the vicissitudes of fundamental economic change. When a challenge or change cannot be incorporated into its basic idea, the civilisation collapses, decays, dies.

We can now see in what sense Marx is right and in what sense he is not. Marx's contention that the relations of production constitute the foundation of a given social order and tend to produce a self-justifying ideology is both true and not true. It is true relative to or within a given culture, once the bounds of a definite civilisation are demarcated. It is not true in the absolute and unqualified form propounded by Marx, who was unaware of the simultaneous existence of other great civilisations. First, therefore, we have to divide the world into various distinct civilisations; and then, within each civilisation we may distinguish different

epochs on the basis of the changes in the relations of production and exchange - always keeping in mind however, our further qualification that a basic change in political organisation may also constitute a change of epoch. The result will be that we shall discard Marx's formula -- ancient, feudal, bourgeois -- but retain his principle.

As regards the process of historical change, we will now see history operate at two levels--between civilisations and within each civilisation. Contact between civilisations--through the medium of trade or war or even conquest--passes the flame of ideas onwards. To absorb new ideas, however, the civilisation affected must also have developed or be developing a new class, i.e., there must be a physical counterpart to the new ideas, failing which no significant development will take place. An important mode of development, therefore, is the stimulation or challenge provided by foreign civilisations; and this stimulation may result from trade or war or conquest, each of which

tends also to assist the formation of new classes.

But within each civilisation the movement tends to be from class cooperation to class conflict. Every social order is based on some implicit cooperation of classes, though it has a tendency to congeal into a specific form. When this congealment occurs, it, by its very rigidity, becomes inhuman and exploitative. However, fluidity between classes is not lost until the central authority, which permits of wide geographical movements, collapses. Then a "feudal" order forms itself and the civilisation ceases to be the dynamic entity of earlier ages. Change now becomes a necessity but cannot take place of itself. This depends upon stimulation by an external civilisation which may result in either recovery and new life or collapse and decay. In general this stimulation involves both the reception of new ideas and the creation of a new class in the body of the petrified civilisation.

[To be continued]

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, PEASANT REVOLUTIONS AND THE POLARIZATION OF GLOBAL TENSIONS

Part II: Will Cambodian Decentralization Prove Viable?

[Concluded from the issue of August 1975]

Henry Winthrop

3. Cambodia and Its Possible Aftermath

In the previous section, the possible social merit of the future impact on the West of the peasant revolution in Cambodia was completely given the benefit of the doubt. The benefit of this doubt was conferred by assuming first, that Cambodia's announced ideal of social reconstruction might lead to a more humanitarian society and second, by asserting that whether the Cambodian experiment succeeded or failed, events in Cambodia (and, a fortiori, in both North and South Vietnam) would subsequently impact on the Western world. There was, of course, an assumption implicit in this expectation of such a coming impact—an impact which, we feel, will make the models that underly the recent foreign policy outlooks of both President Ford and Dr.

Henry Kissinger, conspicuously inadequate and irrelevant to emerging social change in Southeast Asia. That assumption was that the peasant revolution in Cambodia would be successful. We do not yet quite know towards what type of social order the Cambodians will work. We can reasonably suspect, however, that, at best, the revolutionary peasant society that the Khmer Rouge spokesmen announced to be their goals, shortly after the first flush of victory, will be a Cambodian version of the commune society of the Peoples Republic of China, accompanied by some type of decentralist philosophy. Although Chinese leadership may imagine that the social changes it introduced via life in the Chinese commune are strictly Chinese innovations, they are wrong. Many of the features of the Chinese commune have been discussed by Felix Greene,² and anyone familiar with decentralist philosophy will easily note that the commune embodies some of the leading ideas and teachings of three such great de-

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2. Felix Greene, *China: The Country Americans and Not Allowed to Know* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1962), 448 pp.

centralist thinkers and activists as Borsodi,^{3,4} Ropke⁵ and Schumacher.⁶

A Cambodian-type model of the Chinese commune may be in the offing and the chances of the Cambodians achieving success in developing a commune-type, agrarian society are reasonably high doubly so because of Cambodia's announced friendship with China. Though this achievement, however, would be sure to have an impact on the convictions of a good many thinkers and on the bloc of socially sensitive and aware citizens of the Western world, particularly those of the United States, this is not what I had in mind when I spoke of the future success or failure of the Cambodian experiment. On the contrary! What I have in mind and what I mean by success is the ability of the Cambodians to reconstruct a humanitarian social order. Clearly, Cambodian policies in the near future could fail in the effort to achieve a commune society and yet succeed in constructing a highly humanitarian one. That would spell success to this writer. However it is equally true that the Cambodian peasant revolution could result later in a brutal, authoritarian, dehumanising society, rigid in its ideological outlook--a society that intensified human suffering and

failed to meet basic human and social needs. Then this would be what I mean by failure—whether or not a commune-type structure had been made viable by such a society—and even as failure it would have its impact on the Western world. It would also have a strong impact on the polycentric Communist world. It is therefore essential that we now make an assessment of the probability of failure of the Cambodian experiment—defined in moral terms rather than in political, economic or materialistic terms. It is to this assessment that I shall now turn.

An early warning signal of the dehumanized tyrannies that may be just around the corner in Cambodia is the forced expulsion from Phnom Penh and other big cities of that country of, perhaps, three to four million people. The total isolation that that country apparently wishes to achieve will force Cambodia to become a nation of small, autonomous, peasant communities. These will then have to be simple, agriculturally-based, subsistence economies. On the other hand, they may become agrarian communities that are well off—given the fact that (1) agricultural productivity may later be greatly increased in that country, (2) that its total population has already been substantially reduced by war and (3) that its total population may be further reduced in the future, due to a significant number of deaths from among the urban population that was forced to march into the countryside and ordered to try to become peasants. In either case, such an agrarian society will not only be unable to support a city the size of Phnom Penh, which normally boasts half a million people, but it would also be unable to support cities of more modest size—Banam, Moung and Kompung Trabek, all of whose

3. Ralph Borsodi, *Education and Living*, 2 vols. (Melbourne, Florida: Melbourne University Press, 1948), 719 pp.

4. Ralph Borsodi, *The Education of the Whole Man* (Gujarat State, India: Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1963), 452 pp.

5. Wilhelm Ropke, *A Humane Economy: The Social Framework of the Free Market* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1960), 321 pp.

6. E. F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 290 pp.

populations are in the neighborhood of 100,000.

But it is not this pathological form of decentralization chosen by the Cambodians that is the moral issue. Rather it is the Stalinist brutality that has been visited upon city-dwellers in that country, forcing them to march like the ancient Hebrews into the wilderness—not a desert this time but a jungle. It is this forced march—among the outstanding cruelties of modern times—that is utterly inhumane. In effect, this is a form of endogenous genocide. Thus, in its first major decision, producing drastic social change, the Cambodians are proving to be irrational, rigid and politically escapist—escapist in the effort to turn the clock back to a pre-industrial era. The Chinese commune was initially much more rational and forward-looking, for it attempted to combine industrial workshops and light industry with its basic function of agricultural activity. Chinese leadership was clearly oriented to human needs—particularly those of the peasants—and the development of personal potentials and social awareness, in its management of its agricultural revolution. The Cambodian response to its own people seems to be an excessively cruel one and also a self-destructive one. Cambodia's revolutionary political and military leaders have not only not submitted to general discussion by its people the cruel urban decentralization which they ordered in May of 1975, but it is also becoming clear that the Cambodian population is not going to be allowed to develop along the lines of a participatory democracy at all. Social decision-making is going to be from the top down.

Even worse than the high-handed cruelty that Cambodian leadership has begun to practise on human beings is the equally

important fact that the moves being made by that leadership indicate that Cambodian decision-makers have enshrined the principle that the end justifies the means. Nothing could be worse morally. If these leaders do not backtrack on this matter, the world can look forward to a series of cruel and inhumane decisions. History has taught us that those who seek to play God by deciding that they know best what is good for their neighbors and those whom they rule, become rulers who will justify any act they feel is needed to achieve their ends, no matter how foul.

We have learned that, all too often, the high-handed acts of authoritarian rulers become the scourge of those of their fellowmen who cannot escape from the hands of such rulers. The horrors and the inhumanity such would-be divinities visit upon their fellow-nationals have been movingly brought home to us by Solzhenitsyn in several distinguished novels.^{7, 8} Historical events as well as observations of the behavior everywhere of power-elites in government, in industry and in schools, have shown us that most people who love power do not hesitate to operate, without being squeamish, on the principle that the end justifies the means. Furthermore, the application of this principle always opens up a Pandora's box of horrors and cruelties. The immoral and inhuman spirit of this principle has always been fought in democratic philosophy and in au-

7. Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The First Circle*, trans. Thomas P. Whitney (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), 674 pp.

8. Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918—1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, trans. Thomas P. Whitney (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 660 pp.

thentic democratic action. It can lead to no good. The fact that the Cambodian revolution has begun with a form of internal genocide—sanctioned by this principle—augurs badly for the future humanitarian merits of the peasant revolution.

There is an incredible but dominant note of irrationality in the Khmer Rouge decision to convert city-dwellers into peasants who shall hereafter lead a traditional village existence. Where is the food to come from that is to feed the urban millions who are on their way to become active members of the new agrarian society that is being planned? The existing countryside of Cambodia and its cultivated acreage cannot feed the teeming millions now moving into that countryside. Where are the building materials to come from that will provide shelter for these same millions? Who is to teach them how to construct the necessary dwelling places, how to cut down jungle for new farms and needed clearings? Who is to supply them with the necessary tools for these tasks? Do they intend to eschew all modern agricultural machinery? If not, how will they produce such machinery for themselves? To import it reduces their isolation from the world and would require the building of port and dock facilities. Where is the livestock to come from that they will need? Or the fertilizer and the seed? Who will be instructing them in the farming practises that are essential for achieving viable farming and village communities? And if the hundreds of thousands of new farms that are to be developed should later achieve surpluses, where are the roads over which these surpluses are to be moved or the beasts of burden and the carts that will transport such surplus produce?

And—to be more realistic—there will

really be no markets, even if small cities are preserved, since the farming populations that will be surrounding such small cities will all be sellers, not buyers. They cannot succeed, metaphorically speaking, by taking in one another's wash. It seems clear at the present time that the Khmer Rouge have not thought through their peasant revolution at all. More likely they are driving millions to their deaths. Or perhaps, this may be what they want, the Khmer Rouge analogue to Adolf Eichman's solution of the Jewish problem. Thus there seems to be a tremendous irrational and impractical component accompanying the peasant revolution of Cambodia. This irrationality and impracticality is very likely to doom the revolution even before it gets off the ground. Coming events, it seems, may be casting their shadows before.

The Khmer people have been xenophobic for a long time. Distrusting both near and far nations, the Khmer Rouge have now decided that the peasant revolution will suffer minimal interference if they wall off Cambodia from the rest of the world. Thus, we are told that the Cambodian experiment is to proceed under the most advanced type of isolationism the world has ever known. *Time* tells us that a Khmer curtain has now descended upon that country.⁹ But the Cambodian follies of xenophobia and isolationism are not the moral toxins that those who seek world unity and understanding have most to fear. Rather it is the limitation of outlook, the cultural deprivation, the national provincialism, the apotheosis of intellectual and educational backwardness—

9. "Cambodia: A Khmer Curtain Descends", *Time* 105 (5 May 1975) p. 29.

all of which must inevitably flow from xenophobia and isolationism — that promise morally to be the most poisonous ingredients in the Cambodian outlook. A worship of the peasant mentality at its worst — ignorance, doctrinal rigidity, lack of intellectual discipline, resentment of urbanity and sophistication — will simply create an idolatry for a type of cave-man mentality, socially and culturally speaking. This latter can only undermine international understanding and international unity.

What the world needs at this time are viable forms of industrial and urban decentralization. What it does not need are various forms of intellectual, spiritual and moral degradation, masquerading as urban and industrial decentralization. Effectively it appears that the Khmer Rouge, under the leadership of Khieu Samphan, commander of the rebel army and one of the insurgents' top political leaders, have opted for regression to total economic and cultural isolation from the rest of the world. They have opted for a backwardness that will make Cambodia an Asian Albania. The latter until now held the record for isolation and provincialism, at least among modern nations. It looks as if Cambodia will now take on that questionable and highly undesirable status.

The Cambodian leaders may feel that the reagrarianization of their country will constitute a successful strategy for reducing the exploitative potentials of the capitalistic world — by reducing the number of areas that will lend themselves to economic and financial exploitation by the West or Japan. They may feel that a more fully agrarian Cambodia may serve as a model for other Third World countries with Marxist ideals. They may have convinced themselves that the more countries of this nature begin to

remove themselves as markets for capitalistic enterprise, and the more the populations of such countries are insulated from the way of life and the fleshpots of the West, the smaller will be the export potentials of the West, particularly that of the United States. Their line of reasoning may be that drastic reductions of the export potentials of the West will succeed in crippling capitalism and increase the likelihood of working class and/or peasant revolt later

If this, in fact, is their thinking, it is not only naive but it will be doomed to disappointment. The West can increase export potentials through the multinational corporation, the revolutions of rising expectations in Latin America and Africa and by developing more intense forms of economic and trade symbiosis with countries that are deeply committed to a program of economic development. The social psychology of such countries has been examined by McClelland.¹⁰ Their need is for personal and national achievement. We have to remind ourselves that to wipe out a nation's social psychology takes generations, although drastic revolutions are known to speed up the process. The West, therefore, can hardly be affected by national reagrarianizations, even if they should occur. However, if in the future such countries insulate themselves from the world, following a Marxist-type revolution, but also happen to be suppliers of essential raw materials to the West, such countries may, in fact, have the potential for crippling Western economies. It seems to me, however, that the likelihood is great that Western countries will not submit to this form of

10. David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1961), 512 pp.

economic strangulation. It is more likely that their ships, marines and paratroopers will be at the door of reagrarianizing nations that possess raw materials essential for Western economies, but which refuse to let Western nations have them via trade. Western nations might then attempt to take over such countries and make them safe for capitalism. If, then, the objective of the thinking of Khmer Rouge ideologues is to assist in some small way to humble the capitalist West, one can hardly be sanguine about the future effectiveness of peasant revolutions anywhere.

4. U.S. Reorganization of Foreign Policy

The Marxist revolutions in Southeast Asia have shown Americans that their foreign office officials, their military, their businessmen and a good many of their scholars lack a real understanding of distant cultures and, even more, a real ability to fashion policies that will meet the needs of the common man in other countries. Our foreign policy in the recent past—rather we should say, our foreign policies—have been framed so as primarily to meet U. S. interests and U. S. ideology. The policy of containment is an example in point. In all too many instances there has been a thoroughgoing ambiguity with respect to foreign policy assumptions and foreign policy goals and some bitter setbacks for the United States.

There are a number of recent events that have made Americans aware of the blindness of our official foreign policies. Among these events are the following: (1) the recent revolutions in what was once called French Indo-China; (2) other military and social revolutions that threaten in Asia; (3) the serious implications for war that have resulted from the failure of Dr. Henry Kissinger's

personal shuttle-diplomacy with respect to Arab-Israeli conflict; (4) the fall of the colonels' military junta in Greece; (5) the Greek-Turkish conflict on Cyprus and the mistakes made by foreign-policy officers in that torn and wretched island; (6) the rise in socialist or communist sentiment among certain blocs of the military in such countries as Portugal and Ethiopia; (7) the gathering storm with respect to the change in international outlook in Malta; (8) the rising strength of Communist parties and factions in Western Europe; (9) the intensification of socialist sentiment in Arab countries; (10) the crushing impact on the economies of Europe, the United States, Japan and developing countries, of the oil policies of OPEC; (11) the anti-American sentiment in a number of Latin American and African countries; (12) the failure of the American embargo on Cuba and the inadequacy of a foreign policy that has increasingly moved Cuba closer to the arms of the USSR; (13) our interference with the legitimate aspirations for economic growth and social freedom in such countries as the Dominican Republic; (14) the narrowness of vision that has foolishly sought to foist a *pax americana* on countries that view such a policy as stifling their own growth, development and needs; (15) the sense of being betrayed felt by Japan, as a result of the secrecy preceding our detente with China; (16) our abandonment of support for Taiwan in a number of critical situations that have arisen in the recent past; (17) our inability to understand the pressures upon India and the difficulties she faces in her relations with other nations; and a substantial number of other situations of international tension, too numerous to mention here.

As a result of such situations the United

States is reassessing its foreign policies everywhere. The most glaring example of the failure of U.S. foreign policy has, of course, been conspicuous in the war we entered in Vietnam, the lives we lost and the casualties we sustained there, and the enormous waste of money we endured, involving a sum exceeding 150 billion dollars. It will take months—perhaps, in some cases, years—before our foreign policy reassessment will be completed and rendered more realistic. It will also take a considerable amount of time not only (1) to educate the American taxpayer concerning our economic and political stakes in different parts of the globe, (2) to counteract a growing insolationism in the United States that is beginning to express itself in a variety of ways, such as the strong opposition in some quarters to the resettling of Vietnam refugees within our shores, (3) to make Americans aware of the growing shortages of raw materials all over the globe and the likelihood that, as a result, Americans may have to be ready for the first time to put up with a decline in their standard of living, but also (4) to drive home to Americans that they face a new world of enormous and complex interdependency and that foreign policy that will be appropriate for that world will be quite different from the foreign policies of provincialism that have reigned supreme in the recent past.

In the meantime there is a great likelihood that if we frame our foreign policies too prematurely and too quickly, we may experience still further setbacks. Some wisdom and foresight are now needed, precisely because it is a bit too early to predict exactly what the revolutions in Southeast Asia—and some still likely to take place—will mean for the ongoing, international relationships of the United States and for those of its current

problems that cannot be properly solved until such foreign relations are both stable and satisfying to all parties concerned. As a result the United States is forced to live for a period in what might be called a foreign policy vacuum. It is precisely because the United States is faced with this contingency—the need to take a wait-and-see posture before crystallizing a new foreign policy that can subsequently be defended, both morally and practically—that we have chosen to emphasize the peasant revolution in Cambodia. That revolution will certainly pose problems for American foreign-policy makers. For it is becoming increasingly clear that where agrarian countries make successful Marxist revolutions and where they are in the ideological orbit of China, they will force United States foreign-policy makers either to take a wait-and-see posture or to gamble on a present assessment of the situations in such countries—an assessment that may later prove to be tragically wide of the mark. There are simply too few options now available for American foreign-policy makers. Who can now say what type of policy will be most appropriate for industrially backward countries that are successful in creating peasant revolutions and that may deliberately carry out a policy of isolation from the rest of the world?

We can therefore only sit back and wait. The great problem of foreign policy that lies ahead is to achieve the beginnings of a world unity and a sense of brotherhood. This is extraordinarily difficult in a world of growing tensions, growing raw materials shortages, polarization of conflict between capitalism and communism, and Marxist revolutions that deliberately turn their backs on industrialization and urbanization. This last is an important consideration for, until

now, Third World countries have sought to industrialize. The prospect of Third World countries deliberately seeking to avoid industrialization and, perhaps, making themselves satraps of China in relation to industrial goods, presents a wholly new contingency, should other peasant revolutions be in the offing in Asia or anywhere else. Nor should we overlook the fact that, until now, the military of nations experiencing severe crises and civil disorders, made only rightist revolutions and takeovers. Today military seizures have taken on a new complexion, with leftist military takeovers now beginning to put in an appearance. A leftist military bloc within a nation poses difficulties for the kind of foreign policy that the United States exercised in the recent past, in which it made common cause with military reactionaries and then subsequently supported them, either overtly or—where a military junta was clearly fascistic in nature— by maintaining a conspiracy of silence.

For the moment, it is not world unity that is being encouraged, but world diversity. For the moment it is not the concept of international brotherhood that is being taken seriously but rather the concept of international hatred. This last is driven home most conspicuously when the victorious Vietnamese announce that their most immediate problem is to teach all those under their influence to hate the United States. In this sense recent events are not very encouraging for those committed to ideals aimed at unifying mankind effectively. But pessimism and gloom are, I think, only temporary. In the course of historical change and evolution towards universal understanding, we shall clearly lose many battles but we must hope and feel that in the end we shall win the war fought on behalf of the ideals of world unity and universal brotherhood. We must, I think, remind ourselves that it is always darkest before dawn.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

MOVEMENTS TO GATHER

Europe

The most obvious gathering movement is the successful preparation, convening, and result of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe at Helsinki. Many readers may know this is not a light statement to make. A Helsinki was proposed in 1954 by the Soviet Union, slowly germinated during the difficulties of those twenty-one years, and appropriated two and a half years at Geneva for a completing consensus of the mutual security document that only concerns one fourth of the conference—and there is certainly far more behind this already heavily loaded surface.

The widely discussed formal achievements and summaries of agreements are not so very striking in themselves, and we can leave the arguments about their effectiveness in a non-binding document to the demonstration of the future. Another consideration, always rampant in the press, that one side gained at the expense of the other, can be pleasurably ignored: it is precisely that mentality which fertilizes division and is confused by the perception that a movement of intergration recognizes one interest in the midst of all so-called "sides" which gains or loses, indirectly or directly, for all.

Casting much of the agreement beforehand, albeit in a flurry of deadline activity, must have lifted a load of anxiety from the conferees. Complementing that, a play of smaller meetings between pairs of nations, for example, appears to have brought a relaxed progress within the encouraging ambience of the conference. And, on a different scale than the still continuing results of last year's World Food Conference, the second, third and fourth generation of events fathered in Helsinki may be bright children. The conferees' decision to meet again in two years and evaluate themselves, unusual for such gatherings, is a sign of its momentum.

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More, in their future conferences, unanimity will decide all questions—a procedure that pierces the central nerve of our divisive voting tradition—indicating a awakened potential for mature relations between the thirty-five great and tiny states. In what may be a harbinger of this, the miniscule Mediterranean island state of Malta was able to alter U. S. and USSR positions on Mediterranean forces before sanctioning the conference's opening date in July. According to the 12 July *Indian Express*:

"The compromise we are headed for is that the text concerning the Mediterranean will mention the desirability of such future exchanges of a reduction of armed forces in that area", a neutral delegation chief said.

"Never in 1,000 years could one have thought that the United States and the Soviet Union would ever consider the possibility of such exchanges within the context of this conference", the ambassador said.

Across the South Atlantic Ocean

Between the almost completely (even mentally) disassociated continents of South America and Africa, a series of contacts have begun. Mostly by the two more economically developed, Brazil and South Africa, for the initial contacts are here, too, in trade.

But, in a major article by the *Christain Science Monitor* last January, other African and South American countries are becoming involved. The developing nations of Africa, in particular, would be very interested in aid and development funds from the larger and wealthier South Americans.

I wonder if you, too, are struck by the irony of two continents—which are speculated to have been one prehistoric land mass—finally coming into noticeable contact again.

A Dissolving Shadow

Speaking of irony, it may seem incongruous to include the breakup, rather than gathering, of nations in our considerations. But although SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) was initiated an identical twenty-one years ago to the Helsinki Conference, it was a shadow of the cold war era rather than a seed of the new age.

Not only is its dissolution a gesture of light, it seems to have been given a unanimous push out of existence by its members who, *The Hindu* reported on July 29th, agreed to let it "fade away". They concluded that there seems to be no purpose in continuing SEATO's mostly military career. One could also conclude that this fade out frees some limbs of several nations for far more interesting groupings.

NUCLEAR AND RELATED TRUTHS

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 claimed on Thursday night the life of Dr. Reiji Ikazoki, one of the world's top molecular biologists, who died of a heart attack brought by leukemia which he contracted when exposed to the bomb's radiation. He was 44. [*Indian Express*, 1 August 1975]

Is it only coincidental that such a valuable and such a young person was forced to leave us at a time of more and more careless nuclear attitudes, press releases and acts? Only some of the more obvious candidates covertly encouraged for imminent nuclear weapon capacity are Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Lybia, Egypt, Pakistan, Republic of China and South Korea. While that is generally known, and it is generally known that the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is still struggling to get adequate signatures, and that the building of nuclear stock grows in the great powers, there remains this simple fact: the power of example is yet to be exceeded. The process of moving from Krušchev's disarmament to SALT's limitation (of only 2,400 missiles and bombers per party) is not an example.

The other side of the nuclear issue has been raised into silhouette by a pressing background of oil unavailability and expense: nuclear power generating plants. Raised high enough by the plants and plans in multitudes of countries veering toward a nuclear future, that it finally happened on August 8th: 2,300 American scientists petitioned President Ford to stop building new plants and curtail operations in present ones [*The Hindu*, 9 August 1975]. The group, reported to include nine Nobel laureates and some who helped develop the first atomic bomb, said the problems of construction faults and eliminating radioactive wastes made the plants unsafe to operate.

Depending on one's assessment of the magnitude and tenacity of these dangers, he would be more or less inclined to respond that nuclear power generation is still necessary and is adequate for future needs. But, truly, it is not so. It is also not so that we should rely on petroleum based energy and, at least as importantly, petroleum based fertilizers, which are now the overwhelming technique in agricultures of virtually every ideological color of government in the world. What nuclear weaponry and power plants, oil based energy and fertilizers have to do with world union is so intimately, intricately surprising it deserves a much more undammed exploration than we have space for now. And, since it seems to be in a sunspot of news activity presently, we can anticipate an even richer harvest of events to thread its currents in the October issue.

A WORLD MIND

A. B. Patel, the general secretary of World Union International, was attending the organization's convention in Bangalore on June 8, 1975, when, in a seminar on "Education

and World Citizenship", he uncharacteristically took the floor with a sort of urgency to declare what he felt were imperatives for the seminar. One of these was the need for peace academies to be widely established in various educational nerves of the world. He explained the concept as the counterpart of military academies: institutions of higher education where students would study the philosophy, history and techniques of peace, negotiation and resolution of conflict. Graduates would be qualified in a practical way to work on local, national and international levels. The national government of each academy would assist in the placement of graduates—as is now done in military academies—where they could be strategically employed to help solve disputes.

Although Sweden, Norway and West Germany have nationally supported peace research institutions and extensive work has been started in Canada, none of the three great powers have yet borne a peace academy. That would be an enormous breakthrough.

Mr. Patel's idea resonated in the seminar for sometime afterwards. Members were visibly moved by the extraordinary charge that came through it, for although he had mentioned it two or three years earlier, there was a ripeness of impulsion this time. Of course it was accepted but was only circulated, along with other results of the convention, nearly two months later in the August issue of *World Union*, "Focus" section.

Meanwhile, on June 18th, Senators Hartke and Hatfield introduced a bill in the U.S. Congress entitled the "George Washington Peace Academy Act". A full report in the *Congressional Record* excerpt of that day reveals the bill to be identical, but for its elaboration of detail, to each facet of the idea A. B. Patel had proposed ten days earlier.

You may know of similar seemingly synchronized events and ideas which play across the globe in these barrierless times. Such experiences suggest the human unity we are seeking is already operating ideatively on some occasions, some levels and through some personalities sometimes. Like the patience and development needed to play in harmonious perfection during a round of golf, it will take considerable effort and stillness before some and sometimes become normal and daily. Further, one might suspect there are other realms of operation above and below the ideative where much may be already underway.

12 August 1975

REVIEWS

Synergetics: Explorations in the Geometry of Thinking, by *R. Buckminster Fuller*. New York: The Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975. 876pp., \$ 25.00.

It could be said, paraphrasing the old nursery rime, that when Fuller is good he is very, very good. For the most part he is good and *Synergetics* falls in this category if read, probably as Fuller intended, in a circular rather than linear fashion.

His mathematics expresses a kinship with Gabriel Kron who devoted a whole book to describing tensors (*Tensors for Circuits*, Dover, 1959). Fuller calls it tensegrity which is a contraction of tensional integrity or "a structural-relationship principle in which structural shape is guaranteed by a finitely closed, comprehensively continuous, tensional behaviors of the system and not by the discontinuous and exclusively local compressed member behaviors". In other words, "All structures, properly understood, from the solar system to the atom are tensegrity structures [and] universe is omnitensional integrity." The tensegrity system is synergetic according to Fuller where the behavior of the whole structure cannot be predicted by the behavior of any of its parts. For Fuller, "synergy represents the integrated behaviors instead of differentiated behaviors of nature's galaxies and galaxy of galaxies". Since synergy is also a combination of energy or energy exchanges it is strange that Fuller does not distinguish, even in the material or inorganic sense, between low and high synergy as Ruth Benedict and Maslow have made abundantly clear. Perhaps more acquaintance with Lester Ward, that grand old man of American sociology, and his concept of social telesis would have enabled Fuller to bridge the gap between the structural patterns of inorganic synergy and the non-structured patterns of organic synergy. Certainly one would have to consider a nuclear holocaust as synergy and high in the sense of energy output but low in the sense of human behavior. But Fuller does wisely pursue the subject of the futility of isolating parts to determine wholes. In a human view, isolating the behavior of individual ethnic groups will never determine the behavior of the whole. Elites can never determine the behavior of the mass unless the mass participates willingly in this determination.

Fuller professes his strong belief in general systems theory as the theory "which recognizes synergy as inherent". It is "evolution by inadvertence [and] was developed fortuitously to accommodate the unprecedented and vastly complex undertakings of the late twentieth century, such as the 10 million separate and only partially overlapping 'critical path' tasks that had to be accomplished and tested to foolproof reliability enroute

to countdown to eventual blastoff, Moon landing, and safe return to Earth, which found all conventional mathematical theory wanting". Fuller continues, "It required the development of the computer and star-focused instruments and computer programming arts together with operational research, which guess-improvises the inventory of parameter of variables that must be progressively programmed into the system in order further to reduce the magnitude of tolerated errors consequent to trial 'bird' (rocket vehicle) 'flight' (trajectory) control as the vehicles are progressively zeroed-in to progressive target rendezvous with celestial entities." Fuller is a genius who has the capacity to focus diversity through understanding the computer as the specialist and man as the generalist.

R. Buckminster Fuller's appreciation of geometry is expressed both in the preface of this book and his now famed geodesic dome. "Its elegance of proof [and] its inspiring effectiveness in winnowing out and evaluating a plurality of previously unknowns from a few given knowns [has] lead to the further discovery and comprehension of a grand strategy for all problem solving." This has been expressed in a magnificent way by Fuller in *The World Game*, an intentional, interdisciplinary strategy to enable world citizens to understand comprehensive anticipatory design science or a syntropic solution to the problems facing humankind, an awareness of a conscious design of our global environment. Without doubt, Fuller's building blocks of geometric concepts and his conceptual holism provide an enabling force for this to occur.

Now having discussed the good, and I hastily add the extremely good things of Fuller's "opus magnus", let me dwell on the missing elements in Fuller's schematic scenario. The actors themselves are missing, for here one must turn to organic concepts of synergy and tensegrity. High synergy is energy exchange among humans filled with an essential humane reciprocity, in which all humankind is benefitted, and, in an ecological sense, the human and non-human environment gain the most. As W. H. Murdy pointed out recently, "An anthropocentric faith in mankind affirms that we are not isolated monads acting out absurd roles within a meaningless context, but that we are essential elements of a meaningful whole and that our individual acts are vitally significant to the self-actualization of the process of human evolution itself and to the enhancement of value in the world." ¹ I know this is what Fuller seeks in his World Game, a participatory evolution which is essential to survival and the emergence of higher values, but it is something which must be defined in human terms. In other words Fuller's geometric synergy and tensegrity must be supplemented by Lewin's concepts of *life space* of the individual and global life space of the world citizenry, a citizenry which is not the exclusive domain of the intellectual elites but of interacting humans.

Too, I would liked to have seen more of Fuller in his own natural New England habitat—the plaintive cries of gulls, the soaring of ospreys, the lonely petrels, the rocky shore

1. W. H. Murdy, "Anthropocentrism: A Modern Version", *Science* 187 (28 March 1975).

and tidal surfs, and the spires of firs and spruce. Of course, like Fuller, we are all compelled to recognize the value of artificial ecosystems in our human evolution but we must never lose sight of the intrinsic value of natural systems. I would not fault Fuller to the extent of his critics, Lewis Mumford and Warren Wager, as being the total technological man for I believe Fuller lets his organic side show only infrequently. Perhaps he even agrees with Mumford and Wager and his *World Game* and *Synergetics* are ways to accelerate both our artifactual evolution while maintaining the intrinsic values of a natural ecosystem. But Fuller deals primarily with that which is formed—the crystals, the geodesic dome, and other structural entities. The weather, cloud formations, and seasons too have tensegrity which no artist may capture on a single canvas nor a poet in a single poem, nor a scientist in a single concept. It is as Nishida, the Japanese philosopher, says, in a Taoistic way, life is always forming and so are human groups. We wander inside our own heads in a Joycean sense and outside like Ulysses where opposites continually unite in both a personal and cosmic sense or where cosmological forces adjust themselves through the eternal now. Fuller is caught, much as his critic, Mumford, like Plato whose essence symbolically sentenced to death Socrates' very existence. Essence and existence are both omnipresent auras of living systems. As Oliver Reiser puts it, we need "an emerging philosophy of synthesis, a social lens to focus and unify human vision, thus giving coherent form to collective aspirations and purposes."² Fuller has made a grand attempt to do this but does not achieve the balance of mankind depicted by Noel McInnis as ecosystems and human systems weighed by values. These values are cultivated when the spirit of community prevails and when humans can say with Robinson Jeffers:

The greatest beauty is organic wholeness
The wholeness of life and things,
The divine beauty of the universe.
Love that, not man apart from that.

For "we travel together, passengers on a little spaceship, dependent on its vulnerable supplies of air and soil", to quote the late Adlai Stevenson, and in our travel we should make the Earth attractive to us and the rest of the universe. Fuller helps us realize this and how nature has worked to bring about the great beauty of Earth and how we may become geometric points to continue the work of Olaf Stapledon's *Star Maker*.

I think Fuller's *Synergetics* is a meaningful book particularly for students of general systems theory, for Fuller is a consummate general systems practitioner. He uses a general systems analysis to develop his ecological awareness. I recommend it, warning that it is difficult to read but enjoyable if read randomly rather than from cover to cover. It is then that Fuller's "true organic unity, not conceived as just comprising the parts or conditioned by them, but as the natural form in which their vital qualities find fullest realization" is

2. Oliver Leslie Reiser, *Cosmic Humanism and World Unity* (New York: Gordon & Breach, 1975).

recognized.³ E. J. Applewhite, Fuller's friend and editor, played a key role in this realization in the preparation of this book.

Robert A. Smith, III

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Astrology and Modern Thought, by *B. V. Raman*. Bangalore, India: IBH Prakashana. 138 pp., Rs. 8.

Astrological Magazine of March 1914 carried this note by the editor, Prof. B. Suryanarayan Rao (grandfather of the author of the present book):

There will be sudden outbreaks of passion and excitement among the armies leading to anarchy and denunciation of old kingly authority, great loss and consternation and the war fever will be at its highest pitch. A European war is threatened. . . . Two deaths among the European royalties are indicated and one of them will be from violence or treachery. Political relations all over the world during the months of August and September will be highly excited on account of the solar and lunar eclipses following one after the other within a fortnight.

History was to confirm the accuracy of the astrological reading of the writer.

Professor Raman explains how astrological predictions are based upon scientific data and how it is possible to foresee many events in the life of men and nations by a study of the planetary positions and their influence on terrestrial movements: "Astrology can be defined as the science of correlation of astronomical facts with terrestrial events." He is, however, careful to point out that the stars do not absolutely rule our destinies but point to the tendencies in our nature and indicate the directions in which remedial measures can be taken. He shows a sound grasp of modern scientific developments and indicates how they corroborate the perceptions and findings of the older masters like Varahamihira (see the section on comets, p. 107).

In a special chapter on "The Futility of the Fatalistic Doctrine", the author underlines, among others, the fact that astrology helps free will to modify one's karma by giving advance intimation of the likely combination of circumstances.

A well-argued and balanced presentation of the subject.

M. P. Pandit

3. Edmund Gurney, *The Power of Sound* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1880).

WORLD UNION FOCUS 9/75

During prehistoric times, species underwent sometimes slow evolutions, sometimes swift mutations. But they were unconscious of either. Mankind today has the privilege—and the responsibility—to transform itself knowingly. It rests with man to choose his destiny.

Gaston Berger

THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

The supporters of world outlook, world citizenship, human unity will feel encouraged and happy that the United Nations University, the most far reaching intellectual enterprise ever undertaken, begins its work in Tokyo this month. According to the charter approved by the U.N. General Assembly in December 1973, its concerns will be "the pressing global problems of human survival, development, and welfare". It will not be a traditionally degree-granting university but a worldwide network of advance study institutes devoted to research, post graduate training, and dissemination of knowledge in general.

The charter of the university specifies that research programmes shall, among other subjects, include: "coexistence between peoples having different cultures, languages and social systems; peaceful relations between states and the maintenance of peace and security; human rights; economic and social change and development; the environment and the proper use of resources; basic scientific research and the application of the results of science and technology in the interests of development; universal human values related to the improvement of the quality of life".

The United Nations University was proposed by Secretary-General U Thant in 1969. The governing body, designated the University Council, was appointed last year and an executive head, the rector, was appointed in December 1974. It has been planned to start operations in the university's world headquarters, Tokyo.

The government of Japan has made the first pledge, \$100 million, toward its endowment. Three experienced university administrators, the president of New York University, the former president of the University of Tokyo, and the vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana are undertaking its organisation and initial administration. The uni-

versity will be composed of both incorporated and associated institutes. The objectives of the university are, emphatically, both humane and utilitarian.

The first priority areas chosen by the University Council are: world hunger, the management and use of natural resources, human and social development. Within these categories lie related global problems on the solutions to which the hope for civilised survival depends. The university will be a worldwide system for achieving international intellectual collaboration concentrated on these and other major problems. It will seek to bring together from East and West, North and South the most knowledgeable experts, the most perceptive minds, and the most promising younger scholars for joint studies of maximum mutual value and worldwide applicability. Many highly important tasks will be performed in addition to its main one of focusing the best thought throughout the world on the major problems of humanity.

Sponsoring of the university was done by the United Nations and UNESCO; it is authorised by the UN General Assembly to be an autonomous body within the framework of the United Nations and is declared by its own charter to have academic freedom. Twenty-four countries constitute its governing council of twenty-four academic leaders and prominent citizens.

Humanity will watch the progress of the university with interest, support and sympathy, and will carry a large hope that it will constantly serve the best interests of the human race and of evolution. The university is a symbol of the rising tide of world unity in spite of obstruction by the human ego—individual and collective.

ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITIES

World Union Centres

Alambazar On 27 July the centre began its monthly meeting with meditation. Dr. Nilratan Karmakar spoke on the aims and ideals of this recently organised centre to the twelve attending men and women. In the discussion that followed a decision was reached on how August 20th, World Union Day, would be observed. An essay competition and a general meeting on the role of women in human unity are planned. (Presiding: Dr. Nilratan Karmakar; devotional song: Sm. Mira Karmakar, Sm. Deepa Das.)

Bangalore The sixth annual report, for the year 1974, discloses some interesting discussion subjects which occupied monthly meetings during the year. For instance, "The Place of Art and Literature in Promoting World Unity", "World Unity—Experience", "The Oil Crisis and World Union" and "The Orgy of Violence and World Union". Another subject of great obvious relevance was contacted in a more active way: the centre participated in

the exhibition held by the Friends of Auroville group during April, contributing charts about the aims and objects of World Union to the general display.

The annual report is quite extensive; some features of unusual interest, however, are who visited the centre during the year, the originality of some achieved and contemplated activities, and the membership strength of the centre. The range of localities throughout the world represented by visitors who came to the Bangalore centre creates the suggestion of a budding gathering place expressing the truly world character which makes the name, "World Union Centre" sing. Students, a swami, professors and others visited from Malaysia, Kuwait, U. S. A., Pondicherry and of course Karnataka. Besides the normal activities, seminars of two or three days length have been held at various places outside the city, centre members have arranged to give lectures in cultural institutions, and new projects contemplated include association with like-minded associations (like the Rotary Club, Lions Club, Theosophical Society), initiation of cooperative medical centres, fair-price shops and adult education programmes. Some of the latter plans might seem out of reach, except that the enthusiasm is so great that forty-eight new members were enrolled during the year.

Chandernagore August 3rd marked the thirteenth meeting of the centre, which began with a short meditation. Sri Samar Basu, the convenor of the state committee, (West Bengal) was present to speak on a statement of the Mother's: "The world is preparing for a big change. Will you help?" He also described the multi-institution educational seminar that was recently sponsored by World Union. Plans have been made to celebrate Sri Aurobindo's birthday with Sri Aurobindo Culture Centre. (Presiding: Sri Pancha Gopal Day.)

New Alipur During the regular weekly meetings of June and July, discussions on these themes were held. the origin of the idea of world union; the yoga done by Aswapathy during his journey through different inner regins in the epic poem, *Savitri: A Legend and a Symbol* by Sri Aurobindo; psychicisation — the importance of harmony; meditation as taught by the Mother in her book, *Questions and Answers*.

More new members have joined the recently begun project of a mobil library. (Devotional songs: Mrs. Nila Roy, Mrs. Mira Mukherjee, Miss Taniya Mukherjee, Misses Kajari, Krisna and Tapati Mukherjee, Mrs. Lakshman, Mrs. Swamy.)

North Calcutta This was the sixteenth monthly meeting, on 19 July, which began and ended with devotional songs. After a group concentration of ten minutes and recorded organ music by the Mother, a number of interesting things happened amongst the members. Dr. D. L. Roy Chowdhury decided to offer his services gratis to the centre's free homeopathic dispensing unit which handled sixty-eight cases in the last month. The newly begun women's wing of this centre apparently made influential news, for already the Uttarpara centre has started a women's wing and the Asansol centre has decided to go ahead with

one also. This was reported by Sm. Anita Bose, who has been very active in this work of organisation; and who added the powerful observation that these monthly meetings were not only for producing a stream of programmes but meetings for a brighter creation, for embracing the divine forces

Near the beginning of the meeting Sri T. K. Sinha emphasized in his inaugural talk that selfless cooperation is at the root of all group success; near the end, a group of four women and men produced a fine surprise in reading poems they had written. (Presiding: Sri Dhiren Bose; devotional songs: Sm. Anita Bose, Sm. Debrani Bose, Sm. Sati Das, Sri Robi Ghosh, Sm. Kheali Ghosh.)

Uttarpara The 2 August meeting was the twenty-fourth of this centre. After group concentration, Sri N.K. Roy, Sri S.R. Guha and Sri Samar Basu were the leading speakers in the discussion on the subject of physical science and spirituality. One member asked what the ways are for a common man to attain spirituality, which stimulated considerable exchanges with several entering the discussion. (Presiding: Sri S. R. Guha; devotional songs: Sri Sanat Bodak, Smt. Kamala Basu; hostess: Smt. Kalpana Nandy.)

West Bengal (Regional) At the 3rd August meeting much of the available time was used in elaborating the programme for a large get-together during World Union Day, August 20th. The result is a full day's rich and varied programme which, by the time these pages go to press, has been held and will be reported in the next issue. (Presiding: Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya.)

Changes

Please note that Sri Samar Basu has communicated a correction regarding the last issue (August) of "Focus". The report of the Bangalore National Convention quotes him as saying: "People should follow Gandhian principles and attempt to raise the level of consciousness." In a letter of 16 August, Sri Basu writes that "I did not mention such words. It might have been stated by someone else."

Bangalore The new office bearers of the Bangalore centre, elected on 3 August 1975, are: president, Sri P. V. Rajagopal; vice presidents, Sri T. Prasannasimha Rao and Sri B.C.S. Narayan; secretaries, Dr. H. S. Lakshmi Narayana and Sri H. S. Narayana Sethy; treasurer, Sri K. S. Chakravarthi; working committee member, Sri B. Venkata Rao.

Konnagar Two persons have filled the office of secretary of this centre following the change of residence of the former office holder. The address of the centre has also been changed. New secretaries: Sri Sailendra Nath Roy Choudhury and Sri Madhusudan Singha; new address: Sri Sailendranath Ray Choudhury, Secretary, 7 Dr. Bankim Mukherjee Street, P. O. Konnagar 712235, District Hooghly, West Bengal.

New Centres

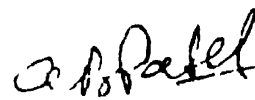
Alambazar World Union Centre, 53/5 Vidyayatan Sarani, Calcutta-35. Chairman: Nilratan Karmarkar, secretary: Mrs. Minu Roy.

Sodepur World Union Centre, c/o Eagle Printing Works, P. O. Sodepur, District 24 Parganas, West Bengal. Chairman Sri Sukumar Roy, secretary: Sri Samir Ghatak.

Barasat World Union Centre, c/o Roy Brothers, Kadmbagachhi, via Barasat, District 24 Parganas, West Bengal. Chairman Sri Jugal Roy, secretary Sri Ganesh Das.

New Life Members

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 227. Col. Pran Nath Luthra | 14 Teen Murti Lane
New Delhi 110011 |
| 228 Mr. Nishith Ganguli | 17 Auckland Road
London S W. 11 (IEW) |
| 229 Mr. Jawahar M. Mehta | 12 Dev Chhaya
North South Road, No 5
Vile Parle (West)
Bombay 400056 |
| 230 Sri Chhotalal G. Morzaria | 4 Bannerghatta Road
Bangalore 560029 |
| 231. Sri Arya Bhushan | 2 Millingtonia Avenue
Bandariyabagh
Lucknow 226001 |



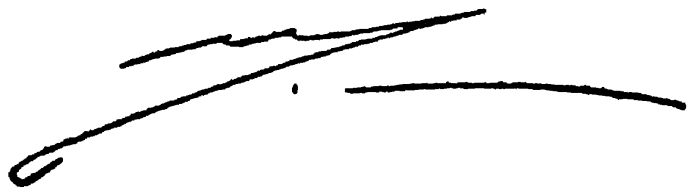
General Secretary
21.8.1975

Announcement

A nine day meeting for teachers, students and parents will be held from 12 October to 20 October, 1975 under the auspices of Sri Aurobindo's Action and Navajyoti Karyalaya at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram. The participants will be helped to acquaint themselves with the philosophy and practice of the integral discipline of self-perfection as followed in the Ashram. The delegates will meet their own expenses. Those who wish to participate may kindly contact the offices of Sri Aurobindo's Action or Navajyoti Karyalaya, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, before 30 September 1975.

*A happy beginning
A good continuation
and no end —
an endless progression*

14-5-57"



New Horizon Sugar Mills Private Limited

PONDICHERY

WORLD UNION

VOL. XV. No. 10

OCTOBER 1975

*A world union based on the fact of human unity
realising the truth of the Spirit*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Israel and Egypt

All will welcome the recently concluded agreement between Egypt and Israel as the first concrete step towards peace in West Asia. Though hawks among the Arab states and interested big powers are likely to try to undermine the concord, it is not probable that Egypt will go back on the agreement. It is too late in the day to speak of eliminating the state of Israel from the Middle East. Israel has come to stay and the moment the fear psychosis is dissipated the nation is sure to play a more constructive role in the international community. With a more permanent understanding between Egypt and Israel we can confidently look forward to an era of peace and progress in that part of the world. It may even be the harbinger of collaboration between Israeli technology and the undeveloped potential of the Arab lands, leading to an all-round advancement of their peoples

That the Third World countries meeting in Lima refrained from joining the extremists of the Middle East in calling for the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations is another sign of the return to sanity in international politics. It is also to be welcomed that the participating nations as a body have shown a greater awareness of the needs of the undeveloped countries than at any time before. Almost imperceptibly the pressure of the oneness of humanity is making itself felt.

Science and Astrology

Over 150 scientists in the United States have issued a statement calling astrologers charlatans and denying any rational basis for the claim that stars influence human events. The eminent gentlemen seem to have chosen the wrong point to strike. Astrology does not say that stars determine or influence the shape of events in human affairs. Astrology is a science based upon the truth of the relation between the macrocosm that is the universe and the microcosm that is the individual. What occurs in the universe has an effect on the individuals constituting it; what an individual thinks, feels and does has its own effect on the movement of the universe. The stars, the planets and their movements indicate the possibilities that exist at a given moment. The

planets have a bearing on the modes of sattva, rajas and tamas (the three basic qualities of harmony, dynamism and inertia in Nature) and their positions show which qualities are preponderant in the subject—whether it is an individual or a collectivity of individuals. Authentic astrology is comprehensive in its scope—at any rate in India—and an integrated knowledge of astronomy, medicine, psychology, biology and even botany and zoology is required for a correct appreciation of its principles.

It is strange that there should be present such blind and unthinking opposition to astrology in a country known for its freedom of thought and expression, whereas experiments are being conducted every day behind the Iron Curtain—where people are supposedly materialists—confirming the claim of astrology to play its rightful part in the development of human knowledge.

M. P. P.

KOHOUTEK: A VISIBLE TAO

Robert A. Smith, III

This is the Cosmic Interface
The Moving Reflection
The Spiral Connection
This is Only
Outer Space.

Burgert Roberts, *Space Walks*

Burgert Roberts quotes Rimbaud's wise and taoistic words in the opening of his book of poems on the Moon Age: "The inner face of outer space is where you meet the dreams you race." I believe that the comet Kohoutek provides yet another step in the synergistic imagery we need to continue our journey toward "cosmic humanism", to use Oliver Reiser's noble designation. With what I believe to be profound relevance man has extended himself in the near regions of the universe and recaptured some of the specks of the original universe-radiation. Daedalus and Icarus, Cyrano de Bergerac, Sinbad, Edgar Rice Burroughs, Jules Verne, H. G. Wells, Jonathan Swift and Voltaire imagined or were portrayals of myths of space flights long before man left earth physically. Later and more realistically Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, Olaf Stapledon, Carl Sagan, Dandridge Cole, Ray Bradbury and Arthur Clarke wrote fiction and non-fiction about space travel. Herman Oberth, Robert Goddard, Wernher von Braun and the cosmonauts and astronauts, who manned the actual vehicles, through the medium of television involved millions in space dramas. Yuri Gagarin, John Glenn, Neil Armstrong, Edgar Mitchell, Charles Conrad and the spacemen they represent are the "outernauts". The live dramas played before live global audiences truly enabled humans to seek the other pole, the inner journey at the same time. This paper is a taoistic attempt to capture this polemic role and the drama Kohoutek could have brought about in this unfolding psycho and sociodrama of cosmic dimensions.

Mr. Smith, a native of Pine Apple, Alabama, is an organizational behavior analyst at NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, and adjunct associate professor at the University of Alabama's Graduate School of Administrative Science. His articles have appeared in a number of books and periodicals, and he serves on the editorial board of several journals. Mr. Smith is a regular contributor to World Union.

At the same time these outernauts were shaking the very foundations of our imagination, "innernauts" of inner space too became more global and dramatic in their pioneering journeys. Oldsters like the Rhines gave way to Stanley Krippner, Montague Ullman, Charles Tart, Andrej Puharich, Joe Kamiya, Adamenko, Naumov, Douglas Dean, Jean Houston, Robert Masters, William Tiller, Harold Puthoff, Russell Targ, Hans Esser and a host of others. Psychic healers, Ted Serios, yogis, Ingo Swann and Uri Geller through their highly specialized psychic talents emerged to replace Edgar Cayce and earlier psychics. But emergence of these phenomenal individuals alone was not enough. Neither was man's cyborgnetic extensions of himself such as biofeedback machines. The experiential and the experimental would come together to complete the scientific/psychic *tao*. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to this interaction.

The conflict between Western technology with its frenetic search for instant technical fixes and zombie type orientalism which promises instant zen, peace, *samadhi*, etc. certainly has made it difficult for the world to fuse or transform into a higher order of individual and social consciousness. Those in the West, because of their dualistic thinking and technical dependence, have been quick to criticize Eastern philosophy. On the other hand, some Eastern philosophers are equally quick to criticize Western technology, despite the fact that among the most rotten social systems in existence are those of some Eastern countries. The mechanistic conformity of grotesque yogic endurance might give us a gigantic belly laugh, but the tragic consequences of a social system which allowed millions to die so unceremoniously cannot be ignored. Tagore, Aurobindo and other sages were fully aware of this paradox.

What I am saying is that the profiteering of yoga, zen, meditation, etc. in America and the profiteering of American goods abroad among the poor masses gives us good cause to look with jaundice upon missionaries, gurus and those who so eagerly accept alms from the masses but who return nothing for the social good. What I believe should be done is what Dr. Elmer Green of the Menninger Foundation in Topeka and the members of the General Systems Society accept generally—the study of psychophysiology of yoga individually and how it might be related to the social good. Otherwise I think that it would be more profitable to establish institutes in India and study *in situ*. The Menninger Foundation, however, possesses some of the most modern testing equipment and can study how yogis control heartbeat rate, skin temperature, brain waves and other phenomena and relate their findings to society as a whole.

A further advantage, of course, is computer storage and simulation capabilities located in modern laboratories. Also, the computer provides a common language as part of our cyborgnetic evolution that may bring the world closer because of the interdependence it creates. Language, including computer language, is based on comprehension of the world at varied levels of perception or a complementarity providing for its own isomorphic

connections; in Leibniz's and Kropotkin's terminology this would become a polymonadic world.

Increasingly our words become part of the universe's energy system. These words interact in the videosphere (to use Gene Youngblood's metaphorical updating of Teilhard's noosphere) and bounce back and forth like harmonic echoes and form waves like pebbles thrown in streams. Reality in our microscopic world is an expression of what our relations appear in the macroscopic realm—the gestalt of reality and the gestalt of imagination measuring themselves.

One would also have to look favorably upon the work of Dr. Harold Puthoff of the Stanford Research Institute and Dr. William Tiller of Stanford University. I think, for example, with all the faddism on acupuncture, there is indeed a tao of the scientific-known/healing-unknown to be studied. Mapping acupuncture points electronically and investigating acupuncture anesthesia among animals certainly appear highly desirable objectives. When these efforts are coupled with biocybernetic communications systems development, it would be apparent that we are indeed attempting to serve both the individual and the social good. In short, these humanistically oriented laboratories are beaks for embryo earth men seeking new social nutriments for all humankind.

James B. Beal, Jerry L. Johnson, Warren York, Tom Bearden and Scott Sleeper (all scientists at Huntsville, Alabama) are involved in developing objectives and studies of psychic and healing phenomena; Ottmar Stehle of Berlin is engaged in similar research, and Jan Paul Wenzel of Buenos Aires is following a multiple approach. They hope for a large-scale integration and verification of Western empiricism with Eastern and near-Eastern mysticism, or to discover the healing factors inherent in certain aspects of Eastern spirituality so as to enrich the current psychotherapeutic armamentarium. Perhaps Alan Watts stated the objective succinctly:

Present psychotherapy is concerned with the relation between man and society. But that is not enough. Society is a group phenomenon creating separate cultures. But beyond that are universal phenomena transcending all cultures. Therefore, psychotherapy should not restrict itself to the mere sociality of man, but should uncover his universality. Put another way, it should concern itself with the relation between man and the cosmos, not merely between man and society.¹

Hopefully, what is developing will overcome the two types of hubris described by Arthur Koestler—the hubris of Western technical rationalism and the hubris of irrationality which leads to a detachment toward human suffering. These types of hubris do not favor a

1. Alan Watts, *Psychotherapy East and West* (New York: Mentor Books, American Library, 1960).

creative interaction of Dionysian and Apollonian principles or the fertile fusion of opposites in yang/yin interplay. Neither does it bring about "continuity-through-change and unity-in-diversity [which] seem to be pre-conditions of a living culture. Continuity without change was characteristic of some highly sophisticated Asiatic civilizations: change without a deep awareness of continuity with the past is a characteristic . . . of America."² In the world of organized complexity in terrestrial nature, "the arrow of time does not determine which pathway is taken by individual systems, only in what direction their paths converge." And "increasing communication among a finite number of national and multinational systems can only result in mutual determination (not narrow further specialization) among them."³

But one must be aware as Norman O. Brown and others have so forcefully observed about Apollonian hubris: it is indeed a blinding pride much as the Dionysian hubris of joy can make us totally unaware of the suffering of others, immersed as we are in the joy of the mass. Sam Keen wisely observes:

In the dance of life, male and female, work and play, creativity and followness, day and night, life and death belong together in *rhythmic* unity. Identity is in movement, in the economy of fractions which create a community in diversity.⁴

Empirical science and Eastern philosophy are, in reality, parts of a single intellectual universe. We can ill afford not to relate them without admitting our inability to incorporate the total human experience. Ed Schlossberg, in a most interesting masters thesis at Columbia University, accomplished this in an imagined correspondence between Nils Bohr, the scientist, and Wallace Stevens, the poet. It is this approach to transpersonal and trans-disciplinary understanding which may eventually lead to transpersonal, transcultural understanding and bridge the gap between Western empiricism and Eastern mysticism or between divergent cultures in general. With this constant interaction and fertile fusion who knows but what there might be a constant unfolding of the many-petaled lotus in new ways. The spiritual wisdom of Tagore, Aurobindo, Gopi Krishna and other Easterners who are or were aware of the need for a social matrix transacting with the empirical wisdom of Harman, Tiller and Puthoff, with Dr. Rhine and his associates, with Elmer Green and his associates, with Buckminster Fuller's world gamers, with the Kent State University embryonic group, with Julius Stulman's World Institute, with Barbara Hubbard's Committee for the Future, and with Edgar Mitchell's newly established organization can only lead to higher individual internal states of consciousness and transnational

2. Arthur Koestler, *The Lotus and the Robot* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

3. Ervin Laszlo, *The Systems View of the World* (New York: George Braziller, 1972).

4. Sam Keen, "Manifesto for a Dionysian Theology" in Richardson and Cutler, *Transcendence* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

awareness.⁵ Oliver Reiser, renowned philosopher and author;⁶ Jose and Mirlam Arguelles of Evergreen State College, Brendan O'Regan, an associate of Buckminster Fuller; John G. Bennett, editor of *Systematics*; Don Benson of the Better Business at Southern Illinois University; Hans Esser of Rockland State Hospital; Dick Wakefield of NIMH; William Irwin Thompson of Lindisfarne; Michael Murphy of Esalen; Reza Arasteh of Bethesda; David Spangler of Findhorn and Belmont, California; Ira Einhorn; and Roger Wescott of Drew University are among those who recognize the necessity for a constant tao of science, the humanities and spiritualism to achieve a high level global and cosmic synergy. The recently established Academy of Parapsychology and Medicine at Los Altos, California and Interface in Boston may afford most meaningful forums for discussion of empirical data derived from scientific tests and experiential data derived from new adventures in living—a viable expression of the constant tao. Willard van De Bogart has composed an electronic symphony using the Moog synthesizer as taoistic music for the universe. Father Louis M. Savary of the Institute of Consciousness and Music is following similar directions.

The Academy of Parapsychology and Medicine is a nonprofit organization created primarily to provide a catalyst for the study of all forms of paranormal and unorthodox healing. It was formed by a group of scientists and physicians who believe that a common but as yet little understood rationale lies behind all healing experience. Its members propose to find out scientifically and experientially more on healing. Among the directors of the academy are Elmer Green, William A. Tiller, William A. McGarey, Jack K. Holland and Robert Mattson. It has sponsored symposia on acupuncture, healing and related subjects.

Martin Johnson, a psychologist at Lund University in Sweden, is conducting ESP experiments using the control advantages of a laboratory in real-life, high motivation situations.

Dr. Aristide H. Esser, a clinical psychiatrist and himself a psychic, in 1969 was instrumental in organizing the Association for Man-Environment Relations (ASMER) at Orangeburg, New York. Esser is associated with Dr. Nathan Kline at Rockland State Hospital in Orangeburg. ASMER has the objective of learning more about man and his relations with his environment. ASMER expresses a belief in the further evolution of man and encourages a multidisciplinary approach to understanding his social, physical and psychical environment.

Dr. Edgar D. Mitchell, the former astronaut, has organized a group called the Institute

5. Elmer E. and Alyce M. Green, "On the Meaning of Transpersonal. Some Metaphysical Perspectives", *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* (1971). Also see Stanley R. Dean, "Is There an Ultraconscious Beyond the Unconscious?", *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 15 (1970).

6. Dr. Oliver L. Reiser died June 6, 1974.

of Noetic Sciences to provide for multidisciplinary research efforts to explore the vast creative potential of the human mind. John White, Judith Skutch, Paul Temple, Wernher von Braun, Stanley Dean, Brendan O'Regan, Jean Houston, Robert Masters, Glenn Olds, William Tiller, Thomas Hudson, and Wilbur Franklin are among the principal members of this new group.

William I. Thompson and Gene Fairly have established the Lindisfarne Association, a residential education community for about 100 university level students. Ian Baldwin of the World Law Fund, the Reverend James Morton, Michael Murphy, Richard Falk, and William J. Upjohn are serving on the board of directors. The Lindisfarne Association is dedicated to the spiritual transformation of mankind.

Dr. Glenn Olds, the president of Kent State University, Barbara Hubbard of SYNCON, Julius Stulman, president of the World Institute, Jeanne Pontius Rindge of Human Dimensions Institute, and Winifred Babcock of the Harold Foundation are involved in Psi-phy types of research interests.

Others such as John Bleibtreau and John Lilly in ethology, Cleve Backster and Marcel Vogel in plant research are adding to our understanding of our unique genetic core.

As Roland Fischer, now with the Maryland Psychiatric Institute in Baltimore observes: "In this age so concerned with travel in outer as well as inner space, it is strange that, while we have detailed charts of the moon, we have no cartography of the varieties of human experience."⁷ I believe we are beginning our charting now.

All this leads me to believe what Henry Murray so wisely set forth for us in his universal among universals:

This spiritual phase, this symbolism, might be exemplified, it seems to me, on all levels; an embracement and reunion of opposites: man and nature, male and female, conscious and unconscious, superego and id, reason and passion, rational and irrational, science and art, enjoyable means and enjoyable ends, upper class and lower class, West and East. Instead of dependence or independence, we may see a fruitful interdependence; instead of passive reception and greedy acquisition of great quantities of things, we may see construction . . . in short, instead of thesis and antithesis, we may achieve synthesis at the center creation for creation. . . .⁸

7. Roland Fischer, "A Cartography of Ecstatic and Meditative States", *Science* 174 (November 26, 1971). See also John White, "The Yogi in the Lab—The Implications of Bio-Feedback for Control of Body Functions and Health", *Fate* (June 1971).

8. Henry H. Murray, "Vicissitudes of Creativity" in Harold Anderson, *Creativity and Its Cultivation* (New York: Harper, 1959).

I believe Henry Murray has captured the essence of what the late Ludwig von Bertalanffy sought so long in his general systems theory. General systems theory and its interdisciplinary and intercultural applications attempt to overcome limitations of the mechanistic view and in the very process to recapture the human element and its tacit dimension with all nature. General systems theory is leading us, albeit with fractional barriers, towards a planetary view of society and nature. It is helping develop the seed-men and seed-women in the constant tao for a new civilization today and for the world of tomorrow.⁹

The meaningful constant encounter of opposites provides us with the knowledge that man is ultimately not perfectible but, like the Jew, wanders in exile hoping not to forget lest he run the risk of becoming a Nazi. For it is a world game we play—a game which promises to become a planetary game considering the present convergence of Soviet/U.S. outer space and emerging Soviet/U.S. inner space cooperation. A new high level synergetic society, allowing for maximum individual development within the social matrix, is a promise we may soon reach.¹⁰ Our path for this noble purpose is being marked by pioneers of the inner space journey who recognize that man and nature are one, man and his God are twins, and that man and woman with the constant union of anima and animus provide the unity.

Our path is also marked by the lunar landing and Kohoutek. Kohoutek, coming on the heels of the Age of Aquarius and breathing upon the coming millenium, provides a needed creation for the spaceship mind. Kohoutek wakes the world from both Godot and Apollo. We feel the same as nature resonating to the cosmic design and "time and again between muscle and lens, between sensor and sense, in the dense present tense, overloading the past with future. . . ."¹¹ Kohoutek produces an energy of the mind to mirror the symbols of reality in space and time—the physical reality of earth and gravity and sun and life. Kohoutek provoked in my mind the possibility of laser holography and the projection of Aurobindo's Auroville into the universe with universal inhabitants. In 1974, Dr. Gerard K. O'Neil of Princeton University developed a space colonization plan. It resembles this author's UNIBUTZ proposal of 1971, a universal kibbutz using Auroville as a model for space colonization.¹²

Certainly the transfiguration of Christ into the light of the spirit, ascending to

9. Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "System, Symbol and the Image of Man", in Iago Galdson, editor, **The Interface Between Psychiatry and Anthropology** (New York: Brunner Mazel, Inc., 1971). Also see Dane Rudhyar, "Growth Through Relationship", **Fields Within Fields . . . Within Fields** 5 (No. 1, 1972).

10. Sheldon B. Kopp, **GURU** (Palo Alto, California: Science and Behavior Books, 1971) and R. Buckminster Fuller, **Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth** (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969).

11. Burgert Roberts, **Space Walks: Poems for the Moon Age** (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

12. Robert A. Smith, III, "UNIBUTZ", **Fields Within Fields . . . Within Fields** 4 (No. 1, 1971).

Heaven, is a symbolic dynamic. It represents both an inner and outer journey.¹³ Mind and matter are emanations of the original universe radiation or radiational emanations from constantly introjected hydrogen. It is not that we are not connected to everything else; we are a more vivid radiation product.¹⁴ We represent Oliver Reiser's cosmic lens mirroring ourselves in the hydrogen psychosphere. Kohoutek possessed indeed a needed mythopoesis for integrating the psyche of man. It provided a catharsis, a symbolic act of transfiguration or transcendence as it sped toward the sun having symbolically reseeded the earth with specks of cosmic radiation for higher level mutations to take place.¹⁵ Celebrating Kohoutek was not enough. The tao of the inner and outer it portrayed can lead to a social actualization and a "holistic consciousness" of cosmic humanism.¹⁶ This consciousness recognizes freedom in its true context—to force a decision upon another is to destroy that person's freedom and your feedback from him.¹⁷ Kohoutek was feedback from the universe with spiritual feedforward imaging for man. Perhaps Mark Twain synchronistically heralded the great coming of Kohoutek when he placed these words in Teilhard's noosphere: "He shall be received with a torchlight procession when he comes; and then all heaven boomed. . . ." Indeed the driving force of the universe is the spiritual, psychic and intellectual energy of minds . . . minds which overcome the dichotomous forces of male/female, man/nature, science/humanity and perceive the gestalt which is the resonant harmony of the universe. Kohoutek was a reassurance of this fact and sounded the beginning of a new "Copernican revolution" to complete a systematic exploration of the vast mental universe of our beings and an epochal construction of the science of the galaxies.

Kohoutek is a representational symbol belonging to the social sphere of life, to draw upon Ira Progoff with support from Mircea Eliade. It is a visible symbol that enables individual religious and social symbols such as the cross, the Star of David, the crescent, the yogi in bound lotus asana, the red star to transcend themselves into a cosmic display—a unity with diversity. As Hugh Duncan puts it in his *Symbols and Social Theory*, Kohoutek with global perception potential—though other phenomena prevented this from being realized and Kohoutek never reached a bright display—could enable us to adapt a global style of life that would transform and enable men to realize that they are gods communicating with each other. Boston psychiatrist Richard Ingrasci recently stated that synaesthetic videotape and cinema are nonlinear and contain neither external thematic plot, story-line, actor nor even a dialogue. These have been replaced by kinetic images and music not normally found in the external world but quite prevalent during altered states of con-

13. I. Rice Pereira, *The Nature of Space* (Washington: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1968).

14. Avraham Ben-Josef, *Ancient History: The Twentieth Century* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970).

15. Harry Slochower, *Mythopoesis Mythic Patterns in the Literary Classic* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970).

16. Robert Hunter, *The Storming of the Mind* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971).

17. Charles Hampden-Turner, *Radical Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1971). See also George T. Land, *Grow or Die* (New York: Dell, 1976).

sciousness where the internal world synthesizes a multitude of perceptions. Ingrasci's wise observation is supported by Reza Arasteh, the Iranian transcultural psychologist. Arasteh, in his *Final Integration in the Adult Personality*, maintains that man possesses an abundance of eidetic imaging and synthesizing capacity. Images help to awaken this.

I would like to conclude with a relevant statement about images by the great pioneer on symbology Ernst Cassirer, who would have recognized the collective imaging capacity Kohoutek could have upon all "animal symbolicum"

It is symbolic thought which overcomes the natural inertia of man and endows him with a new ability, the ability constantly to reshape his human universe.¹⁸

18. Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1944).

ILLUSTRATIONS

Three Poems

*Vainly inheld by night, collected
In a star made gold by nearness
And by the earth it shines upon,
A cry of light, the sun at dawn
Greets the turning of the world.*

*

*A long instant of sudden and silver light;
A pure electric ray rends gathering night
With beauty and a vision of lasting sight.*

*

*Stirred and winded, child of a distant storm,
The sea in haste toward a shore beseiged;
Cloud-shadows cross its face like a memory;
The deep ranging helix of a sun emerging
Carries to the storm and impels on shade
A death and calm in a stroke of gold—
A moment when all comes cleanly to focus.*

Tatsat

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE FUTURE (TCFF)

New Horizons for Humanity in an Interdependent World

Joyce Gorman

Throughout our tiny planet resounds the clarion call of humanity for release from the fetters of separation and ignorance. In response to this great invocative appeal, new energies incorporating the qualities of love, brotherhood and synthesis are being made available. We, who are sensitive to these inflowing energies, must face our responsibility to the urgent needs of the body of humankind.

Groups and individuals throughout the world are devoting themselves toward the fulfillment of the human potential—the fusion of the subjective and objective levels of awareness. And well they should, as this infinitesimal point of human history is unparalleled in its opportunity for growth and transcendence.

Yet there remains a deficit, one which may only be superseded through synthesis. If we can properly assess the unique qualities of the various and diverse avenues of expression, and, through synergistic endeavor, capitalize on our *common* aspirations—we shall constitute an invincible channel for the anchoring of new-age energies within the world arena.

It was in response to this need for a wholistic approach, that the Committee for the Future was founded in 1970.

We are being brought to an awareness of our potency as creators. Incorporating a negative view of reality, we've become responsible for fulfilling that prophecy. And yet, these negative stimuli -our "problems" of environment, energy shortages, hunger, etc. - should be viewed as "evolutionary drivers". Faced with a climate of despair in which we believe ourselves to be recipients of a legacy of destructive and irresponsible actions - we must now accept this challenge with a positive vision of the future.

The Committee for the Future (TCFF) was conceived in an effort to understand and facilitate the evolutionary process at this critical stage of history. It is based on an awareness that:

- (i) —for the first time in human history, we have the capacities, through wise use of the intellect and goodwill, to overcome the ancient scourge of poverty, disease and ignorance;
- (ii) —the growth potential of the individual has barely been tapped;
- (iii) —the human environment henceforth includes extraterrestrial space; and
- (iv) —we are on the brink of an unlimited future—physically, psychologically, and spiritually.

Its transpolitical purpose is to gain a social mandate to utilize new capacities in

this decade so that mankind can move into a new age. The adversary mode of conflict resolution is no longer tenable. Individual differences, frustrated growth potentials, and competition over finite resources, must be resolved through synergistic processes, wherein people become conscious participants in the creative designing process.

At all levels of life, a spiritual awakening is occurring which recognizes man as a responsive part of a cosmic process. The need for a transcendent vision of the future is paramount.

The pressure mounts. We are literally bursting for the way to evolve. This condition is as perilous as birth and cannot endure for long. As is generally said, we will either unify and transcend, or disintegrate and devolve.

In other words, it is the historical moment for synergistic convergence. The decade of the 1970's is critical. The transition is planetary; each nation and culture is sensing the mighty forces of change. The United States has a particular responsibility to pull itself together and initiate action which can help unify itself and others as we reach together for our common destiny.

SYNCON (SYNergistic CONvergence)—developed by Barbara Marx Hubbard and John J. Whiteside, co-founders of TCFF—is a unique conferencing technique in which a wheel-like environment is created wherein expertise from every aspect of human society is invited. Within this structure are Production, Government, Applied Technology, Environment and Social Needs. On the periphery are the growing edge of society—Information Evolution, Physical and Biological Sciences, Political/Economic Theory, Extraterrestrial, Nature of Humankind, and

the Arts. Each section is enclosed within temporary walls, indicative of our fragmented society. The walls between two apparently conflicting sections are removed, with the participants within each merging to discover commonalities; then, finally, all walls are removed and all participants interact together wholistically.

This process is an innovative model for the enhanced interaction and communication imperative in this current era of transition to the new age. We are analagous to Robert Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*. Receptive to a flood of heretofore unmanifest energies, we struggle assiduously to effect changes in antiquated structures, toward ends we can but dimly perceive.

And therein lies our challenge.

Beyond, yet implicitly within, all creative acts of humanity, flows the synthetic force of magnetic love and attraction. Whereas we have been isolated points of light, a powerful magnet must be energized to draw these energies together, that the unfolding Divine Plan may be more clearly expressed.

TCFF does not, alone, have the capacity to assume a role of this magnitude. Thus, the Community for the Future was evolved to meet this urgent need.

The Community for the Future is a global radio and television network of action to rally talent, resources, organizations and information to facilitate true interdependence—a world community of the future in which unity is achieved and diversity enhanced. The network is not an organization, but a process to involve people and to release available energies, using modern means of communication. It will simplify, synthesize and synergize many existing efforts so that each can be more effective and mutually supportive.

The coming together in action of this planetary constituency is vital. It may be, at this precise moment, *the* critical factor as to which way the current of history flows: toward a higher level of world cooperation—or disintegration.

The Community will initiate an extraordinary series of communication participation events in 1975-1976 designed to involve the "critical mass of awareness" in visible actions—open to all.

1975-1976 will be a year of transformation. In accord with the spiralling evolution of humanity, breakthroughs in every aspect of human endeavor are now, and will be increasingly, emerging to the fore of human consciousness. These innovations, together with the growing sense of planetary interdependence, must be communicated to the peoples of the world.

Toward this end, TCFF will host the First International SYNCON—a coming together of people from around the world to examine their own needs and goals for development within the context of the growing capacities of mankind-as-a-whole. It will be held in 1976 at Cocoa Beach, Florida. An officially recognized project of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, the International SYNCON has the largest scope of any bicentennial project in the ARBA International and Horizons categories. John Warner, administrator of ARBA, wrote:

The International SYNCON takes a giant step in the direction of uniting the citizens of the world in the survival of the human race and the promotion of the highest quality of life possible for all mankind.

The bicentennial administration has awarded a grant of \$15,000 to TCFF for the development of the First International SYNCON.

Also, as a part of its "Call for Achievement", ARBA is recommending the SYNCON process to 5000 bicentennial committees who have volunteered to do a future-oriented program. The replication of this citizen-involvement process throughout the grassroots of the nation during 1975-1976 could provide the opportunity for many Americans to participate in deciding and acting upon options for a positive future.

The SYNCON process is an action-oriented mode of conferencing. Modern communication technology will be utilized extensively to broadcast the International SYNCON throughout the world—including input from groups in various countries presenting innovative models of cooperative programs and Declarations of Interdependence. Through the interaction of hundreds of international citizens, from every functional area of society, the resultant convergence of ideas and experience will lead to constructive action and creativity in building new worlds on earth and in space.

One of the most outstanding television producers in the United States, David Prowitt, will be the executive television producer. The entire conference will be videotaped. Portions will be broadcast live in the United States and other countries. Video cassettes will be available for translation and re-broadcast. Thus, a person's participation will have impact not only at the SYNCON, but more broadly as the process replicates in different regions of the world.

We believe the event will be dramatic—as focus items include the arts, music, a multi-media presentation of "emerging images of man", plus the beauty of the beaches, the wildlife, and the great gantries that launch humans into outerspace.

The Committee for the Future cordially

extends to all individuals and/or groups who share with us a deep sense of planetary interdependence and the common goal of world union, an invitation to participate in this First International SYNCON. For further information on the Committee for the Future—and/or participation in the First International SYNCON please contact: The Committee for the Future, Inc., 2325 Porter Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20008,

United States of America.

We have sojourned as guests on this planet for thousands of years. Let us awaken and face our responsibilities—there is no more time to dream. With wisdom and compassion, let us now join hands in the spirit of loving cooperation and service to humanity.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY — V

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought: Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

In all that we have stated thus far regarding the process of historical change, there is little likelihood of dispute regarding our basic premise of the existence today of significantly divergent civilisations. The more difficult point is in respect to the persistence of the basic *Weltanschauung* in each case and as a general rule. There are not wanting philosopher-historians who see decay as the ultimate destiny of all civilisations. Spengler, for instance, believes that a society necessarily passes through certain definite stages leading to decline and final decay—from a creative, spontaneous and brilliant period of "culture" to a laboured, intellectual and self-conscious age of "civilisation" and thence on to decay. This theme has been taken up in recent years by Amaury de Riencourt in a series of brilliant expositions of Europe, India, China, Japan, but it is significant that he does not see decay as inevitable and that, on the contrary, his attempt is to unravel the process of transformation by which the ancient civilisations recover themselves. Of course, this does not mean that civilisations have not perished in the past or that they may not do so in the future. It only means that there is no inevitability about the process. Indeed, even where civilisations have per-

ished, the remarkable thing is that their religion and values, thoughts and ideas do get incorporated into the mind of some succeeding civilisation on the same soil; obvious examples being the Aegeans and the Greeks, the Indus Valley civilisation and the Indo-Aryans.

There is another interpretation of history, that of Toynbee, wherein disintegration is viewed as the fate of all civilisations—except perhaps the Western! For our purpose the issues of relevance in Toynbee's study of history are his conception of the process of history and of its general trend. Civilisations rise and fall like the revolutions of a wheel but the chariot of religion advances constantly. In general, civilisations go through the stages of genesis, growth, breakdown and finally disintegration; a few however, getting arrested or petrified at intermediate stages. Every civilisation, except that of the West, has reached the final stage of disintegration, a few insignificant ones having been arrested or petrified earlier. Disintegration is characterised by the schism of the body-social into three fractions, dominant majority, internal proletariat and external proletariat, which create respectively a "Universal State", a "Universal Church"

and a "Heroic Age". The true constructive result of disintegration lies in the formation of the "Universal Church" (or "higher" religion) which becomes the foundation for a new civilisation, and it is this successive development of religions that constitutes the general progressive trend of history.

Before we examine these ideas, it will be interesting to cast a glance at some of the curious results produced as a result of their application. We learn some strange things about Indian history; for instance, after the Indus culture we had an Indic society which in turn was followed by the Hindu society. Apparently the Vedas themselves were not Hindu but Indic, whatever that may mean. We also learn that a "Universal State" (Toynbee's term for a centralising empire) represents the last stage of a civilisation, that of disintegration, which occurs through a process involving three and a half beats of successive routs and rallies—a neat mathematical formula!

Our chief difference with Toynbee is that we find no reason to believe that all civilisations have reached the stage of disintegration. Or, to put it in another way, where Toynbee seems to allow only one exception to this (Western civilisation), we perceive several exceptions, India, China, even Middle-eastern Islam. His error, it seems to us, lies in his attitude towards what he calls a "Universal State"; as we have said, the "Universal State" represents the last stage of a civilisation, the "Universal State" of Rome having been followed by feudal Europe which to Toynbee represents a new civilisation—an assertion that does not command wide acceptance. In India the most brilliant periods of creativity represent disintegration—the Maurya "Universal State" represents the disintegration of Indic society and the Gupta

"Universal State" that of Hindu society! in China, where the number of "Universal States" is unfortunately very large, the matter is explained away by the double device of demarcating several civilisations, Sinic, Shang, etc. and by incorporating more than one "Universal State" under his three and a half beats of routs and rallies. But what are we to make of the absurdity (which is not even consistent with his general theory) of Mughal and British Raj as "alien Universal States" of Hindu civilisation? No wonder an acute British critic has said that Toynbee's "work from the first had an intensely personal air" and that "the advantages of his vivid imagination can scarcely outweigh the disadvantage of having a singularly muddled intellect".

Again, the disintegration of a civilisation, according to Toynbee, leads to the creation of a "Universal Church" or higher religion by the internal proletariat, and this higher religion becomes the basis of a succeeding civilisation. Thus is progress assured even in collapse. Here, again, the explanation has a certain plausibility only in relation to Christianity and to no other religion. Islam did not emerge from the ashes of a "Universal State", it itself established one. Buddhism came before even the formation of any "Universal State" in India and the course of Hinduism is absolutely unique in that political vicissitudes have had very little to do with its fate. And, on Toynbee's own showing, we may ask: Which "Universal Church" did the "alien Universal States", Mughal and British, lead to?

The real difficulty with Toynbee's views lies in the very origins of his study. The generation into which he had been born in England believed in unending progress, in an "earthly paradise just round the next corner".

Yet by the time he grew into manhood he had witnessed what was to that date the bitterest European fratricidal war (1914-18), and instead of there being any abatement of tension there came the devastating depression of the thirties. In that mood of general disillusionment he was led to make comparisons with Hellenic history and to ask whether "the two dates A. D. 1914 and 431 B. C. were not philosophically contemporaneous", and whether the parallel signified a similar fate for modern Europe. Is the civilisation of the West also going to perish? That was his original question. Subsequently his enquiry was extended to the more general question: Why do civilisations die? This led to an examination of the breakdowns and disintegrations of other known civilisations and thence on to "the complementary study of their genesis and growths". But at the end of his study he returns to his original question concerning the prospects of Western civilisation.

Three facts at once strike us. First, the very narrow and negative nature of the quest: Is Western civilisation going to perish? Why do civilisations die? It has been said of Max Weber that he possessed "a curiosity concerning what is essential. . . . [He] asked the most important questions." Exactly the opposite, it would seem, is true of Toynbee. Secondly, even in this limited quest his central concern is a comparison with the ancient Western world; the enquiry into other civilisations comes later and does not appear to have made much difference to his main conclusions which are essentially a generalisation of European experience. His dependence, moreover, on mythological and poetical ideas is astonishing and lends weight to the suspicion that his conclusions are not empirically derived. Thirdly, he started his study

in the thirties and he seems to have retained the attitude of those days—plausible enough then—that all other civilisations had disintegrated. In particular, the significance of the events of the fifties, of the re-emergence into freedom of old nations, does not appear to have struck him at all—in the course of his study at any rate. It is evident, therefore, that his prodigious scholarship is put into a conceptual frame so narrow and constricted that great results are scarcely to be expected. In this, however, he seems merely to share the general limitation common to his time.

For all their scholarship, the Europeans, and in particular the British at least of that period, were essentially parochial in their outlook. For them, ultimately, the world extended to the borders of Europe; and in general when they wrote a history of the world it was really a history of Western Europe (not even of Europe as a whole!), with a chapter or two on Eastern Europe and Islam and some references to China and India. And it is these people who are the most vociferous in complaining about the ancient Chinese notion of central kingdom and about contemporary Chinese "insularity"! Of the Europeans, the British, it would seem, are the most insular in outlook. They have produced thinkers of analytic brilliance no doubt, but not philosophers of vast synthetic sweep and constructive imagination who can build an all embracing system of thought. One can never imagine a Kant or a Hegel as being British. Spencer is the only exception to this—and he was a reactionary. Curiously enough, the same is true of Toynbee. It should, therefore, be a matter of no great surprise that his views have very little significance for us.

A more difficult problem is the case of a civilisation which does not exactly perish in

the usual sense but is at the same time prevented from its natural process of growth on account of some rough conquest and forcible imposition of a foreign religion or ideology. The classic example of this is perhaps Persia and its conquest by Islam. But some specific features of the civilisation thus overwhelmed tend to persist, and in this case Islam itself became largely Persianised. The tendency in Persia, moreover, has been in the direction of a more liberal and less prophet-oriented interpretation of Islam, one which does indeed accept the Prophet but not in so unique and forceful a way as the orthodox. Thus Sufism and more recently the Bahai movement are characteristic Persian products.

The third situation, which really is of greatest concern to us, is that of civilisations that are not forcibly converted but which emerge to a new life of possibilities as a result of the challenge of a foreign civilisation. Two issues are involved here: the continuity of the recovering civilisation, and its recovery only as a consequence of foreign stimulus. The fact of recovery, whatever the causes, is undeniable in, say, China; but to some this seems to be a classic case of the failure of continuity since the Communists have totally repudiated Confucianism. In view of the importance of this case it will be worth our while to dwell on it a little. Two questions arise: Is it not possible that those who see in the repudiation of Confucianism the rejection of China's characteristic world-outlook, are mistaking the form for the essence? Is the Chinese revolution a really more thoroughgoing repudiation of the past than was the emergence of modern Europe a rejection of its past? If we take up the latter question first, it will be obvious that the European transformation has been no less fundamental and sustained in respect to

basic outlook. Yet few regard modern European civilisation as a wholly new one, as an altogether different civilisation in the same geographical area, rather than as a fresh epoch in the life of a developing civilisation. Why is this so? Surely because despite a wide divergence, certain common elements—Greek and Christian—can be perceived as continuing features. If, then, we can accept continuity in regard to Europe, it seems strange to deny it to China and that, too, at so early a stage when but a generation has passed since the revolution.

Coming now to the first question, it is necessary to state one or two absolutely fundamental things about Chinese civilisation. It is now generally accepted that the Chinese culture was always a this-worldly culture and that the Chinese have always been perhaps the least religiously inclined of all peoples. Even when Buddhism made some inroads into China at a time of distress and uncertainty, the serene and contemplative figure of Buddha was slowly transformed in some Chinese sculpture into a hilarious and pot-bellied "sage". And Confucianism itself was scarcely a religion in the usual sense of the term, being essentially a system of social ethics and a complex set of rites of social behaviour intended to achieve balance and harmony in society. Its concern was less with preparation for future life than with the accomplishment of a cohesive social order here and now. It is this practical, civic ideal that has on the whole governed the Chinese mind. In the Chinese social order, moreover, the merchant was ranked below even the peasant and tiller, the vaisya was of lower status than the sudra. These two main concepts—that of a this-worldly ideal of social harmony and an ethics tailored to meet this end, and of a conception of social values

wherein the merchant is accorded a status lower than that of the worker—are in no way incompatible with Marxism, are indeed integral elements of the communist ethos itself. The Chinese substitution of Marxism for Confucianism, therefore, is not the substitution of one kind of outlook for another (the religious for the secular, for instance) but a fresh application of the same civic, humanistic world-view in response to the crisis created by the overwhelming stress of a ruthless and exploiting Western civilisation. This suggests, incidentally, that those who expect India to follow the Chinese to Marxism are failing to take note that Indian culture is fundamentally different from the Chinese; the Indians being probably the most God-centred and religious people on earth. That India will give up her world-outlook rooted in at least 3,000 years of recorded history is difficult to believe or even visualise.

Another aspect of this issue of change and development is related to the transformation beyond "feudalism" which we had said took place only as the result of the impact of some foreign civilisation. Left to itself, a feudal society will not advance. This seems obvious enough in respect to Asian nations; for everywhere in modern times it is the impact of the West—or rather the response to the challenge of the West—that has awakened and transformed these countries. But does it hold true generally? To be more precise, did Europe itself emerge from its feudal age as a result of the impact of some foreign civilisations? Until recent years, owing to a false notion of superiority, Europeans tended to deny any foreign stimulus in their own great awakening. But it is no longer possible to subscribe to this one-sided view, and the awakening of Europe can now safely be attributed to the impact of two great civilisations upon it, those of Islam and Mongol China.

Two centuries of crusading activity and constant contact with the dynamic and superior civilisation of Islam shook barbaric Europe to its intellectual and social roots. Philosophy and poetry, science and alchemy, medicine and mathematics, even Aristotle himself, came to Europe through Islam. At the same time, the organisation and provisioning of the Crusades was a stimulation to the economic activity of Europe. Merchants established themselves at strategic points and new towns came into being: Bruges, Stamford, Portsmouth, Bordeaux.

This double process, the influx of new ideas and the rise of a new trading class, received yet another powerful impulse upon the sudden irruption of the Mongolian hurricane. Led by the terrible Genghis Khan, they established themselves in China and overran all territories to its West, up to and including south Russia, Hungary and Silesia, thus opening for Europe the overland route across Asia to China. The consequent expansion of trade, the growth and establishment of quasi-independent cities—Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lisbon, Paris, London, Antwerp, Hamburg, Nuremberg, Bergen, for instance—kept pace with the opening up of a new and glorious world of men and ideas which absolutely staggered the childish mind and rude imagination of a yet barbarian Europe. The wonderful story of Marco Polo, in which he recounted his seventeen year residence and travel in China, created an intellectual revolution in Europe.

We can but dimly perceive what it meant in that age of darkness for a dynamic and restless trading class to acquire altogether startling conceptions as to the possibilities of human riches, to feel constrained to revise their crude geographical notions and to have

new and amazing ideas and beliefs thrust upon them. We can form some estimate of the depth to which ideas of the superiority of Eastern civilisations had been burnt into the European soul from the fact that as late as the eighteenth century a social philosopher of the eminence of Montesquieu should have chosen to use imaginary Persian personages to satirise French society in his famous *Persian Letters*. However, once these basic transformations had been effected in the social body and thinking mind of Europe, the further developments—the Renaissance, the break-up of the unity of Christendom and formation of national states, the Industrial Revolution, etc.—came almost as a matter of course, inevitably. We see, therefore, that the stimulus of a foreign civilisation is an integral element in the transformation of a civilisation from its broken, collapsed feudal condition.

THE ALTERNATIVE

Having made a survey of Western political thought and having already offered alternative suggestions all through our survey, we are now in a position to gather together these various positive suggestions and to summarise briefly our main conclusions.

1. Indian philosophy centres around two main concepts: Purusha and Prakriti, Brahman and Shakti. The one represents the eternal Absolute, the other the phenomenal world. Emphasis on Brahman alone leads to Mayavada, illusionism. Emphasis on Prakriti alone leads to Caravaka, hedonism. In India the overwhelming philosophical tendency has been Mayavada with an inevitable trend towards escapism. In modern times, however, Sri Ramakrishna spoke of Nitya and Lila, Brahman and Shakti as ultimately

identical, representing the Absolute and its inalienable power. Sri Aurobindo developed this theme and reconciled Brahman and Prakriti, Nitya and Anitya. The phenomenal world has been thought meaningless, unreal because impermanent; but taken as a whole in the totality of time it is a meaningful and purposive Lila, a realm of evolution from Matter to Life and Mind onward to the Supermind, to the Divine. A complete yoga, therefore, must have a double aspect—not merely jnana of Brahman in samadhi, but karma in Prakriti for the fulfilment of Lila; not just liberation but a liberated use of body and mind in the service of divine purposes.

2. Life's goal, therefore, includes both psychological and social ends. Psychologically, man's task is to manifest the divinity latent in him by over-mastering his baser samskaras, tendencies. This is, in the last analysis, an individual task but it is for the generality a task that cannot be accomplished individually. For the average run of humanity is more or less governed by society and it must first be freed from economic exploitation, political oppression, social compulsion. But social compulsions arise as much from outworn codes and practices as from the contradictions of society. These latter are reflected in the individual in the form of profound internal conflicts. The individual's progress demands, therefore, not only that he be freed from irrational ethics and economic manipulation but that the social order of which he is a part be itself freed from fundamental contradictions. This securing of the wholeness of the social order is thus both a condition of the individual's well-being and a primary object of his endeavour.

3. The process of history is governed wholly neither by ideas nor by the economic

substructure, but by both operating simultaneously. Ideas without embodiment in institutions or classes are unreal, ineffective; institutions or classes without ideas are blind, unattractive. Every social order rests simultaneously on a world-outlook, a Weltanschauung and an economic and physical form. The process of history takes place at two levels—within civilisations and between civilisations. The chief distinguishing mark of a civilisation is its basic world-outlook, and upon the basis of its continuity it can and does experience changes of epoch depending on alterations in economic substructure or in basic political organisation. Contact between civilisations provides a stimulus to growth, but when a "feudal" condition of a civilisation is reached—a condition characterised by collapse and partial rescue, social rigidity and intellectual darkness—its further evolution becomes contingent upon its receiving a challenge or stimulus from another civilisation. This process, to be successful, must involve the growth of both new ideas and new classes. In its process of recovery the civilisation transforms its physical body but retains the essential features of its world-outlook. Where this itself comes to be questioned, the civilisation experiences a tremendous inner tension like modern Europe.

4. Taken as a whole, human history is in the main a record of progress. True, civilisations have perished on the way but their achievements have not wholly disappeared with them. Succeeding waves of barbarians have been profoundly influenced by them, and every new flowering of civilisations bears some impress of a preceding one. But more recent history is a chronicle of the recovery of ancient civilisations under great stress. In the modern age the conquering and

exploiting civilisation has been that of Europe, a civilisation driven by individualism and rationalism within, and a certain rough greed and arrogant pride without. Everywhere there has been as a result of its exploitation a tearing of the fabric of the old, encrusted civilisations and their awakening to a life of new and higher possibilities. But the direction that this new emergence is to take is yet not clear, and on all sides the contrast between the aspiration for equality, peace and freedom and the reality of conflict, oppression and hatred is a painful one. Towards what precise goal Asia and Africa and Latin America are heading is not quite clear, despite healthy signs of a powerful awakening. On the other hand, Europe and America themselves, until recently the torchbearers of humanity in a broad sense, seem to have reached a kind of dead end. Humanity, it seems, has reached a crisis in its evolutionary progression. It is in search of a new directing light and a regulating and a harmonising principle.

In earlier periods religion provided faith, direction, certainty; but it has stood, in Europe at least, violently against progress, against the liberation of the individual from outworn and constricting social taboos and practices, and against the free development of the rational and scientific mind. The recent progress of mankind having thus occurred independently of and in opposition to religion, it has in the process been badly mauled and sternly discredited. But reason, too (which has been the guide of modern man), has its limitations. It has in its activity two facets—the disinterested pursuit of truth and the application of knowledge to life. It is the latter aspect of its activity that reveals to us its inherent limitation. For here we find it becomes a slave of passion and untruth with the same facility as it becomes an agent of

truth and goodness. This is only because in its pursuit of truth—the first phase of its activity—it leads to no definitive conclusions; in the words of Sri Aurobindo, “It can in its nature be used and has always been used to justify any idea, theory of life, system of society or government, ideal of individual or collective action to which the will of man attaches itself for the moment or through the centuries.” It can give us a fractional or superficial view; it cannot embrace the totality nor go to the root of things. And in the present phase of human history, characterised as it is by the vast increase of scientific knowledge and by the rise of the masses, this deep and total vision is the one crying need and necessity. For both human means and human passions have in this age become more enlarged, intense and absolute.

If, therefore, humanity is even to survive it must discover a surer centre, a more definite light than reason. Where is this to be found? Religion, we have seen, has been an enemy of progress and an ally of the forces of obscurity and oppression. But that was because religion had become identified with creed and church, was mistaken for “religionism”, cult, ceremony, dogma. True religion is spiritual, a seeking to manifest the divinity within, the unfettered development of man’s highest possibilities; Sri Aurobindo has said that “dogmas, cults, moral codes . . . may be offered to man but not imposed on him”. In respect to spirituality, however, there is a confused tendency which seeks to draw it away from life, which identifies it wholly and exclusively with asceticism or monasticism. But in doing so it mistakes the part for the whole, confuses the necessary first excursion with the complete pilgrimage. For spirituality is not merely an ascent and an elevation but also a descent

and an involvement. It is the fulfilment of all possibilities in the light of the divine, the transmutation of the body, mind and life in service and surrender to God. It excludes naught from its purview, it governs and brightens all. Spirituality, therefore—banishing and rejecting nothing, embracing and directing everything—is the one true and secure light to guide the faltering steps of a perplexed humanity. India, which in all her life—in ages of vigour and fulness as in ages of negation and despair—has nourished this truth, hugged this light, has a great role to play, a mission to fulfil in spreading this deep, sure and comprehensive vision to all the world. But India herself is racked by troubles and yet not fully awake to her mighty possibilities. The call of an awaiting humanity to India, therefore, is: *Uttishthata, jagrata!*—Arise, awake!

5. How shall India awake? A common view is that to solve our problems all we require is hard work by the people and governance by experts. Russia, China, Cuba and Japan, Germany, the United States are all “advancing” only because the people there work hard. Philosophies and ideologies, therefore, are equally good or bad, for fools to contest. This plausible notion needs to be examined if only because of its remarkably obstinate persistence.

It is beyond dispute that hard work is indeed necessary; but the point here being made is that it is sufficient by itself, it is all that is required. Such a contention is historically superficial in that it does not recognise the unique life and experience of each nation. It is rather like the father telling his unemployed son to behave like so and so who has become a doctor or engineer. It merely begs the question: Why do a people work hard? History records that people never

work effectively except under the inspiration of a great and unifying vision.

And the mere expert, by whom this view sets so much store, like the critic and the journalist, gains in importance only in ages of decline, in those ages especially that walk by sight but yet have no open vision. Nor is it at all true that India has too few experts; she has rather too many operating on the wrong premises. The great basic questions, to whichever sphere they may pertain, never involve mere technical issues, and therefore their solution does not lie in the hands of experts and technicians. The problem in philosophy is not, despite Wittgenstein, to determine which "language game" we intended to play; nor in poetry to discover the right metre, in economics to "mop up resources". In each case it is a creative task, a matter essentially of being in possession of a definite vision of life: in philosophy it is logically argued out, in poetry expressed with the cadence of music, and in economics resolved as in China by the work and cooperation of the people themselves. In the years preceding 1789 France tried out the solution of her great problems with the help of experts, but the economic wizards, Turgot and Necker, could not even perceive the real problem, and so the solution came in the form of revolution. "The evil which was immediately obvious was financial. . . . [France] was threatened by an appalling bankruptcy. What was more fundamental was that she lacked social equality, equitable taxation, political freedom, and an effective executive. . . . Privilege polluted justice, deflected the main burden of taxation onto the shoulders of the poor. . . . Privilege was now indefensible and odious. . . . The revolution came because the monarchy was unable to solve the

question of privilege."¹

The first condition of creativity is finding the true centre of our being. Therefore, recently the distinction between Westernisation and modernisation has rightly been urged, between a laborious and imitative pursuit of others and a large and creative transformation of ourselves. There is no reason whatsoever to believe, as some "experts" persist in doing even with the examples of China and Cuba before them, that the process of modernisation must necessarily involve aping the technology of the West in all its details and elaborately plodding through similar stages of development. The essence of modernisation is contained in two simple propositions: elevation and freedom of the masses, and the application of the rational and scientific mind to serve this great end. There is nothing specifically European about these ideas though they admittedly received their first articulate expression in Europe in the movements of humanism and rationalism.

India will have to display an originality at least as great as China has shown in solving her problems. Mere industrialisation will not do. The bulk of the population will in any case be outside industry, and it is this bulk which has to be stirred and creatively mobilised. A precondition to this kind of mobilisation is a shared life of simplicity of the starkest kind. But this creative response, this finding the centre of our being can become possible only if we understand ourselves in a dynamic way, historically. It is not enough merely to know that we are the heirs of a unique culture;

1. H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, 2 vols. (London: Fontana Library, 1964), 2: 879-80.

it is necessary also to know the stages through which our civilisation has passed, where we stand today and what our possible future evolution may be. Unfortunately, India's historical evolution has been subjected to the most obtuse and imitative kinds of study.

Among Indian historians (when they have not merely specialised in some narrow sphere), three main approaches are discernible: that of the Marxists for whom any course of evolution other than primitive communism, ancient slave society, feudalism, capitalism is inconceivable and impossible; that of the liberals for whom European historians have settled the schemata, ancient, medieval, modern; and that of the eccentric fringe of which P. N. Oak, with his "The Taj Mahal is a Hindu Palace" and other such interesting diversions, is the prize exemplar. It is with K. M. Panikkar that a definite break is made from these approaches. But neither he nor any other recent historian has developed any clear conception of the process of history in general. And without such a conception the record of India's life is just "a tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing"; it has not the force and pointedness to guide us towards national reconstruction. Surprisingly, a foreigner, Amaury de Riencourt, has made a superb attempt "to look at India from both angles, to see objectively that India's history conformed to a definite pattern of history but that, at the same time, Indian civilisation has a unique personality of its own".² His bril-

liant work, however, is vitiated by the presence of a determinist and mystical outlook. Every culture for him passes through a set sequence—ancient, medieval, modern—before lapsing into the stagnant state of "civilisation". And India reached its peak, its "modern" age in the Upanishadic period; the great ages of the Mauryas and the Guptas representing periods of decline. He can thus do violence to known facts because for him the essence of history lies not in recorded facts but in the thoughts, emotions and ideas of the men who made it. It is not surprising, therefore, that despite some very remarkable insights his interpretation as a whole should be fallacious.

We have already delineated briefly the process of history as it seems to us to have taken place: separate but interacting civilisations passing through various epochs depending in general upon the evolution of economic relations, arriving at a stagnant, feudal condition (consequent upon the collapse of centralising authority and large-scale social disorder), finally re-awakening and re-forming themselves through the disturbing impact of one or more foreign civilisations, an impact transmitted to a new class in the form of fresh and vigorous ideas. From this point of view we shall give an interpretation of Indian history.

[To be continued]

2. Amaury de Riencourt, *The Soul of India* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961) p. xii.

A DAY MUST COME

Sanat K. Banerji

Peace in Our Time

A war to end wars—this was the not too sincere slogan that hurled the flower of manhood among the Western Allies into the biggest holocaust of war recorded in history till then. Twenty years later it was proved how hollow the slogan had been. Volumes have been written to show why the First World War came, and why the Second. One does not doubt the facts that so cruelly belied the ardent hopes of men and women of goodwill all over the world. The question is: Has anything been done or is anything proposed to be done that might not belie their hopes in the future?

By way of answer, one can always point to the innumerable private and semi-private organisations and individuals who have been working for peace for more than a hundred

years now. Their efforts receive a new impetus at every new crisis in human destiny and even invite some recognition—not really amounting to much—from those who are at the helm of affairs and whose action or inaction largely determines the question of peace and war. It is to be hoped that, as Sri Aurobindo has hinted in the last chapter of *The Life Divine*, such positive crises in human destiny will go on multiplying until the statesmen and the wise men of the world decide for good that there will be no more wars, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the Israelite prophet whose eloquent words adorn the walls of the United Nations hall in New York.

How long will that take? No one can tell. War implies destruction preparing for new creation. "By destruction of the old giant occupants man made himself a place upon earth. By destruction of the Titans the gods maintain the continuity of the divine Law in the cosmos. Whoever prematurely attempts to get rid of this law of battle and destruction, strives vainly against the greater will of the World-Spirit. Whoever turns from it in the weakness of his lower members, as did Arjuna in the beginning [as the Gita says in its opening chapter] . . . is showing not true virtue, but a want of spiritual courage to face the sterner truths of Nature and

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of action and existence."¹ This is the fact of the matter, and it is no use ignoring facts, however unpleasant they are.

This is not to say that the aspirant to a spiritual life must not eschew all violence and strife from his nature and his acts. Nor does it violate the highest injunction of ethics that non-violence is the supreme law, *ahimsa paramo dharmah*. Indeed, the law of love is an imperative need of all high living. But how many are truly capable of that? And how many among the multitude are striving for spiritual perfection, or even for a high ethical standard? They form a microscopic minority of the teeming mass. For the mass, strife and violence and greed and selfishness are very real entities. And so long as they continue to be so, how can war disappear from the human scene? Not surely by a spurt of the pen, or the shining idealisms of well-meaning people who shut their eyes to facts. National interests determine foreign relations for the most part. So long as this remains the basic fact of the world's international life, war remains always a possibility. Its frequency may be reduced, its incidence minimised, it may be stopped before the conflagration spreads. But to eliminate it altogether may long remain beyond our ken, unless the divine Power that has descended upon earth wills it otherwise and makes war psychologically impossible.

"A day may come, must surely come, we will say, when humanity will be ready spiritually, morally, socially for the reign of universal peace; meanwhile the aspect of battle and the nature and function of man as a fighter have to be accepted and ac-

counted for by any practical philosophy and religion."²

Why do men fight? The answer to this question is amply provided by history. Egoism is the root cause--egoism of the clan and tribe and city-state, egoism of religion and sect and church, egoism of racial, cultural, commercial ability, pride of empire and worship of national egoism under the sacred name of patriotism. Every national ego has a natural and instinctive desire for an increase of its political extent, dominion, power, influence, a widening of its commercial exploitation of the world, an expansion of its culture. With these have frequently gone a desire to extend the benefits of its religion and its racial capacity to other peoples not strong enough to resist. It is tempted to use force where it thinks it can overcome obstacles. If it feels opposed by barriers, encircled, dissatisfied with its share of possession and domination, it waits for its chance and strikes when it can.

Other factors come into play. Human nature seems to be so constituted that it seldom cares to remain in a sort of static peace; it gets tired and seems instinctively to demand conflict, something that gives it a sense of being "alive". One is reminded of the story of the Buddha who in answer to a question as to why he did not preach his gospel more vigorously, asked his interlocutor to go round the township and ask people if they would care to have the peace of nirvana, since the Master was here. The replies were amazing: hardly anyone wanted it. Men and nations do get tired of war; very soon afterwards, when the memories begin to fade and a new generation with no

1. Sri Aurobindo, *Essays on the Gita*, Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Library ed., vol. 13 (Pondicherry, India: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 1970), pp. 370-71.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 45

personal experience of war emerges, men begin again to think of it. Even the United Nations, the only visible guarantee of peace in our time, is derided, is even threatened with extinction by responsible statesmen. It shows that war is a fever of the intermittent type.

Constituted as we are, a certain amount of friction seems to be essential to our progress. We cannot apparently move forward in a vacuum. War fills the vacuum, provides grand opportunities for testing our advances in technology, even in fundamental research, in the latest developments in medicine and surgery, in psychology and mass propaganda, in the perfection of the state machine. And perhaps not the least important, there is always present in men's minds the fear and the morbid expectation of war. And fear always attracts the cause of fear.

"National egoism remaining, the means of strife remaining, its causes, opportunities, excuses will never be wanting."³ That is, until the psychology of nations is transmuted into that something wondrous, rich and strange which will eliminate war. Meanwhile, men and women of goodwill all the world over will continue to do their best to ensure that the psychology of nations takes a turn for the better.

The Mechanics of Peace

It stands to reason that until that millennium arrives, and one does not know that it will arrive at a bound and not through a gradual process, steps have to be taken to prevent wars, as far as lies within the powers given to man. And such steps are bound to

take a mechanical turn considering how mechanised our minds have become as a result of the victorious march of science and technology. The danger of such mechanical solutions—if solutions they can be called, for none has so far succeeded—is that they tend to blind us to the deeper truth of things. We proceed from theory to another theory, from experiment to experiment, hoping to learn by experience and chance upon the right method somehow, some time. Let us cast a brief glance at some of the theories so far advanced, and the experiments tried, and consider their chances of success.

Science and the commercial exploitation of the globe, democracy and socialism have been among the great contributions of the modern West to the march of civilisation. Each of them has been invoked as a panacea for peace. As Sri Aurobindo has critically evaluated, each has proved its inability in this regard, whatever the other benefits accruing from them.

"Science was to bring war to an end by making it physically impossible. It was mathematically proved that with modern weapons two equal armies would fight each other to a standstill. . . ."⁴ As a matter of solid and obvious historical fact, it did nothing of the kind, although it did give an appearance of doing so for a long time during the First World War fought in the trenches. The two armies seemed to have come to a standstill and no issue was in sight. Other factors came into play, such as the naval blockade of Germany and the overwhelming numbers of the American battle force, that settled the issue. Moreover, science is

3. Sri Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, SABCL ed., vol. 15 (Pondicherry, India: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 1971), p. 367.

4. Sri Aurobindo, *War and Self-Determination*, SABCL ed., vol. 15 (Pondicherry, India: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 1971), p. 585.

always on the march, and a secret weapon like the atom bomb provided by it can easily overturn the balance.

Another shibboleth was "the expectation and the prophecy that the extension of commerce would be the extinction of war. . . . The idea of a commercial advantage to be gained by war and conquest was an illusion and . . . as soon as this was understood and the sole benefit of peaceful interchange realised, the peoples would abandon a method of settlement now chiefly undertaken from motives of commercial expansion. . . ."⁵ The First World War came to disprove this idea too as an illusion; for the war was caused as much by the conflicting commercial ambitions of the combatants as by any political factors. Besides, conflicts over the share of the world's commerce are not the sole incentives to war. The lust for dominion is still a powerful motive; it had a large part to play in causing the two world wars.

Democracy, again it was fondly hoped at one time, would go a long way towards preventing wars. It was thought that the land-hunger of the autocratic monarchs had been a main cause of war. "Moreover, the monarchical or aristocratic statesmen turned to war as almost his first expedient. As soon as he was dissatisfied with the response to his diplomacy, he grasped at the sword or the rifle. The bourgeois statesman hesitates, calculates, gives a longer rope to diplomacy. . . ."⁶ This is very true. But, as Sri Aurobindo goes on to point out, what it amounts to is that the outbreak of war is delayed; it is not prevented if peaceful pressures fail. Two great wars have been fought, at least on one

side, by the Allies, most of whom were well-developed democracies. When the war-fever comes, democracies forget their good sense as rapidly as any forms of dictatorship. And the participation of an entire nation makes the "war for saving democracy" immensely more ruthless and destructive than any the old monarchs could think of.

Socialism has not kept its promise of peace. It had in its early formative stages been closely linked with the idea of internationalism. Karl Marx's call to the workers of the world to unite made many adherents believe that the workers of the world would never fight one another from behind their national barricades. This hope was belied once it was put to the crucial tests, in 1914. "In every country, the Socialist party shed its internationalist promise with the greatest ease and lightness, German socialism, the protagonist of the idea, massively leading the way in this formidable abjuration."⁷ Socialism in power has not been less bellicose either. The reason for this is not far to seek. Socialism in its essence is a culmination of the national idea; it implies a coordination and control of the entire life of the nation, in the name of the nation as a whole, and is the logical next step to democracy. There is nothing international and pacifist about it in its essential character.

When, after the long upheaval caused by Napoleon's wars, the political mind of Europe began seriously to think about maintaining the peace of the world, a strange device, originally conceived by the Czar of Russia as the "Holy Alliance" of Christian monarchs and later given a more precise and secular form by the statesmen of Europe under the high-sounding name of a "Concert of Europe"

5. Ibid., pp. 583, 585.

6. Sri Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, p. 457.

7. Ibid., p. 528.

came into existence. It seemed to work well enough for a short while, until that is, the interests of the participants began to clash over questions of vital import to them, such as the right of an oppressed people like the Belgians or the Greeks to fight for their independence. The unmusical nature of the Concert and its "blundering discords" came prominently to view, and the project was abandoned. Although it did survive through the rest of the nineteenth century in a modified form and did serve a purpose in settling the Eastern question in one way or another by discussion among the great powers meeting in international conferences; "but we can remember well enough . . . how its diplomacy led us fatally to the inevitable event against which it struggled."⁸

The end of the nineteenth century saw another equally futile device, the arbitration treaty; and with the establishment of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, a final seal was supposed to be given to this manner of ending wars. This was immediately followed by a series of wars, in Africa, Asia and Europe, and did not prevent the great conflagration of 1914. The reason, as Sri Aurobindo points out, was that these wars were "marked most prominently by the spirit which disregards cynically that very idea of inherent and existing rights, that balance of law and equity upon which alone arbitration can be founded."⁹ Arbitration may work in the case of the smaller nations, especially if it is backed by the threat of war by the great powers. But when a great power itself is involved in one way or another and "sees a chance of making itself the centre of a strong combina-

tion of peoples interested in upsetting the settled order of things for their own benefit",¹⁰ it might reduce arbitration to a nullity.

The Great War revived with a startling force the belief in the efficacy of international law which had first been mooted after the Thirty Years War of the seventeenth century in Europe. The idea was that just as within the national society, the existence of a precise code of laws administered by a regular system of courts has minimised disorders, a similar arrangement within the society of nations might produce a similar result. The idea has not been abandoned since. Provision was made both under the League of Nations and the United Nations for the establishment of an international court on a permanent footing; the signatories to the covenant or the charter have been required to refer certain categories of international disputes to this court and accept its decision as binding; vigorous steps have been taken in the United Nations towards the codification of international law. But, it has to be remembered that the so-called "majesty" of the law in any society depends ultimately on two things, "first, the strong interest of the majority or of a dominant minority or of the community as a whole in maintaining it and, secondly, the possession of a sole armed force, police and military, which makes that interest effective."¹¹ Where is the international police or military force that would provide the real "sanction" behind the law? And where is the guarantee that the strong interest of a dominant minority within the international society may not seek to thwart

8. Sri Aurobindo, *War and Self-Determination*, p. 584.

9. Ibid.

10. Sri Aurobindo, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, p. 459.

11. Ibid., p. 368.

the provisions of the law if they do not suit it in a particular case? Law has not prevented the recourse to arms where possession of arms are allowed by citizens.

Then, disarmament must be the true remedy. And that is the idea held most commonly. It needs a careful examination. It is of course a well-known fact of twentieth century history that disarmament conferences have met more than once since the Great War ended. The Washington Conference of 1921-22 was the only one that

recorded a partial success, in limiting the naval strength of the great powers; its results were nullified not very long after. None of the other conferences have anything concrete to show. Much is no doubt being made about the prospects of the current Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the attempt to reduce the risks of atomic war. But we need not be carried off by the fanfare. The subject requires a closer view.

[To be continued]

SPHERES FOR WIDENING World Union Consciousness — XVIII & XIX

T. Govindarajan

(In the seventeenth article of this series, it was suggested that English has the best potential of becoming the lingua franca of this planet. A two or three language formula of language education at the junior school level was recommended. And the possibilities of language as a centripetal force for world union were also suggested.)

What are the learning situations that can be devised to make the junior or elementary school subserve the goal we have in view—the creation of a world union consciousness? Everywhere, programmes of junior school education have to be devised to meet the local needs, while the larger needs of the world are kept in view.

Having already suggested English as the international language to be studied by all, what other elements should be universally present? Of course reading, mathematics, and writing are basic. And according to J. L. Henderson, the child should become acquainted broadly with three large spheres of knowledge which we shall consider.

The first sphere may be termed mythology and folklore. Every country has its rich legacy of myth and legend, and it will not be difficult to have English translations of the best and most inspiring of every country. These myths and legends have, in the first place, a superb story-value. Skilfully narrated, they will keep the children's attention and interest; but the narrator, with his adult, mental consciousness, has to guard himself against the temptation of making comments, of rationalising events and of interpreting them. He must observe a self-imposed rule that he shall give no instruction on lessons to be drawn or morals to be absorbed.

Through these stories, however grandiose or mystic or unbelievable they might be by adult standards, the child's mind is opened to the recurrent dilemmas and possibilities of humanity. A feeling of the mystery of the origin of man is aroused in the child. He sees the hero as a champion of justice and fairplay who faces almost insuperable difficulties. The antagonists are dark forces of evil and malevolence. Thwarted often in his struggle to secure

justice, the hero finally rises triumphant; an era of tyranny is brought to an end; peace and goodwill begin to reign and the hero thus becomes the harbinger of a new age. All these struggles and achievements of the hero are global in conception and application. His attributes call for admiration and emulation, and the children who hear such narratives are positively affected.

For example, in India the story of Rama or Krishna is known to almost every Hindu child, and their impact lasts throughout life. Mahatma Gandhi in his autobiography, *My Experiments with Truth*, narrates two such stories that influenced his life. One was that of Shrivatsa which he first read as a play and later witnessed performed. It is the story of Shrivatsa's deep devotion to his blind parents. Gandhiji writes: "One of the pictures I was shown was of Shrivatsa carrying by means of slings fitted for his shoulders, his blind parents on a pilgrimage. The book and the picture left an indelible impression on my mind." The other story was that of Harischandra, which Gandhiji witnessed as a play. "It haunted me and I must have acted Harischandra to myself times without number. 'Why should not all be truthful like Harischandra?' was the question I asked myself day and night. To follow truth and to go through all the ordeals Harischandra went through was the one ideal it inspired in me. I literally believed in the story of Harischandra. The thought of it all often made me weep. My commonsense tells me today that Harischandra could not have been a historical character. Still both Harischandra and Shrivatsa are living realities for me. . . ."

Wedded to truth, service, and non-violence, the personality of Gandhiji unfolded a new era in and added a new dimension to political and social ethics. The story of Rama gave him the concept of *ramaraja*, a societal order proper to the illumined man. The Mahabharata with its core in the Bhagavad Gita was daily bread to him, and he became one of the most influential practitioners of karma yoga of all time.

In every clime and culture such legends are extant and have influenced and will continue to influence the lives of many. They touch some of the most sensitive regions of the child's consciousness and inspire selfless action.

• The second sphere of knowledge that is recommended is the relation of one's own people and culture to mankind and the world as a whole. The theme naturally requires delicate and intelligent handling. The emphasis is on the positive achievements and contributions in the fields of art, science, religion and spiritual experience, and also the uniquenesses of Nature in each area. Legitimate pride is beneficial. Here, the manner of presentation is as important as the material presented. Comparisons with other cultures and regions can focus similarities and variations, and foster appreciation for the gifts of others.

Humanity as a whole is too much for the child of the junior school to conceive or comprehend at first; it is an abstraction. Children need roots in their locality, their country. From this perception base, the child's vision will enlarge to embrace the world. He will see

that men everywhere share a common predicament, a common nature, and common possibilities.

The third sphere of knowledge is man himself in relation to his environment; his discoveries, skills, activities and progress in relation to food, clothing and shelter. These have been and continue to be the basic trinity of his occupations. From the wedge-shaped stone digger to the tractor, from handwoven to synthetic fibres, from dark caverns to integrated cities, man's outer development in these three primary occupations has been phenomenal—as also his abuses to his given environment. These are universal phenomena which have qualitative cultural variations. To these should be added the study of transport. The wheel as the basis of transport is universal. As the wheel is the discovery of man, so too, really, are all others.

As a most important element in learning his relation to his environment, the student should be given work-experience in these primary and universal activities. Gandhiji's ideas on "basic education" and John Dewey's educational philosophy of "learning by doing" or "learning through activity" may be translated into practice in agriculture, in spinning and weaving or their contemporary equivalents, and in design and construction.

The experiences of actually tilling the earth, sowing seeds, watering, weeding, and tending growing things, of admiring a flower, climbing a tree and sharing its fruit should be considered essential for every child. The joy of seeing the germination of seeds and the first shoots coming up, of nursing them and watching them grow should be pleasures restored. Here, a relevant bit of botany could very well be introduced in an unobtrusive way; doing may then be associated with seeing and understanding. The abstract will blossom into the concrete. The child is thus introduced to agriculture, the most primary as well as a primordial occupation of man to meet his most imperative physical need.

Cotton or some other fibre can be the centre of another learning activity. Some of Gandhi's thoughts on basic education were built around, among other things, carding, spinning and weaving as central activities. His seminal ideas on work-experience in education were elaborated by professional educationists, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, Dr. Aryanayagam, Dr. Zakir Hussein, and several other of his associates.

The third area of activity is drawing and design, which may, in the case of structures, be extended to simple construction of the forms conceived. Thus awakened is a sense of beauty and symmetry, and cultivated is the capacity of the hands for delicate work requiring precision and judgment. This, with rhythmic poetry and music, can help create an inner calm and evoke a sense of the harmonious. All these activities develop the four "Hs", as they are called—the hand, the head, the heart and the hunch (intuition)—and bring about a co-ordination and integration in the personality of the child.

Throughout the gamut of this learning process inclusive of work-experience, stress will have to be on quality and not on quantity. Absorption of knowledge and development of capacity, rather than mere storing or accumulation of information, must be the aim. Examinations of the formal type are of the least importance and the tensions created by them will have to be eliminated. The assessment of work will need to be done quite unobtrusively and marked deficiencies made up on an individual basis.

We may now see how all this shaping at the junior school level will help the further advance toward the goal of an integrated child who will foster an integrated world. By now the child has been offered a vision of the whole rooted in his own experience. He knows his mother tongue and the rudiments of English (and perhaps another language); and he has the basics of mathematics, reading, and writing. He has, too, been exposed to high ideals, courage, selflessness, a sense of community and justice. Moreover, he would have acquired a perspective of his country and culture within the larger view of the world. He will not only understand but will have experienced something of his relation to his environment in a wholistic way, at the same time recognising that all men share basic physical and psychological needs.

THE DANGER OF PATRIOTISM

John White

Recent events behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains show that Communism is not a monolithic structure, and that total mind control still escapes Communist leaders. The breakaway of Czechoslovakia, the civil war in China and the trials of Russian authors all point to the fact that people—Americans, Russians and Chinese alike—cannot be forced into a set of beliefs, cannot be threatened into certain attitudes, cannot be coerced into another's values. People want to discover truth for themselves, and to speak freely of their discoveries. They will not knowingly allow their concrete freedom to do this to be taken away in the name of an abstract ideal such as the state.

In America, one of our strongest traditions is teaching the younger generation to appreciate "the American way of life". The usual form of this illusion consists of

pledging allegiance to the flag in school and hearing pompous oration about the founding fathers. This is called "being patriotic".

Actually, it is being idiotic. It is one of the most dangerous forms of nonsense in this country today, and is the American version of the mind control and brainwashing which people deplore in Communist states. Some examples of this that come to mind readily are loyalty oaths for public officials and compulsory American history courses for high school students.

The real patriot in America, however, aims at putting this country out of existence—not through violent overthrow or subversion, but through the peaceful extension of democracy to all people so that the concept of nation fades away through the development of a world united in common brotherhood.

It seems true to this writer that the American way of life, despite many sordid aspects, is among the best forms of living thus far developed by people. But few flag-wavers and superpatriots understand why. The fundamental reason for history's vindication of America is that it respects and preserves a person's unique individuality. True democracy allows a person to fill his psychological and spiritual needs as well as his physical needs. The opportunity to probe

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and examine experience on a basis of individual, personal freedom will be the deciding difference between Communism and democracy in the struggle for survival.

Communists must accept the party line without question. A closed body of doctrines and dogma is all they may know. Many American "patriots" are guilty of this same mistake in their education of the young. True democracy, however, is constantly examining itself, causing itself to grow in depth and meaning. This is because democracy is concerned with the *whole* person. If humans are seen as merely reflexive animals requiring only food, shelter and safety from the tyranny of an emperor or czar, it becomes impossible to distinguish an individual. Society becomes an amorphous, homogenized mass. Its only growth is horizontal. Democracy values the individual in himself—his person, his personality, his thought, his unique individuality, his intrinsic worth as a child of the universe.

America's greatness resides in its foundation upon the view that society is both an extension and a reflection of the individual. The principles embraced by the founders of this country are psychological and sociological truths not limited by national borders: all people are created equal; all people are of infinite worth; what is deepest within a person is also deepest within all others and therefore his neighbor's good is also his own.

America's greatness resides also in its development of instruments for expressing the intimate relationship between inner (psychological) and the outer (sociological) worlds. America has come closer than any

other nation in history to putting into practice the deep insights of its founders through economic, legal, political and social institutions. *E pluribus unum*: all people are one and yet all are unique and inviolable. This is the meaning of the American motto, and this truth is embodied in the pluralistic structure of the nation, which gives it unity in differentiation and diversity.

National boundaries have become anachronistic due to modern means of travel and communication. Business, industry, science and education have become international affairs. It is in human minds that walls and boundaries still have their strongest effect. The ancient antagonisms based on ignorance and prejudice seem deeply entrenched in life, and the possibility of nuclear war adds a new and terrifying dimension to the old problem of human conflict. The concept "nation" acts to perpetuate these antagonisms.

America is an experiment in human living, based on freedom. True patriotism aims at completing the experiment by including all people in it. A nation that turns inward and withdraws from others by building walls or borders or any other means of separation is acting against the best interests of its citizens. The real American, the one who understands the true nature of his country, aims at tearing down the walls and dissolving the national borders by emphasizing the humanness which intimately binds us with the rest of the world. It is time for America to surpass itself by pledging allegiance to humankind.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

THE NUCLEAR SUN

Sun

If it is true, as was declared in this column last month, that a future given to a nuclear and petroleum motored world would be inadequate, dangerous and a drag on the uphill momentum toward global unity, where does that take us? Going back to the old patterns of using coal and wood is, though less dangerous, the same movement as the heralded process of the future—atomic energy. Because all are based on extracting shriveling resources out of the earth, which is a principle that ultimately doesn't exclude even the newly lionized geothermal process.

The one formidable source of energy free of that is the sun which, in its steady companionship with the earth, probably has a much more pervasive and covert effect on us than we dare imagine. The flood of its beneficence saturates us in such regular, intimate completeness that its own disturbances also become ours. For example, a July 14th piece in the *Indian Express* entitled, "Sun has a say in heart attacks, road accidents", gives some details in explaining the strong correlations between these things and violent solar activities, comparable to the 1963 New York study which found similar correlations in their examination of nervous and mental diseases and suicides. The connection seems to establish itself via the earth's magnetic storms which carry the effect of solar drama into biological activity through certain points on human skin which, according to the Soviet scientist Dr. Podshibyankin, are in direct communication with internal organs.

During major sun storms, like the August 1972 period, scientists recorded a 100% increase in heart attacks and road accidents, which decreased by the same increment on calm days. So could we be blamed for expecting that heart, nervous, mental, emotional and physical reactive capacities are only the known miniscuity of a wide, profound and rhythmic influence the sun shines on earth life?

Since the first histories, people have turned to and dug the earth for energy until, crowding into the present years, these declining resources can be an encouragement to division and conflict among hungry nations. Realizing we are on the periphery of a new

age, we may see its larger spherency in the shift of our focus from the earth to the sun: there is the image of the planet's peoples relaxing their struggling claims on the earth's painful limits at their feet to reach in more unity toward the vast solar age above their heads.

A suggestion of this vastness is given in a column of *The Hindu*, 6 September 1975.

A single day's sunshine over New Delhi, if harnessed, would be equal to the total energy India consumes in several years, according to Barry Commoner, the well-known American environmentalist.

His assessment "is based on facts and not fiction", says a press release from the U.S. Information Service.

In an early 1975 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor* a provocatively good article by David F. Salisbury contained the statement that even by A.D. 2000 the total sum of humanity's energy producing activities can only possibly reach one tenth of one percent of the solar energy soaked up by earth.

Who will believe for an instant that a race which can orchestrate the 10 million tasks, and untie the flocks of technological knots needed to make a round trip to the moon will not be able to intuit the abundant application of such solar wealth? Even now with most of our attention stalking the ground and the seas, nearly daily reports like these come in:

Power Tower [a steam boiler mounted on top of a tower several hundred feet high] describes a method of using solar heat . . . for the large-scale generation of electricity. . . . The steam would be piped under pressure to a conventional turbine generator, its heat stored for later use. . . . It is to be tested by Honeywell under an experimental U.S. Government study . . . for a test power tower capable of generating enough electricity for a city of about 5,000 homes.

Honeywell said the effort might lead to operational testing, within five years, of a ten-megawatt electrical plant in the south-west U.S. [*The Hindu*, 25 August 1975]

In the same article is a description of the Israeli Army's recently begun use of solar energy batteries rather than ordinary dry cells to drive communications equipment. These batteries with their auxiliary accumulators, reports *Bahamane* (the Israeli military publication), make it practical to have continuous usage through sun and cloud, day and night conditions and, with a life expectancy of five to ten years, will be much cheaper than their predecessors.

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It is not only happening in industrial and military experimental scenes, but is beginning to touch popular sensitivity. The *New York Times* news service contributed "Solar Energy Enthusiasts" to *The Hindu* of July 20th which explains that

solar energy appears to be taking a grip on the public's imagination. Lola Redford, co-ordinator of Consumer Action Now, a consumer environmental organisation in New York, says she received 7,000 letters after she talked on solar energy on two television programmes.

This article was sent from Washington, D.C. where a three-day solar energy conference attracted more than 5,000 persons to lectures, discussions and exhibits of wares. Also, a 650-page catalog which lists solar products, research companies, and legislation has gone into a second printing.

These consumers are excited mostly about home uses where, for example, it can substitute for electricity. It sounds matter of fact, yet think for a moment: millions of people no longer dependent on a capitalistic power-fuel company or a socialistic government for their heat and lights, but linked directly without any operating cost or licenses to the same burdenless and living source. I don't believe this profound realignment can fail to be a hinterland for changing the human atmosphere more receptively toward unity.

Nuclear

Another aspect. Many readers may feel the last few years are proving nuclear weapons will be unnecessary and can be dismissed as the fading hangover they will come to be because, simply, there will be no third world war. Anyway, most lay observers are aware of the gargantuan radioactive waste that still must puzzle technologists by its sheer size besides potency. We might consider what is happening with the matter of waste in some casual recent events. A couple of examples lay next to each other in the August 25th issue of *The Hindu*.

In one, a system for a glass-mill furnace to remove the nitrates from its huge quantities of waste gas has been developed by a Japanese firm, Matsushita Pollution Control Company of Kadoma. This achievement is believed to be the first of its kind in the world in the difficult field of glass-mill smoke. The nuisance of these nitrates becomes reclaimed as sodium nitrate and, in addition to converting such polluting waste into useful material, the oxidising process has been designed to use air instead of expensive chemicals.

But, the relationship of waste to our dynamism of unity with the environment is more directly shown in the companion article, discussing a surprising Swedish invention—a tree extractor which pulls up coniferous trees by the roots which it automatically lops off while holding the tree by the trunk.

It has been calculated that felling in Sweden must be cut by 20 percent if future timber requirements are to be met. The new extractor, by affording a 30 percent increase in volume per tree felled, can more than make up this deficit, Elektra Diesel [the constructor] says.

It is merely taking a leap on the same vibration to note the remark of the late President Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh, reported by T. V. Parasuram in the *Indian Express* of 3 May 1975.

President Mujib said developed countries could find the resources for the developing countries merely by eliminating waste.

We are in no position to validate or disprove that remark; such mental efforts are less relevant than the situation the developed world must be living in to make such a statement thinkable—and much more, to make it creditable in a Commonwealth conference.

Eyeing waste a little more intently, it seems to reveal itself as the nearly exact shadow of the well-known figure, pollution. Put another way, if you use, eat, or manufacture something and don't convert the resulting extras or garbage into re-usable form—compost, new production materials, or secondhand products—what can they do but become agents of land, water or air chemical, biological or aesthetic pollution? Consequently, it does not seem the call of the future to develop nuclear power plants against the accelerating organization of world-conscious ecology and material scrupulousness. Which brings us to oil-based fertilizers.

Oil-based Fertilizers

According to recent discoveries, these snap-treasures of agriculture not only divert an enormous amount of organic material into waste that could otherwise be used to make biologically superior compost, but are believed by a growing number of scientists to pollute water sources, to indirectly irregularize weather so droughts like the six year sub-Sahara disaster and the U.S. corn crop drought not long ago can happen, and one other thing:

According to Dr. Michael McElroy of Harvard University, today's widespread fertilizer use might result in a decrease of the ozone layer, earth's shield against harmful ultraviolet light in the upper atmosphere.
[*Christian Science Monitor*, 3 February 1975]

This may happen, he says, because the amounts of nitrogen oxide that can be released into the atmosphere from industrial fertilizer rival the world's total amount naturally produced by plants; nitrogen oxide plays a major role in controlling ozone. Newspapers are glutted with items showing more and more crops are being grown on these fertilizers.

Rather, there is the sound achievement of putting all organic wastes to their most effective use as soil nutrients, particularly human excreta which are reported in World Health Organization literature to be extremely rich and safe if composted properly. But beyond that, something entirely unexpected has eased the old perspective. Reported by the *Sunday Standard* of 10 August, an Australian research team has

found it may be feasible to induce [non-leguminous] plants like cereals to extract nitrogen from the air rather than from the soil.

That seems to promise the air itself may become a general, nitrogen bounteous replacement for the nitrogen fertilizers.

From nuclear generating plants' roots in Hiroshima to the autochthonous nuclear furnace of the sun which provides a 155 million kilometre cushion from radioactivity, and from the industry of fertilizers' roots in oil to the atmospheric blanket of the nourishing air itself—these may be a promise of unifying the past and present with the future.

If the developing nations felt likely to receive proportionate benefits of these changes, among other things, there would be much less economic news of international conferences like the just concluded Lima meeting. But the coalescing force expressed in these gatherings is like watching a growing young lion who before seemed a mistreated begging pet.

BEFORE AND AFTER LIMA

Not that those conferences leading to Lima are comparatively trivial. The last three years are reported by William Ruckelshaus (*Span*, September 1975) to be the most intense period of international consultation in history. Formal worldwide meetings you probably remember were Stockholm, environment, 1972; Bucharest, population, 1974; Caracas, control of the seabeds, 1974; Rome, food, 1974; Helsinki (although not technically worldwide), political relations, 1975—not considering the expanded significance of attention to many smaller ones like the Organization for African Unity and the Commonwealth conference. But the Lima conference, in the luxury of its mostly proletarian constituency, was able to propel the undercurrents of the earlier meetings dominated by rich nations up through a watergate to the world:

There should be "an understanding of the unified nature of our world". Unless world problems [are] solved collectively, it [will] mean the end of history. He [former President Velasco of Peru] said it [is] "no longer possible for exploited countries to live side by side with the rich ones. If national oligarchs are an anachronism, so are international oligarchs."

And, apparently referring to the way oil money was invested by their own Arabic come-lately plutocrats, President Velasco asked:

“Are we going to behave the way the great powers did when they were in control?” He was loudly applauded. [*Indian Express*, 27 August 1975]

This last remark is interesting for another reason. You, too, may feel that its verb tenses lubricate the great powers’ dominance down into the past which, if it reflects the mood of the more than seventy-seven nations’ will for united policy, will soon make such dominance a memory. The non-aligned group

is emerging as the single largest global force in favour of better international understanding and justice. [*The Hindu*, 22 August 1975]

And they seem to be near the epi-center of the vast world force of unity which we all get hit by the tail of at one time or another. Otherwise, how can one explain the succeeding of such a large and remarkably diverse group in developing a common economic and political program when the liberation groups in one small country—Angola, Portuguese Timor or Rhodesia—are in various stages of civil war? The seventy-seven plus seem to have been able to work through some of India’s statement made by Y. B. Chavan.

Our unity and solidarity will be strengthened if problems faced by one country find alleviation in the policies of others. [*Indian Express*, 28 August 1975]

For the present, the instrument for this idea to embrace the world may be the non-aligned group.

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REVIEW

Passages About Earth: An Exploration of the Planetary Culture, by *William Irwin Thompson*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974. 206 pp., \$6.95.

What this author means by planetary culture is a mixture of current cultural, intellectual, philosophical and religious trends that possess no clear-cut, single direction and provide no discernible pattern for grasping the changes that are currently taking place on planet earth. For Thompson, planetary culture is a potpourri of intellectual fashions that are anomalies in the presence of the scientific, technological, economic, political and ideological forces of our contemporary Zeitgeist. Anomalies for Thompson express the limits to what he calls the categories of the old reality and the old reality is precisely the present blend of the different types of forces I have just mentioned. The planetary culture that is of concern to this author is then precisely those trends that reject any or all of these forces as insufficient to prescribe or predict the future development of mankind.

For Thompson, planetary culture is not a world-denying mysticism of the type that was fashionable among the hippies, commune aficionados and youthful dissenters of the 60s and early 70s. The ideas Thompson advocates in this volume call for intellectual discipline, both in the cognitive sense taken for granted in the Western world of learning and in the contemplative sense emphasized in the East, together with the ancillary regimes of physical and emotional self-control that accompany a life of contemplation. Nor is planetary culture a world-destroying materialism such as that sought by the advocates of unlimited economic growth or by those who would drug Western citizens into low levels of awareness by promoting consumption sprees, arousing greed through the financial and investment innovations to which the public has been exposed the last seven to eight years, stimulating obsessive preoccupation with sex or aggressive determination to obtain and hold on to power of every sort. For Thompson, planetary culture is a Pythagorean synthesis of science, art, and religion, a concern with both economics and ecstasy, a tolerance for both preindustrial magic *and* post industrial technology, myth *and* history. As Thompson views the cultural changes now taking place in the Western world, they constitute an embodiment of transcendence.

In more specific terms the themes of planetary culture—at least the themes taken up in this volume—include such concerns as the architectural and town planning ideas of Paolo Soleri, that is, this thinker's arcology and the notions of a world state as developed by the historian, W. Warren Wagar. They also include the work of a small band of German

scientists. Among these is the physicist, C.F. von Weizsacker, who is deeply interested in Eastern philosophy and religion. Weizsacker is interested in the relation between physics and yoga. He is collaborating with the Kashmiri yogi, Gopi Krishna, in the investigation of this relationship. Their collaboration has occurred under the auspices of the Research Foundation for Eastern Wisdom and Western Science. The first expression of their collaboration was a small volume entitled *The Biological Basis of Religion and Genius*. Among these scientists is also the well-known physicist, Heisenberg, who is convinced that the East has a knowledge that men need and is convinced that this knowledge is stronger than the West's feeble attempts to reduce consciousness to electronics and information theory. Schrodinger, another distinguished German physicist is greatly interested in Vedanta.

Planetary culture, in addition, includes the ideas of Aurelio Peccei, the moving figure of the Club of Rome and, of course, the work of the Club of Rome, itself. Thompson feels that the work of the Club of Rome is a type of technocratic elitism. This phrase might never have appeared from Thompson's pen if his book had been written after the announcement of the forthcoming Goals for Global Society project that has recently been commissioned by the Club of Rome. The project is headed by the distinguished philosopher and systems theorist, Ervin Laszlo. This new project looks upon the ideas of the Club of Rome—and particularly the published popular version of those ideas in *The Limits to Growth*—as preoccupied with the *outer limits* of man's progress and future. The goals of this new project will be concerned with the *inner limits* of the future of man—his ethics, values, ideals, needs and thirst for social justice for all. This new project hopes to undo the image of the Club of Rome as an organization of technocratic elitists.

Included also within the scope of planetary culture are the ideas, the philosophy and the Integral Yoga of the Indian sage, Sri Aurobindo, and in particular the expression of Aurobindo's outlook in the life and culture of the world's first planetary city, Auroville. This city is under continual building and the work is conducted under the auspices of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram near Pondicherry, India. Although Thompson does not mention it, many of the ideas connected with Auroville are set forth in the journal called *Gazette Aurovilienne* published in Auroville. Thompson notes that the followers of Aurobindo see themselves as preparing a new planetary city for a new kind of man. Thompson makes no mention of the fact that there are active followers of Sri Aurobindo all over the world. In the newsletter, *Collaboration*, published by Matagiri at Mt. Tremper, New York, one can find news not only about Auroville but also about Sri Aurobindo societies and centers all over the world.

What Thompson calls planetary culture embodies other themes, ideas and interests: the concerns of Erich von Daniken, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and the educational ideas of Ivan Illich; the work of the Esalen Institute in California, the culture of the Findhorn community in Scotland and the activities of the Lindisfarne Association in Southampton, Long Island; the thinking of George Gurdjieff and Ouspenski; the ideas of Jung and Whitehead; the teachings of Tantra Yoga; and many other examples of intellectual ferment too numerous to

mention here. The planetary culture of the immediate future can best be described in Thompson's own words.

The doorway to this new universal culture is neither the charismatic individual nor the routine institution (civilization has been going around in those Weberian cycles for some time); it is the spiritual community or fellowship of fully individuated men and women who look around and recognize that what is unique to them is part of a universal transformation in which human cultural evolution is becoming conscious. [P. 188]

The material in this volume makes for interesting reading. Many of the ideas it contains will be novel for a considerable number of readers. The balance between the two cultures sought by Thompson—that of the East and that of the West—is probably well worth working for. As a consciousness-raising technique, *Passages About Earth* does a splendid job, for it enables the reader to recognize that there are other modes of cognition than the logico-empirical tradition to which the West has grown accustomed. The real problem for those who respect the Pythagorean balance of the cultures of East and West is the great unlikelihood that Thompson's message will be meaningful for the average Western man and woman. That message is important today. However, the readiness to take to it is at best embryonic. It will most likely fall on deaf ears when, in fact, it should be quickening beating hearts.

Henry Winthrop

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WORLD UNION FOCUS 10/75

WORLD CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The creation of an authoritative all-powerful world order is the ultimate end toward which we must strive. Unless some effective world super-government can be set up and brought quickly into action, the prospects for peace and human progress are dark and doubtful.

Sir Winston Churchill

The World Constituent and Parliament Association proposes to convene a World Constituent Assembly at Innsbruck, Austria during the last two weeks of June 1977. In their call to the Assembly they state:

"During these latter days of the twentieth century, the realization is growing that all life on planet earth is threatened with imminent destruction from many sources. After thousands upon thousands of years of toil and struggle, people thought that material abundance and expanding opportunities, together with the arts, could soon be enjoyed peacefully by all. But it is now evident that the same technology which promised abundance also promises universal disasters even more quickly—unless major problems can be solved soon.

"Some of the most urgent problems which confront humanity with multiple crises are the following:

- Global crises*
- nuclear warfare, and other wars;
 - nuclear power production and the spread of nuclear weapons;
 - ✓famine and malnutrition and their consequences;
 - ✓rapid population growth;
 - ✓pollution of air and water, and shortage of fresh water;
 - ✓ecological disruptions from the production, transportation and uses of fossil fuels;
 - ecological disruptions from the uses of artificial fertilizers and insecticides;
 - death of the oceans;
 - ✓destruction of the earth's oxygen and ozone;
 - ✓struggles over supplies of energy and limited resources;
 - ✓unemployment and inflation—worldwide;

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financial and social breakdowns, and the spread of dictatorship;
struggles for distributive justice.

To this list many more can be added.

✓ "We believe that by worldwide cooperation the people of earth can solve the problems of living on this planet. New priorities are needed to direct the use of resources, technology, human talent and finances under global planning. But solutions are impossible so long as each nation has the sovereign right to decide what to do about supra-national problems. This kind of international anarchy permits the squandering of \$ 250,000,000,000 annually on the arming of nations for mass destruction while countless numbers of people face daily starvation.

"The remedy is clear: to solve problems which transcend national boundaries requires world government—a democratic federal world government—with a representative world parliament given authority to enact world laws, an executive and administration authorized to implement world legislation, and obligatory world courts. (u. n. e.)

"But before democratic world government can be established, agreement is first required upon a world constitution which defines the powers, the structure, the composition and the functioning of the world government—as well as the procedure by which it shall be inaugurated—while at the same time protecting the legitimate jurisdiction of national governments over their internal affairs.

✓ "One approach is to amend the charter of the United Nations. But after thirty years of proposing amendments, the progress of humanity under the U.N. remains stalled in the dark ages of only slightly modified international anarchy, entrenched by the military establishments of rich and poor nations alike. While we support every humanitarian effort under the U.N. to alleviate world problems, the fact is that the United Nations is organized throughout to preserve national sovereignty. Even the least change is blocked by veto powers of each permanent member of the Security Council.

✓ "Another way to achieve world government is for people and statesmen of vision to act directly to convene a new set of delegates who are given a mandate to prepare and to begin the implementation of a constitution for world government—specifically designed to serve the welfare of humanity. This line of action was developed by a series of calls and conventions during recent years, and must now be completed to give new and practical hope to mankind.

✓ "Therefore, in order to save the inhabitants of earth from misery and destruction, and to retrieve opportunities for happy and meaningful living for all, we do hereby call into session a World Constituent Assembly, representative of those concerned, to begin no later than 1977 at a place and time to be fixed one year before convening.

"The purposes and functions of the 1977 World Constituent Assembly shall be to :

- A. debate and adopt the draft of a constitution for democratic federal world government, given both the authority and capability to enact and implement world legislation to cope with all important problems which transcend national boundaries;**
- B. begin a worldwide campaign for the ratification of the world constitution by the nations and peoples of earth;**
- C. prepare for convening, within two years after the 1977 Assembly, a world parliament elected pursuant to the terms of the world constitution, with authority for the parliament to establish a provisional world government to begin functioning pursuant to the world constitution pending more complete ratification of the world constitution.**

"To compose the 1977 World Constituent Assembly, we request people of every country who adhere to the purposes of the Assembly, to choose and send delegates, each delegate to have a minimum constituency of 500 recorded electors by election petitions or ballots.

"We also request the national governments or national legislatures of each country, in view of the numerous global crises endangering the survival of all, to endorse the purposes of the 1977 World Constituent Assembly and to send delegates to participate in the Assembly, either jointly with delegates sent by people or in a separate house but with provision for joint sessions."

The Association's executive cabinet consists of Mr. Reinhart Ruge as president, Mr. Philip Isely as secretary general, seven vice presidents, executive vice presidents, a treasurer and several other members. Trustees of the world committee, including the members of the executive cabinet, constitute a large group. Headquarters of the World Constituent and Parliament Association are at 1480 Hoyt Street, Suite 31, Lakewood, Colorado 80215, U.S.A.

Working in earnest, the Association arranged preparation of a draft world constitution, begun in September 1968 by a commission of twenty-two persons from eleven countries. For their working frame of reference, they adopted an eclectic document, entitled "Comprehensive Outline for the Debate and Drafting of the World Constitution", which had been prepared by Thomas Breitner and Philip Isely. The draft was finalised in October-November 1974 and has been offered as a basis for discussions by circulating it among interested persons of many countries and inviting serious, comprehensive comment. World Union has received the draft and sent comments prepared by its own committee to the Association headquarters this last August. Now the draft commission of the Association will meet again, perhaps with some additional persons, to prepare a second edition of the preliminary draft based on comments received. The second edition will then

undergo much wider circulation to stimulate completely worldwide discussion and assiduous preparation before it is submitted to the World Constituent Assembly in 1977.

Any member of World Union International desirous of participating in the World Constituent Assembly should communicate with the general secretary, who proposes to organise a delegation from World Union.

ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITY

World Union Centres

Bangalore With such a large number of members, the Bangalore centre had to meet in an auditorium during their observance of World Union Day, on August 20th, where a sizeable crowd of guests and members converged on the theme, "The Role of Women in Human Unity". Two women guests who spoke, both principals of colleges, took their tacks from the personal microcosm. "Before we talk big about world unity," said Smt. C. N. Mangala in introducing two cutting examples, "when we are rushing to get into a bus, do we think of the problem of the child, the old and the sick, who have been attempting to enter the bus? While every day we pass a slum of the underfed, underclothed and under-sheltered, do we even think of oneness with them either physically or mentally?" Flowing out of the first speaker's theme of the individual into the family, Smt. T. K. Dayalakshmi declared the child must learn positive things by our action, not merely prohibitions by our verbal fences. She spoke in almost epigrammatic brevity: "Life is a tissue of habits. By our good, clean and honest habits, let this young generation learn the art of living. . . ." Sri Thandaweswara, a gentleman of considerable distinction in finance, administration and education, followed them on this women's-role day by reversing the now classic demand for human rights in pleading for our acceptance of human obligations to each other: "Mahatma Gandhi always thought of his obligation to the three hundred-fifty million of his countrymen, who in turn conferred on him the 'rights' to guide them." (Presiding: Sri Thandaweswara; vote of thanks: Smt. Bhuvanaswari Ramaswamy.)

Baranagar In a cluster of meetings from 12 July through 9 August, a series of talks was given exploring the significance of Sri Aurobindo's and the Mother's thought and yoga in relation to the ancient past's Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, and Chandi and Bhagavad Gita; to the more recent past's Chaitanya, Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda; and to the present age's Pavlov, Freud, Adler and Jung. It was a rather large armchair voyage which attracted local guests and students. The speakers were Sri Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharya and Sri Keshab Chandra Ghatak. (Presiding: Sri Bhattacharya, Sri Madan Mohan Chandra; talks and readings: Sri K. D. Bhabak, Sri Chunilal Goswami, Sri Kali Pada Das; devotional songs: Smt. Soobha Goswami, Smt. Sangeet Prabhakar, Smt. Pranati Halidar.)

Bombay In their World Union Day meeting, the Bombay centre held a symposium where several women spoke on the theme, women's role in human unity. All referred to Auroville: they feel it is the first practical large step taken toward human unity and that the unanimous support given to Auroville from UNESCO is no mean watermark by international tides. About women themselves, Smt. Indumati Patel, who is a municipal councillor, declared that women could do something about harmony on any level of society if they "consented to become conscious of their role". The results of an essay competition, organised among several colleges by the Vikhroli centre, were announced. These proceedings were interesting enough to draw the coverage of Bombay television and radio. (Presiding: Smt. Poornimaben Pakvasa; talks: Sri N. S. Rao, Padmashri Sulabha Panandikar, Sri S. V. Joag, Deputy Director of Education, Government of Maharashtra, Smt. Poornimaben Pakvasa.)

Butwal During the period extending from 23 August to 16 September, when four meetings were held, there was a pronounced contemplative current. Butwal gathers every week and instead of speeches, members are describing what they understand to be the essence of the process of world union and their feelings about it, one or two members per meeting. Then there have been readings. One, which was a switch from the predominant theme of World Union Day, was called "Sri Aurobindo and the Problem of Men". The centre's students are now rehearsing a play that bears the theme of oneness which the entire centre seems quite involved in; a natural means of linking the young and older generation, often otherwise aversive. Sri M. C. Bharali has been elected secretary of the centre, replacing Sri S. D. Chawla. (Readings: S.K. Rattan.)

Eastern Region Several centres celebration of World Union Day brought a wide field of student participants in the oratorical contest. The winners, Sri Diptendra Bhattacharya (Chinsurah centre) and Miss Km. Sikha Pal, will be offered a trip to Sri Aurobindo Ashram and Auroville at the cost of World Union. The entire programme consumed the full day and evening, when a musical drama was staged. In the discussion on women's role, which was participated in by members of different centres, Dr. Basanti Chowdhury—the vice principal of Howrah Girl's College—said that women would be more likely to develop the consciousness of human unity if they, as Radha did, persist in embracing Krishna who is the One and the Many at the same time. (Presiding: Sri S. K. Gupta, Sri P. P. Bhattacharya; inaugurating, Sm. Minu Roy.)

Hyderabad It is not surprising that Dr. P. N. Bindu (Hyderabad centre president) and Sri Venkatramiah spoke of Swami Vivekananda along with Sri Aurobindo in teaching the world of human oneness, for their World Union Day meeting was held in the Ramakrishna Ashram—an encouraging indication of linkage between groups. This process was continued by a Vedantic speaker, Sri Kashinath, who said that according to the Mahavakyas of the Upanishads the whole universe with its millions of nebulae, stars, solar systems, suns and planets and everything existing on the earth—air, water, fire and life, mind, consciousness—are nothing but the same stuff known as the Brahman. Humans must understand, for

their own safety and progress and happiness, that humanity and the world are one. (Presiding: Sri Venkatramiah.)

Nanjangud This just born centre is growing quickly and in an encouraging way, with a great deal of interest and questions and discussion centred around the objects of World Union. One question asked and debated: What is meant by spiritual foundation? They have written for further clarification.

New Mandi A confluence of Jain, Vedic and Muslim schools' students and staff formed much of New Mandi's World Union Day programme in their debate on the theme of women and world oneness. There were children's musical story competitions also. President Sant Ram tried to deal with the full range of spiritual experience in talking about the Absolute, the Supermind and then its descent on earth and work in developing the life divine, and the meeting of that by our effort with the problems of life on this level. A couple of weeks later a similar but expanded lecture was given by him to a college convocation.

North Calcutta North Calcutta has begun a youth wing with nine persons divided into two working groups, children and students; a student's convention, "The Role of India in World Unity", was held August 17th. Their homeopathic unit has expanded its offering of service by handling nearly twice the number of cases this month. In the meeting on World Union Day, Sm. Anita Bose's lecture climbed to higher philosophical levels in showing that the difference between men and women, often described as that between purusha and prakriti, began to dissolve on the ranges where each of us realise all the capacities of the two in spiritual synthesis. Several men entered the discussion. Some paintings suggesting the movement to higher consciousness were shown by their author, Sm. Krishna Sinha, who also read some of her poems. Even members from other centres, like Sm. Mira Mookherjee of New Alipore, are sending poetry to be read in what looks like a pronounced degree of artistic activity. (Presiding: Dr. Makhan Lal Dhar; readings: Sri Sujit Kumar Palit; devotional songs: Sm. Anita Bose, Sri Robi Ghosh, Sm. Chandana Sengupta, Sri Ashoke Ghosh, Sm. Kheali Ghosh, Sri Ratan Lal Bhattacharjya.)

The youth wing itself held a separate meeting on 8 September, beginning with a few minutes group concentration accompanied by music composed by the Mother on the organ. Two important decisions were made: members would make contact with their friends in schools and colleges and speeches would be arranged to be given in these places about the work of World Union; and members are going to prepare themselves, with suggested reference books, for an oration event on the subject, "The Mission of India". (Presiding: Sri Samar Basu, (eastern region coordinator); devotional song: Kumari Ranu Das, Sm. Sati Das.)

Pondicherry In what began as an ordinary panel presentation—for the World Union Day theme of human unity via the role of women—the Pondicherry centre found itself carried to the depths of insight, behind insight, departing from the unsuspecting and brief

lecturers to the reverberations in the discussion exchange occupying nearly two hours. Three well delivered talks by women students of the Law College of Pondicherry complemented each other in three main arguments: that the sex of armies indicated men are the violent and aggressive humans, that women are the pith of the family's love and harmony even though they may not show so well in so-called male professions and so, human unity depends on its beginning with women in the horizon of the home. Of course there was an expected male reaction, but coming through the back-and-forth was one entirely different voice. He said that women only need the chance, as history proves from Cleopatra onwards, to show they can be just as unscrupulous and destructive as men; in reverse, men have demonstrated a tenderness and love akin to that famed in women when nurtured by the encouragement of opportunity. And women's sustenance to the unity of the family: there are ample historical records of occasions when women divided and destroyed families. But further, he said, it is equally true that women could do as excellently in the whole range of worldly professions, which they have demonstrated when allowed. And the family? He calmly said it is a formation of the past; the present field for progress toward human unity is the family of humanity, for even that supposedly immutable factor of sex consciousness is an unpeeling wrap from the dawning age when the equal souls of human beings will find their unity unhampered by the old man and woman image. Another male participant suggested these young women aspire to progress by shakti or executive power (which is contended to be the essential nature of woman in Indian spiritual tradition). But that interlude provided tinder for his concluding blaze as he explained that every man and woman according to the inner hands of the tradition, has the shakti and every other power normally considered as masculine or feminine; and the full integration of these faculties and powers into one person—a man or woman—is part of the adventure of consciousness in this age. (Moderating: Dr. N. R. Madhava Menon; welcoming: Professor Ambady Narayana.)

Uttarpara This, on 8 August, was the first meeting of the new women's wing, which began with a group concentration. Outside of a short talk, the members moved immediately into action, deciding to begin a kindergarten; undertake handicrafts like carpentry, clay modelling, leather work, and batik; provide training in music, drama and dance for the development of members' faculties; arrange for symposia and discussions on the lives of great men. (Presiding: Smt. Nilima Dhar; talk: Sri S. K. Gupta; devotional song: Smt. Sabita Ghosal, Km. Nabanita Bhattacharya.)

Barasat, Chaibasa, Khar, Ranchi World Union Day and other meetings were marked at these centres by devotional songs, speeches and readings, concentrations and meditations. At the Khar centre, a film on Auroville was screened on 20 August.

New Centres

Chakraberia High School World Union Centre, c/o Chakraberia High School, 93 Bakul

Bagan Road, Calcutta 25. Chairman: R. C. Chatterjee, secretary: Sri Jatish Chandra Sengupta. This is the first time in India that a centre has been opened in a school.

Nanjangud World Union Centre, c/o A. S. Tomar, Technical Manager, Sujata Textile Mills, Nanjangud, Karnataka 571301. President: Professor K. S. Vishwanathan, secretary: Sri A. S. Tomar. The centre took birth after a speech given by Professor M. V. Ramachandran, World Union's honorary lecturer from Bangalore, to the Nanjangud Lions Club. He spoke of the inherent love between all and the expression of unity being attempted in Auroville's international experiment.

New Life Members

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 232. Mr. Natubhai D. Patel | P.O. Box 80969
Mombasa, Kenya |
| 233. Mr. Ramanbhai M. Patel | P.O. Box 83278
Mombasa, Kenya |
| 234. Mr. S. K. Amin | P.O. Box 81282
Mombasa, Kenya |
| 235. Mr. Sunderji Nanji | P.O. Box 80234
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General Secretary
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*A world union based on the fact of human unity
realising the truth of the Spirit*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Private Property

Private property of any kind is an anachronism. At the present stage of development of the progressive individual or collectivity, private property—whatever may have once been its necessity in man's formative periods as an encouragement of order and individuation—has become a retrogressive relic.

What, in truth, belongs to man? His body is constituted of atoms of universal Matter which are held together for a period of time and then at dissolution merge into their source. His life is a current of the universal Life-force. His mind is an individual formation of the universal Mind. Even his soul is a projection of the universal (and transcendent) Reality that is Divine. There is truly nothing he can call his own, except, in a sense, the psychic personality which is developing on the basis provided by Nature.

And what is called his property is nothing more than certain material objects that come to him through inheritance or through effort aided by economic and social circumstance. In either case the property is surely not created or contained by him. Any property is a portion of the common wealth which has simply passed into his hands for full utilisation for the common good—which, necessarily, includes his individual good. In this sense he is only a trustee, not an owner. He may hold and use something as long as he does so for the maximum good of all.

This truth is now being accepted within the advancing sections of humanity, and is present in all experiments pointing toward the future life-patterns. In a spiritually based collectivity, private property does not feature at all. For in such societies, personal possessions would become burdens in the development of individual and collective consciousness—which is, after all, the true sense and aim of our evolution.

In a word, private property can now only hinder man's further evolution into the universal man.

"As we know them. . . ."

"I think it is really very sad that 600 million people have lost what they had since the mid forties, as I recall, and I think it is a very sad development and I hope that in time there would be a restoration of democratic processes as we know them in the United States." If this remark attributed to President Ford has been correctly reported, it does not reflect his political maturity. It would seem that those directly affected ought to understand the situation, and the Indian people certainly do not share the sadness of the distant president over developments in their country.

As we had occasion to note in September, what has been lost is the climate of permissiveness that had brought the country to the brink of disintegration. Every citizen of the Indian republic welcomes the return to political and social sanity, albeit under cathartic administrative measures. No longer can bribery and corruption be flaunted defiantly. The honest are not now intimidated and, when necessary, can confidently approach the administration for redress. It may not suit certain interests—within the country and outside—that things are thus cleared for meaningful social, economic and political progress, but the people are, by and large, grateful for the new opportunity to build their own future on their own lines of genius.

Perhaps Indian processes are not the same as those in the United States. Why should they be? After all, the people of the United States have had hardly three centuries of organised existence, whereas some peoples elsewhere have as many millenniums or more behind them—and have developed their own values and mores. All surely have a right to their own modes of progress, whether it suits the geopolitical calculations of others or not. And, one may ask, what are the praiseworthy "democratic processes" that are implicitly boasted of? The countless recent disclosures by the media are certainly no credit to the standards of some of those who claim to lead and speak for the two hundred million people of the United States.

"God punishes the arrogant"

Thus runs the headline of a recent press report in The Hindu of a religious discourse. It is rather too late, considering the point reached in the mental emancipation of man, to invoke fears that may have served some purpose two thousand years ago in the process of the humanisation of man just emerging from his animal past. Almost all systems of religion have had this element of threat and cajolry in their repertoire. But, as with many other superstitions of the kind, it is well past the time for this wrong notion of punishment by a supreme

Judge called God to be overpassed. The belief is not merely wrong but positively false. For God does not punish or reward. We punish ourselves or advance ourselves by our own actions. God oversees and helps this cosmic process of experience and growth. Man has by now arrived at a stage in the evolution of his consciousness where he cherishes and cultivates values for their own sake, and not for the dividend they may yield or the punishment that he may thus avoid. No longer does he indulge in cruelty and wilful slaughter to show his prowess; he shows his strength rather by the control he exerts over his impulses.

Fear of God is a myth, an enervating myth that is also an anachronism. The truth for which man is ready today and which the Time-Spirit is at work establishing is Love, God's Love laying the foundations of a new order.

M. P. P.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY -- VI

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought: Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

INDIAN HISTORY: AN INTERPRETATION

The Foundations

It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the growth of civilisation in India from the Stone Ages; and the picture of the earliest periods is not very clear either. It is sufficient to arrive straightaway at the Harappan civilisation, which is now universally admitted to be among the oldest civilisations of the world.

The striking features of this civilisation are its wide extent, uniformity, high cultural level and uniqueness. More than seventy sites have been discovered--of which Harappa and Mohenjodaro are only the two most important--and they point to an enormous area "little less than half a million square miles, considerably larger than modern [West] Pakistan".¹ The modern border between Pakistan and Iran, the coast beyond the marshes of Kutch, the mouth of the Narbada and some of the area between the Ganga and Jamuna constituted the boun-

daries of this remarkable culture. In other regions of the country as also in other civilisations, variations and developments are very noticeable, but in the Harappan civilisation an astonishing cultural uniformity prevailed both in space and in time during the several centuries of its life and throughout the wide area it occupied. This could only have been possible through the operation of a highly centralised and remarkably efficient administration and with the aid of a very well developed system of transport. This technical proficiency is matched by the unique personality of the culture: "thoroughly individual",² "technically the peer of the rest"³ [that is, of Egypt and Babylonia], "so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguished from still living Hinduism".⁴

How this civilisation, exercising "a degree of administrative control undreamt of elsewhere in the ancient world", possessing "a highly organised system of craft production and distribution", and carrying on a "trade

1. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilisation* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 127.

2. Gordon Childe, as quoted in Allchin, *Birth of Indian Civilisation*, p. 136.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

4. Sir John Marshall, as quoted in Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta: Signet Press, 1948), p. 49.

far beyond the frontiers of the empire",⁵ came to be destroyed is far from clear. Natural calamities and the pressure of foreign invaders have been offered as hypotheses, alternative or concurrent. Among the later waves of invaders were the Aryans: their exact relation to this culture, however, is one of the unanswered questions of our history. But one fundamental point has been firmly settled: the Aryans took over important elements from this civilisation. Shiva, Kali, yoga, the worship of lingam, the sacredness of the pipal and svastika, even perhaps the doctrine of metempsychosis, all owe their origin to the Harappan civilisation; an organic relationship between this ancient culture and Hinduism can no longer be denied.

The Aryans, who either overran the Indus valley or came after its collapse, have left no archaeological evidence and our knowledge about them is based upon literary sources, particularly the Vedas. On this basis European scholars have generally regarded the Indo-Aryans as a primitive and barbaric people, a conclusion which incidentally reveals the peculiar bias of their mind that civilisation is identical with technology. But the greatest Vedic scholar of modern India, Sri Aurobindo, who was no chauvinist, has this to say: "The sacred verses, each by itself held to be full of a divine meaning, were taken by the thinkers of the Upanishads as the profound and pregnant seed-words of the truth they sought, and the highest authority they could give for their own sublime utterances was a supporting citation from their predecessors. . . . Western scholars choose to imagine that the successors of the Vedic Rishis were in error, that . . . they themselves . . . know

infinitely better. But mere common sense ought to tell us that those who were so much nearer . . . to the original poets had a better chance of holding at least the essential truth of the matter and suggests at least the strong probability that the Veda was really what it professes to be, the seeking for a mystic knowledge. . . .⁶ It [the Veda] is in its form and speech no barbaric production. The Vedic poets are masters of a consummate technique, their rhythms are carved like chariots of the gods and borne on divine and ample wings of sound. . . . The mind of ancient India did not err when it traced back all its philosophy, religion and essential things of its culture to these seer-poets, for all the future spirituality of her people is contained there in seed or in first expression."⁷

We can imagine the Rishis of yore living in secure solitude, like Thoreau beside Walden Pond, amidst the chirping of birds and the gentle rustling of leaves. For the economy was agrarian and pastoral. The man tilling the field, the boy tending the cattle in pasture, the wife and daughter at home sewing and weaving is the daily picture of the Vedic life. At dusk the family would gather for meals and often the village folk would congregate for music and dance, and other times for hunting and racing and gambling. Sometimes the wandering merchant would arrive with his colourful clothes and coverlets and skins, to be had in exchange for the cow or *nishka*, coin.

But politically the situation was less idyllic. The Aryans fought amongst them-

5. Allchin, *Birth of Indian Civilisation*, pp. 268, 270.

6. Sri Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Library ed., vol. 14 (Pondicherry, India: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 1972), p. 261.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 266-67.

selves and more often with the Dasyus. Their victories over the latter led to a considerable increase in the size of the kingdoms and in the power of the kings. This in turn led to a growth of the formality and ritual that invariably surrounds royalty; and sacrifices and rituals like the *Rajasuya*, *Vajapeya* and *Asvamedha* came into being. Therefore, the position of the brahmin also improved; his power and prestige tended often to equal that of the king himself. With greater security, cities came into existence and new forms of entertainment, that of drama and of *gathas*, stories, arose. The contact with the Dasyus, who had to be assimilated, led to two results: the slow development of the caste conception, the ascribing of a definite social position to each whole group while leaving it completely free to regulate its internal life; and the appropriation of the religious ideas and practices of all subject peoples into the Aryan framework.

While these popular, social and ritualistic developments were taking place, the highest mind of India produced the Upanishads: "a large flood of spiritual revelation of . . . [a] direct and profound character. . . .⁸ There is hardly a main philosophical idea which cannot find an authority or a seed or indication in these antique writings — the speculations, according to a certain view, of thinkers who had no better past or background to their thought than a crude, barbaric, naturalistic and animistic ignorance.⁹ . . . All here is a packed and pregnant and yet perfectly lucid and luminous brevity and an immeasurable completeness. . . . The passage, the sentence, the couplet, the line, even the half-line follows the one that precedes with a certain

interval full of an unexpressed thought, an echoing silence between them . . . and these intervals of pregnant silence are large, the steps of this thought are like the paces of a Titan striding from rock to distant rock across infinite waters."¹⁰

Thus came early into being austere philosophy and popular ritualism, the one Brahman and many deities, cultural tolerance and caste conception. All these were tied together by the synthetic mind of India in the philosophical concept, *ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*, Truth is one, sages call it by various names, and in the sociological concept of *varnashrama dharma*, the fourfold order of society. Men are at varying distances from and on different paths leading to the one, eternal truth. Diverse religious beliefs, therefore, are not merely to be tolerated but accepted as valid and effective. Socially, the pinnacle of life is indeed sannyasa and mysticism, but the foundation is caste and group life, and the fulfilment of personality is to be achieved by dutifully following the stages of life natural to man. It was this tolerant, composite and high-minded vision of life that spread steadily first among the republics and kingdoms of northern India and ultimately, through further assimilations and local variations, over the entire length and breadth of the country. Thus did the ancient land of Bharata create for itself a culture firm and supple, lofty and popular, many-sided and unified, which is its glory and a lesson and wonder to the world.

Mercantilism: Trade and Empire

Social life knows no position of final rest, and two tendencies — one religious, the

8. Ibid., p. 269.

9. Ibid., pp. 270-71.

10. Ibid., p. 273.

other political — implicit in the preceding epoch now work themselves out with the aid of a third factor, trade. India's religion, admitting both, was from the first susceptible to a philosophical or mystical and a ritualistic or mythological interpretation. To the brahmin priests, narrow, scholastic and worldly, power and prestige were all that really mattered and therefore they converted the Veda itself into a book of mythology and sacrificial ceremonies.

It was impossible that such a situation of brahminic ascendancy, cramping equally religion and society, should be conceded for long. On the other hand, the formation of larger states in the Gangetic plain—Kashi, Kosala, Magadha and the Vriji republic—suggested the possibility of an imperial structure, and Bimbisara and Ajatashatru gave to Magadha a position of ascendancy which was later to be consolidated by the Nandas. With greater political security, towns grew, crafts developed and trade expanded, and thus emerged a new mercantile and artisan class which imparted velocity both to the movement of revolt against brahminic ritualism and to the political drift towards empire. Already there was an intellectual ferment which had begun to question the authority of the Vedas themselves, and the Charvakas, hedonists, and the Ajivikas, atheists, were the first and most extreme expressions of this tendency. Now great personalities arose, Buddha and Mahavira, and they restated the essentials of Indian's religion "from a new standpoint and with fresh terms of intellectual definition and reasoning".¹¹ That there was an element of world negation in their doctrines is easy enough to perceive today; but what is important to appreciate

is that in their own day they were profoundly liberating movements which did much to undermine the brahminic stranglehold over society. The new ideas, promoted by royal support, took roots in the emerging mercantile class and thus gave freedom of action to both king and trader, ultimately making possible the great empire of the Mauryas.

Meanwhile, far away in the isles of Greece a brilliant and vivacious but restless and disunited people had been exhausting themselves by a generation of constant strife, and now a kindred people, the Macedonians, rose to power and prominence under a man of organisational genius, Philip. His remarkable son, Alexander, military genius and adventurer, set out on a military parade, an *asvamedha yajna*, in person, defeating Darius, annexing the entire Persian Empire and arriving finally in northwest India where he routed Puru and other small kings and tribes before being constrained to turn back. This swift, wide and spacious movement of the Greeks opened up communications both by land and by sea between northwestern India and West Asia and Greece, thus accelerating the growth of the developing trade of India. At the same time, the destruction of the little states in the northwest opened the way for the powerful kingdom of Magadha to bring about a larger union which the logic of expanding trade also demanded. But the Nanda king was detested by his own people, and therefore it was when an adventurer of dubious origins aided by the shrewdest brahmin of history took his place that these uncertain possibilities were realised in full measure. The dashing, lion-hearted Chandragupta and the cool, long-headed and ruthless figure of Chanakya present a combination, unique in history, of such sturdy vigour and supple intelligence as to be almost omnipo-

11. Ibid., p. 270.

tent. Together they created a great empire, wide in extent, firm in administration, which Bindusara and Ashoka carried across the length and breadth of India.

The generous and tolerant religion of the Aryans spread over the entire land in the earlier Vedic as well as the newer protestant forms, and though with the conversion of Ashoka to Buddhism the accretion to its prestige was enormous, at no time was it the one religion of India. Trade now flourished to an unparalleled degree and its range and scope included both south India and western Asia. Crafts grew and grew until they were transformed into small-scale industries, each with a guild of its own. And it is the very image of buoyant, leisurely town life that we find portrayed in the luxurious refinement and snug finesse of such sensual works as Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra*.

Mercantilism: Greater India

Internal differences, the decline of the martial spirit, and the pressure of central Asian barbarians, Sakas and Yu Chis, broke the empire. But the most striking thing about this breakdown of central empire is that it did not result, as is usual, in a falling back to feudalism. The political events that followed are no doubt bewildering, but the barbarians were steadily assimilated and no serious dislocation of social life occurred. The clearest proof of this is the continued expansion of trade: "One of the most notable features of the time is the remarkable expansion of foreign trade by land and sea. There grew up a prosperous mercantile class and their wealth and piety are reflected in the recorded gifts and surviving monuments of the time. Industry must have developed greatly during this period and internal trade

expanded."¹² And: "Through all the political vicissitudes of the Shungas, Satvahanas, Indo-Greeks, Shakas, Kushanas, Cheras and Cholas, the merchant continued to grow from strength to strength. Through all India the merchant community prospered."¹³ Since trade and industry are the first casualties in times of social disorder, it is safe to infer that political uncertainty did not lead to social breakdown. There can be little doubt that it was the extraordinary efficiency of the Maurya administration, preserving stability in the midst of political confusion (rather like the French bureaucracy during the Fourth Republic), which made possible this happy outcome.

Nor did the division of the country into separate kingdoms in itself militate against trade: it suited them and added to their own prosperity to facilitate trade. The remarkable system of inland routes created by the Mauryas was made full use of, and new overland routes opened up by the occupation of northwestern India by foreigners gave a powerful impetus to trade and industry. Central Asia and China, Rome and Southeast Asia all came within the steadily expanding orbit of Indian trade. The organisation of manufacturing guilds, now enlarged both in size and number, tended to become increasingly important politically; and it is an open question whether they controlled the kings or the kings controlled them. At any rate they were a factor which could not be ignored even by the great Guptas. The sea trade was largely in the hands of the southern

12. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and G. Srinivasachari, *Advanced History of India* (Bombay. Allied Publishers, 1971), p. 168.

13. Romila Thapar, *A History of India* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 109.

kingdoms, particularly the Cholas, and it covered places as distant and diverse as Rome, China and Southeast Asia. But whether across the land frontier or beyond the seas, India did not settle for mere barter. The priceless gem of Indian culture, sparkling and many-faceted, was offered free. In Central Asia and China it took the form of the peaceful spread of Buddhism. In South-east Asia, "Indian religion, Indian culture, Indian laws and Indian government moulded the lives of the primitive races, and they imbibed a more elevated moral spirit and a higher intellectual taste."¹⁴

All these developments and tendencies, trade and cultural expansion, industrial guilds and political order, attained their fulfilment in the richness, dynamism and creativity of the Gupta Empire. With a greater and more organised stability, commerce accelerated, prosperity extended and the overseas cultural seed flowered in the city of Angkor Thom and the marvellous shrine of Angkor Wat. But the empire — of which Chandragupta, Samudragupta and Vikramaditya bear comparison with the Maurya founder, Bindusara and Ashoka — could never become as centralised as the Mauryan had been. The guilds had acquired, even before the rise of the Guptas, a position of importance in keeping with their enormous wealth and number and variety; and their size and influence increased to such an extent that some of them even became autonomous to a degree. The southern kingdoms, also, though recognising Gupta suzerainty, appear to have been independent in practice. The period of empire, therefore, marks a continuation and fulfilment of and

not a break with the age beginning with the destruction of Maurya centralisation.

In the realm of religion and ideas, this epoch is characterised by two trends, one Buddhist, the other Hindu. The initial prestige of Buddhism suffers a decline on account of its schism as also the increase in the wealth and corruption of the monasteries. For Hinduism this is in every respect a period of revival and renaissance. The Vedic rituals are finally abandoned except for very special occasions like coronation and marriage and there is a general tendency towards popularisation, towards the acceptance and transmuted expression of the beliefs of the masses. The Ramayana and Mahabharata, which became the popular Veda so to say, mark this tendency. The doctrine of Avatara, Incarnation, of the fourfold objects of life, the conception of Trimurti, the three faced deity of creation, preservation, and destruction, of Brahman and Ishvara are all brilliant expressions of the Hindu genius for assimilation and integration. This process, long growing in velocity, burst forth under the Guptas in a dazzle of religious, philosophical, literary and scientific activity. The major Puranas, the classic works of Sanskrit—among them those of Kalidas—were written, and astounding astronomical discoveries made.

At this point it seems necessary to make a little detour so as to ascertain in a broad way the period of European history to which the above mercantilist phase may be said to correspond. It appears natural to some people to make a comparison with Rome, which during its relatively shorter period of existence was entirely contemporaneous with this phase of our history. But while such a comparison may seem natural, it is one that simply will not hold. From whatever point

14. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Kalinkinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (London: Macmillan, 1965), p. 222.

of view we look at it whether intellectual or economic or administrative and organisational, we notice a marked and decisive difference.

The laboured and imitative products of the Roman mind, sparkling only occasionally, offer no scope whatsoever for comparison with the many-sided intellectual brilliance and vast originality of India which was sustained over several centuries of outstanding philosophic, literary and scientific activity.

Economically, Roman society is characterised by: "the absence of any organised system of industrial production. Although the Roman Empire was an association of towns, the Romans were never an industrial people. With some few exceptions the cities of Italy, Gaul, or Spain did not produce wealth for the surrounding country, still less did they attempt to supply a world market. The wealth . . . was derived from the spoils of the conquered east, and once dissipated, was not replaced."¹⁵ By contrast, "the importance of the manufacturing industry in the Maurya period is emphasised by the fact that one committee of the municipal board of Pataliputra was specially entrusted with the supervision of manufactured articles in the metropolis".¹⁶ And in the period following, "the guilds continuing from the Mauryan period, became an even more important factor in urban life, both in organising production and in shaping public opinion".¹⁷

Organisationally, the Indian empires had a settled system of hereditary succession as

against the "absence [in Rome] of any fixed rule of succession . . . which often remitted the choice of an Emperor to the clamour of troops and more than once involved the Empire in civil discords".¹⁸ The Roman Empire was: "an unplanned novel growth; the Roman people found themselves engaged almost unawares in a vast administrative experiment. It cannot be called a successful experiment."¹⁹ On the other hand, Mauryan administration was a marvel of such skill and sanity that it has prevailed to this day. "The system . . . endured without much change through ages. The Hindu Kings to the last followed the organisation of the Mauryan Empire. . . . The organisation as it existed was taken over by the Muslim rulers and from them by the British. If Indian administration of today is analysed to its bases, the doctrines and practices of Chanakya will be found to be still in force."²⁰ The vital organisational difference is that the Roman Empire was an imperialism in the strict technical sense of the term as against the Indian national empires. "All its outer splendour was built upon thwarted wills, stifled intelligence, and crippled and perverted desires . . . [a] wide realm of subjugation and of restraint and forced labour."²¹ The brutal institution of slavery which herded men into the relentless rowing of galleys and the grinding work of road-making and big building operations is a permanent blot on the humanity of the Roman. Mauryan India, too, had its slaves, but they were largely domes-

15. H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, 2 vols. (London: Fontana Library, 1964), 1:107.

16. Majumdar, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 138.

17. Thapar, *A History of India*, p. 109.

18. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, 1:95.

19. H. G. Wells, *A Short History of the World* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 121.

20. K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1956), p. 29.

21. Wells, *A Short History of the World*, p. 121.

tic, and protected by the natural kindness of Indian family life; the fact that Megasthenes did not even notice the existence of slaves in India is itself clearest proof of the subsidiary and harmless character of that institution. The foreign and imperial character of Rome is further exposed by the fact that the great popular movements — that led by Spartacus which was ruthlessly stamped out and that of Christianity which only after much martyrdom secured a better ultimate fate — arose in direct opposition to the Empire. By contrast, Asoka is noted for his tolerance and the period of Gupta rule is universally admitted to be one of renaissance and florescence.

Clearly, therefore, though it was contemporary, the Roman Empire did not represent a similar mercantilist phase of history. This point indeed is so obvious that it would have been unnecessary to dwell upon it were it not for the fixed illusion of Western historians and the asinine habit of some Indian ones to regard European history as the one norm and immutable standard to which all "native" evolution must necessarily conform. The true comparison, if one is to be made at all, is with modern Europe, but in its earlier phase prior to the industrial revolution.

The chief characteristics of this stage in Europe are its intellectual renaissance (which corresponds broadly to the Indian one) and its terrific commercial and oceanic activity which involved the circumnavigation for purposes of trade to every corner of the globe. "Europe began to enter into that new phase of its existence, which is marked by the foundation of colonies and empires beyond the ocean, and by the gradual spread of European influences throughout the habitable globe."²² Compare this with what the

Advanced History of India has to say: "The trade with Rome and other western countries was carried through the important port of Alexandria. . . . Indian religion spread to the western countries. Asoka sent Buddhist missionaries to Western Asia, Northern Africa and South Eastern Europe, and claimed that the tenets of that religion were welcomed in those regions. . . . In Central Asia the cultural conquest almost completely overshadows the trade relations of India. Here Buddhism became almost the universal religion of the nomadic peoples. . . . From Central Asia Buddhism spread to China. . . . From China, Buddhism spread to Korea, and from Korea to Japan. . . . The spirit of maritime adventure found its full and free scope in the south-east. Across the Bay of Bengal lay Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. . . . Between the second and fifth centuries A. D. [colonial] kingdoms were established in the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, Annam, and the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. . . . The Indian colonists established great Kingdoms, some of which lasted more than a thousand years and continued to flourish even long after the end of Hindu rule in India."²³

A correspondence between the two having been established, the question naturally arises as to why India did not follow the further evolution of modern Europe — that is, why it did not develop a similar scientific technology and industrial civilisation. Karl Marx completely fails us here. He explains everything through the development of the forces of production; here, however, the question concerns the development of the forces of production themselves — why

22. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, 1:436.

23. Majumdar, *An Advanced History of India*, pp. 212-16.

they developed in one civilisation and not in another.

The soundest clue to this riddle is to be found in Max Weber, though it is not possible to agree with his specific contention. The difficulty with Weber's argument is that the issue itself is not accurately formulated by him; he sees the problem as essentially that of the failure of capitalism to develop in India. Everything, therefore, depends upon what precisely capitalism is taken to mean; and so long as one were to define it in terms of the use of technology, no serious difficulty would arise in regard to our poser—whatever commotion there may be over the definition of capitalism itself. Weber, however, defines capitalism as "that enterprise whose aim is to make maximum profit and whose means is the rational organisation of work and production. It is the conjunction of desire for profit and rational discipline which constitutes the historically unique feature of Western capitalism."²⁴ The point is not whether this definition of capitalism is adequate—that is a scholastic controversy into which we consider it futile to enter—but whether it does draw incisive attention to the true distinction between ancient India and modern Europe, whether it rightly identifies the point at which the evolution of old India stopped short of that of recent Europe. And here, it seems to us, Weber was mistaken. "The conjunction of desire for profit and rational discipline" was not lacking in mercantilist India: the comprehensive trade and the stupendous colonies of India would have been absolutely impossible without it. What was indeed absent was advanced

technology, the wholesale application of science to economic life and production. But since Weber identifies the problem in terms of the absence of "rational organisation" and "maximum profit", he pins his answer to religious ritualism and caste stabilisation which in turn are said to be the result of the mystic and non-prophetic religion of India and its metaphysics of the transmigration of souls. "Religious ritualism" and "caste stabilisation" have indeed become commonplace for us owing to their predominance over the last several centuries, but their dominance if not their origin belongs not to this age but the immediately following epoch.

Weber's contention cannot, therefore, be accepted—though on his general approach the answer automatically suggests itself once the problem is correctly formulated: Why did India not develop a scientific technology? That she did possess the requisite basic knowledge and intellectual ability is beyond dispute; for the most fundamental mathematical concepts of zero and the decimal system which are the ultimate foundation of the physical sciences had been developed, and Aryabhata, who discovered that the earth was a sphere that rotated on its axis and explained the true cause of eclipses, must be accounted one of the greatest scientists of all time. The reason why this enormous knowledge and mighty capacity was not given the peculiar turn of aggressive invasion into and rough conquest of nature can be located only in the ultimate value of Indian civilisation. An Indian Prometheus who stole fire from Indra or Agni would not have been celebrated as a hero but condemned as an *asura*, a demon. Nature stands essentially in harmony with and not in opposition to man, and his real task is less the modi-

24. Max Weber, as quoted in Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), 2:218.

fication of external environment than the control of inner chaotic tendencies. In Europe, on the other hand, nature and man stand in opposition, as a mechanical system of independent forces. And this attitude is all pervasive, to be seen equally in their amoral and aggressive international politics, in their restless economic greed, in their strident individualism, and even in their system of medicine which is based on the policy of attacking real or alleged foreign elements in the body (no oriental system of cure is based on an even remotely analogous principle).

While the ultimate sanity and wisdom of such an attitude may be questioned, and is indeed being increasingly questioned by

their own thinkers, that it does have a certain epic grandeur cannot be disputed. And one of the major efforts of the greatest of India's modern thinkers has been to capture something of this Promethean spirit for fallen, *tamasic*, inert, India. Vivekananda, by his powerful speeches and writings and even more by his inspiring personal example, and Aurobindo, through his hugely all-embracing and galvanic and affirmative philosophy in which he repudiates *ahimsa*, nonviolence, as an instrument of fundamental social change, are the leading Indian exemplars of Prometheus from whom the asura has been expunged.

[To be continued]

MIDGROUND

Three Poems

*An infinity of blue and morning,
Cyan the sea, gray haze the sky,
Softly day stirs before our waking
And before the sun's red rising
To prepare a blind world with silver.*

*

*Gentle as a mist that does not conceal
But clothes the morning in its fineness,
A gown formed of golden shafts
From the body of the sun extends
With the ease natural to love and stars.*

*

*Intersection of love and fire,
Austerity grown single and entire,
A sun's birth; light and burning
The flame at once becomes, yearning
Toward a normalcy of white increase,
A consuming noon that cannot cease.*

Tatsat

THE SUNBURST COMMUNITY

An Introduction

An account of the Sunburst community is difficult, because there are really no precedents for this community. It does not fit into any preconceived categories.

The people in this community live and work religiously, but it is not a religion, religious sect or cult. It is not a political movement. Perhaps the people here are living the way people would live if there were no religious or political or economic or other artificial divisions and barriers between human beings—a way of life pointing towards a new age of love and cooperation for all mankind. The people in this community could be a living illustration that it is possible for men and women and children to live together with affection and trust and love. The way of life here is religious, but not in the sense of following verbal doctrines, dogmas or beliefs. It involves getting in direct touch with the living source of energy and life within us and within everything, thus becoming more united with one another, and with all things—center to center, and not just externally. This can come about, simply and naturally, through quiet communion.

The living spirit in what the people here are doing, and in the way they are doing it, cannot be captured in rigid, dead verbalizations. The birds sing. The wind blows. The rain falls. The sun shines. The light of the living source at the center of it all is like the light from the sun. Can you catch it? Can you hold it? Separate religions have become just one more disharmony which in the new age we can leave behind with the help of that living spirit. Every time there is a religion there is unnecessary separation, unnecessary division, unnecessary condemnation. In the new age, there will be no religions—including the political, professional and scientific religions—just all of us working with each other to help each other find and live in the light of a *living* truth that will never stay encrusted in words, in doctrines, dogmas or verbal beliefs. When we complicate it, and cover it over

The Sunburst community began in 1970 when a number of young people purchased Sunburst Farm in the mountains above Santa Barbara, California. This introductory article, reflecting something of the community's intent and its development since then, grew out of words spoken by Norman Paulsen at a collective meditation; Richard Harrington and David Eddy helped put it into the form in which it now appears.

with words and rituals and customs, then it becomes more difficult *simply* to live it. We can all live in this world happily and completely, receiving all we need and more than we could ever imagine, if we love one another and share with one another. There is enough for all of us and more. We can live in this world, and lovingly look upon it—and through such contemplation come to understand it. We can find a new age of genuine scientific understanding to redirect the distortion and manipulation and exploitation of misguided technical power. And we can share with one another the mountains and the seas and the wind and the blue sky, the sun and the song of the birds, the love in each other's hearts and the joy in each other's faces, the creation of things that are beautiful for each other and for our children. The age of religions is past. A new age is upon us now, if we open our hearts to it. Let us now go above all doctrines to a higher place, to attain the full light with our minds and hearts, to see the living one, the source of all life, face to face as honest and healthy sons and daughters, without having to avert our gaze as we do now. We condemn no one. We encourage everyone towards light. And we embrace all who, with sincerity and goodwill, are heading towards greater awareness, unafraid and unresentful of the light, whether or not they choose to live in this community. May they know the darkness for what it is by knowing the light as well. Who would stay in the dark, or go around pretending to know? None of us in this community pretends to know all that will be required of us in the new age. Communion with God and with one another is the way of finding out. And we have found that we are constantly changing and evolving to find a way of life that will enable all people to live in brotherhood.

The people in this community have found that they enjoy a fairly disciplined way of life. This is not because they are stuck on discipline, but because they have found that discipline and austerity enhance life and love. Where there is luxury, extravagance and indulgence, people's love for one another grows cold. Bodies become easily addicted to dead routines and habits. Indulgence of the body dulls the soul and makes a person less capable of deep, expansive feeling and communion. The people in this community find deep satisfaction in simplicity and austerity: simple study, contemplation and enjoyment of the nature of things, without a lot of complicated intellectual inventions and adornments; simple work with their hands in communion with the natural elements; simple, natural love for one another, undistorted by all the twisted, egotistical complexities and conflicts of possessiveness and domination; simple gratitude to the living spirit for the many faithful friends gathered here who truly love one another.

We hold all things in common. But this does not mean we whimsically use or take things which do not belong to us. It is usually clear who has custody and care over something. This can be done without possessiveness. We do not keep private bank accounts, trust funds, automobiles, yachts, or anything of that sort. We contribute all assets to the common fund. We are trying to buy enough farm land and food outlets to feed healthy food to those who cannot afford to buy it in stores and markets because of the extreme

economic imbalance brought about by extravagant greed disguised as a "high standard of living".

Students and teachers do not make up separate categories of people here. We are all students of nature, helping one another toward greater understanding. Living, working and learning cannot be separated. When they are, they end up conflicting and working against one another, exhausting enormous amounts of energy, and even turning malevolent. The educational program here is an apprenticeship program. When someone understands something well, it is usually obvious to others. We do not respect conceits in these matters. And formal degrees are now not much more reliable. Their worth varies too widely and is too difficult to determine; they tend to disguise as authoritative words and opinions which are not authoritative; too often they arouse an arrogant conceit in their holders. They are deceptive and they are unnecessary. They confuse more often than they clarify in situations of research and education, and also in human relationships. We respect the obvious facts. And the facts *are* obvious to those who stay in communion. True teaching comes about as the natural overflow of energy from the fullness of genuine understanding. Any skilled person with a disciplined mind and more than just a mechanical understanding of a skill can assist an unskilled person in acquiring and understanding that skill simply by working side by side with the person. The apprentice works on the job until the master is satisfied that sufficient understanding has been shared for the apprentice to have become proficient. This point in the relationship is, like the relationship itself, personal and inward rather than impersonal, external and structured from outside.

Education at the primary levels is located in one part of the community. But beyond the primary levels, education is not limited to some particular place. Someone may live in one location for a month for intensive study of geometry with a qualified resident there, and then proceed somewhere else to study languages or music. All the while, the resident period is integrated with participation in the whole life of the community. In this way the learning process is at one and the same time imbued with all the finer lessons of life, which cannot be verbalized, staged or taught formulaically. And the bare accumulation of verbal knowledge is transformed and given relevance to total situations. Thus, the needs of young people who may wish to pursue intensive formal studies at very high levels are served, while at the same time the need for emotional and spiritual maturity requisite both to that endeavor and to others is not ignored. The latter need cannot be met by psychology courses.

If one is not ready for such discipline, perhaps one should not come here. It is not necessary to be in perfect discipline before coming. But it is important to be of goodwill. Part of the discipline of this community is that we all notice daily our own numerous faults and imperfections through the mirror of our relations with our fellows as we all grow together. Living in a society with people who do not really care, who do not really love one another, and who do not really face one another, we can pass through ignoring our faults as

they spread, until they even end up extinguishing our candles completely. But living in genuine community demands discipline.

To preserve the variety of personality within a common spirit of unity, no way matches the way of personal love. This way draws people towards the fullest development of their personalities. It inspires cooperation while preserving the integrity of personalities. Love of one another and love of God are one and the same. They cannot be separated. But this way of love is destroyed and replaced by a way of fear in a society where people have come to rely on their own limited and heavily conditioned minds, denying or ignoring the existence and the guidance of higher states of consciousness and stronger spiritual powers—except in the empty words of politicians and preachers, or in the technical terminology of the devotees of the separate sciences and professions. The society which has resulted from this ignorance—a society so *unnecessarily* complex, confused and confusing—represses and dissipates simple love. The fearful pressure it puts on people to be dishonest for money and security has become too great for most of the people of that society. In that society it has become too difficult to lead a fully human life.

The Sunburst community creates an atmosphere of both spiritual and material support in which pure love and goodwill among people can flower again; and with them also that glow of creative energy which comes from the center and is not imitative or motivated by externals. Such a way of life may answer the deepest longings people have for love, for devotion, for dedication, for dignity, for discipline, for intelligence, for joy, for grace, for order, and for beauty. Here in this community these qualities—as realities and not just as words or vague ideals—are being restored, along with the basic virtues, to their own healthy priority over ruthless efficiency, exploitation, lying, pretence, selfishness, artificial excitement, and other such destructive qualities which have become so prevalent throughout the old society, even in its schools, colleges and universities. The people in this community are really living, in harmony with nature and with themselves. But words cannot capture what is happening here. It has to be seen and experienced first-hand to be appreciated.

PROPOSAL FOR A GLOBAL INFORMATION COOPERATIVE

Howard and Harriet Kurtz

The American people through their government could announce to the world a large-scale, long-range, sustained commitment to build a giant open-to-the-public Global Information Cooperative linked to a greatly expanded ten year series of earth-orbiting, intelligence-gathering sources. The objective of this Global Information Cooperative would be:

I. To maintain a public inventory of potential public danger for the planet, whether from threat of war, or pollution, or draught, or hurricane, or blight, or shipwreck, or any other threat to the general wellbeing of human beings everywhere; and

II. To provide earth resources development information assisting the economic progress and human wellbeing for people of all nations. All nations will be invited to co-

operate as part of an eventual broader War Prevention Decade of new research and development and testing.

All nations would be invited to cooperate by assigning experts and research teams to work together in a large Global Information Research Park surrounding the Cooperative. This would include military experts, intelligence experts, agricultural experts, geologic survey experts, and specialists in all relevant fields. There would be no classified information, no secrets. Anything that can be *seen or detected or discovered* through outer-space instrumentation would be available to the people and the nations of the world.

Information would be made public on large illuminated information display walls, and would be stored in computers for reference. Communications links would be maintained with the world radio, television, and printed news and public information media. This mobilization of information research and development for the future safety and wellbeing of the people of all nations would proceed with American initiative, no matter what nations withhold cooperation at first. Nations would be free to join the cooperative at any future time.

There would be no need to first "negotiate" with potential enemies before the American people lead the people of all nations gradually toward a new age of open-

Howard G. Kurtz spent twenty-two years in airline management positions and twelve years in a management consultant firm. Since 1966 he has devoted his full-time to War Control Planners, Inc., of which he is president. Harriet B. Kurtz, a graduate of Wellesley College and Union Theological Seminary, was ordained to the ministry of the United Church of Christ in 1964 with a mission in the field of war and crisis as her particular charge.

ness. Potential enemies on both sides of all confrontations would be invited to see inside their own country what American reconnaissance satellites already see.

All nations capable of launching surveillance satellites would be invited to link them to the Global Information Cooperative. All

nations would be invited to build similar open-to-the-public information centers, linked to central information receivers, and storage facilities, and retrieval facilities. All nations would be free to install receiving facilities to be linked directly to the eyes-in-the-sky.

MORAL MANKIND VALUES

Gerhard Hirschfeld

The relation between education and moral values has been given much attention. That has been less the case regarding education and moral *mankind* values. Nor does the distinction between moral values and moral mankind values seem to have attracted much attention. And yet, between the two there may be profound and meaningful differences, involving perhaps not only new dimensions and perspectives but also new motivations, a new way of looking at the past as well as the potential future of mankind, and thus a new approach to mankind education.

In the nation's view, it is right and honorable to kill people in time of war to protect one's country. In the mankind view (or should I say: in *my* mankind view?) it is the greatest of all evils to take a human life—for whatever reason. Another difference: moral mankind values are applied on a mankind scale, both in space and in time. This, as we shall see, may have far-reaching implications. Also, moral mankind values underline the oneness of mankind; if they lose the oneness, they lose the values.

If we recognized mankind values, would we not praise mankind for great moral deeds such as the works of Confucius, Beethoven, Schweitzer? Would we not equally blame mankind for great moral wrongs such as Hitler's persecutions or Stalin's purges? Some of us do, but most of us don't. Why not? Perhaps most of us don't see major events in the perspective of mankind.

To me, mankind history is like a giant periscope—one extension reaching into the long past, the other into the unknowable future—two inseparable parts of an indivisible mankind. It is the unique feature of this periscopic eye that whatever comes under its scrutiny is seen as part of mankind, thus as mankind itself—whether it is 3000 years in the past or 300 years in the future. It is likely to see many things in a new and different light.

An author and educator, Mr. Hirschfeld is a founder and the executive director of the Council for the Study of Mankind. The Council's work involves efforts towards the study of human society as a whole, and the stimulation of rethinking of concepts and values in terms of the future of a communicating and potentially cooperating society.

Modern society is in a state of decay. So are its moral values. Hence the grave problems, some old, some new, which society has been unable to cope with: thermonuclear war, pollution, population, poverty, illiteracy, drug addiction, inflation, automation, identity, values, many others. Even if it knew how to cope, society lacks the moral qualities without which the problems can hardly be solved. It lacks credibility and trust: indispensable requirements for world cooperation. It lacks hope in a brighter future, and faith in a higher goal than mere self-service and self-satisfaction. It lacks humility, without which there can be no real sense of equality, of personal dignity, of justice.

Hence the need for a mankind-oriented society which, to my way of thinking, is the only kind of free society that has a chance of solving these problems, that is, of surviving. By mankind-oriented I mean a society guided by the major values and interests of all. If the future society is to be viable, it must be based on moral values. And if it is to be mankind-oriented, its values must be moral mankind values. This applies as much to education: as the mankind-oriented society could not function effectively without a firmly established foundation of moral mankind values, neither could children be expected to become eventually worthy members in such a society without their prior education in these values.

The Past

Can we observe in past mankind history such lack of moral values as we can observe in contemporary history? Indeed we can — and I fear, much worse. For more than 3000 years, a very large number of people — variously estimated from one-third to one-half of the total population, right to this day — were left impoverished and sick, illiterate and unemployed, oppressed and exploited, deserted and ignored in their huts and hovels, slums and ghettos by those who could have helped but did only rarely, if so, insufficiently, and mostly not at all. Nor were the people given opportunities or encouragement to seek a better life.

There are exceptions, like King Asoka of India in ancient times, or welfare organizations in modern history. And yet, in the face of the appalling conditions of the people, especially in the developing countries of the East, the exceptions are like small islands of compassion in an ocean of indifference. (In modern society, I figure that of the approximately 3.9 billion world population, roughly one-third are communist, one-third are democratic or non-committed, one-third are the virtually forgotten people. Wherever my survey deals with the modern age, I have omitted the totalitarian countries, since they represent societies which at this time operate under principles basically different from those in the rest of the world; they require special consideration.)

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I submit that this record of social indifference and human neglect, involving a substantial part of the human population over a period of more than 3000 years, constitutes a gross

violation of basic human rights including freedom, equal opportunity, self-determination, dignity of the individual person. However one may think of it, it is an intrinsic part of mankind history and should be a part of mankind education. How should the mankind educator handle this particular aspect, especially the moral issues involved?

In order to discuss, say, compassion, must not the mankind educator understand the compassion of mankind, or the lack of it — not only in our age but over the millennia of recorded history? How could he otherwise discuss with conviction the issues of freedom for all or justice for all or mankind feeling or mankind faith?

Is there not actually more involved than mankind education and mankind teaching? Is there not a skeleton in mankind's closet that society just cannot afford to ignore if it wants to strive for a better, a mankind-oriented future? Is not this great moral wrong a challenge to the mankind conscience to develop a new inner feeling toward itself, to cultivate a new motivation, to feel a new pride in being part of mankind?

The deeper significance, I think, lies in the challenge to mankind as a whole. It is as if the members of the mankind family, all four billion of them, had been called on the carpet to explain its past and present behavior before a higher court of justice: its conscience.

Some may say: "You are going too far! These things happened hundreds and thousands of years ago; they have long been forgotten. We should turn our attention to the forgotten people of today."

If it were merely a matter of "forgive and forget", perhaps we should erase the memory of the unfortunate past. But that is not the point. If we would wipe from the record every trace of past wrongs done to these people, we would inflict upon mankind another great wrong: we would deprive it of a vital part of its history—the part telling of the lives, the struggles, the sufferings, as well as the achievements, the heritage, the tradition of the people and their forefathers over countless centuries. Would we not thereby distort the moral record of mankind's history? Indeed, is this not exactly what we have done through the long past by exclusion, omission and just plain silence?

There is another reason why we should remember the moral past of mankind history. For thousands of years, a large part of the world population, because of poverty, illiteracy, other shortcomings, was virtually excluded from the mainstream of society, as it is today. Does this not mean that throughout history, up to and including the present age, the human society has been operating far below its manpower capacity? Because of the exclusion of so large and so varied a part of the population, the operation of society could not possibly have been as well balanced, its assets and liabilities not as evenly distributed (I mean human rather than financial assets), the operation could not possibly have been as representative of mankind as if the total population had participated in the

societal process. As it was, many outstanding deeds were accomplished, many brilliant achievements recorded, many masterpieces performed in the arts. How much more might have been accomplished if activities over the past 3000 years had included all of mankind?

Why then should mankind or, for that matter, mankind educators forget the social wrongs of the past? Do the Blacks in America forget the long years of oppression and slavery suffered by past generations? Do the Jews forget two thousand years of the Diaspora during which their ancestors were driven from one pogrom to another, from one ghetto to another, from one country to another, saving little beyond their bare skin, always trying but never finding the one place that could mean home—until they came to Israel? Do the Chinese people forget the long centuries of exploitation by land-owners, war lords and tax collectors? These sufferings of moral wrongs are part of their history, their tradition and, most important, their motivation. They hold on to the memory of the past, though it may be sometimes bitter and sometimes sad, not only because it is an important part of their history but because it is the very source of their inner strength and determination to fight for a better future for their people and thus for themselves.

These parts of the past are emphasized not to perpetuate resentment but to remove any trace of moral wrong-doing from the conscience of human society. Good or bad, they are vital parts of mankind history to which we must not close our eyes. Why did we close our eyes and our conscience all the years before? Because up to now we were looking at history from a segmental, never (or hardly ever) from a mankind point of view. But now we are face to face with mankind. Some of us who feel with and for and primarily as members of mankind, will admit (to ourselves, if to no one else) that a great moral wrong was committed. Might we not use this admission as a floor and a foundation on which to build a better house?

The Future

In building toward the mankind-oriented society of the future, might the people profit equally from the long memory of that great moral wrong? Might it give them strong motivation through their leaders? Might the realization of their virtual exclusion from human society give them positive determination? Might the yearning to be admitted into the fullness of society give them powerful incentive?

Who would be the people to make up the mankind-oriented society? They would be the poor, illiterate, disenfranchised, most of whom have not previously taken part in the societal process; they would be recruited largely from the ranks of the developing nations.

Then there would be those who make up the new movements—women, Blacks,

members of the minorities, youth, the aged, many of whom are dissatisfied with the conditions, relationships and life styles of modern civilization.

Finally, there would be those members of contemporary society who, once they had gone through a process of re-education, re-motivation and re-orientation, might be attracted to the mankind-oriented society. It might be remembered that the process of one civilization dying and another emerging, is not usually completed within a year or several years. Sometimes, the greater part of a century is consumed in the process—as shown by the present society.

Contemporary history signals the emergence of a new dynamic force as a tremendous opportunity for the people. The trend of our times is toward bigness in every major field of endeavor. It shows in the ever increasing power of government, both in size and in means, in ever larger political alliances, in the steady expansion of metropolitan areas, the growth of multinational corporations, the construction of ever taller buildings, ever bigger oil tankers, ever larger sports arenas. Why should not the trend toward bigness also hold true for the people?

Once massive organization has been achieved on a global scale, along with enlightened leadership, the power and influence of the people may conceivably grow so large as to approach the power of mankind itself, because:

Potentially, the people have the greatest economic strength, by virtue of their combined capacity as consumers.

Potentially, the people have the greatest political power, by virtue of their world-wide voting strength.

Potentially, the people have the greatest socio-cultural influence, by virtue of their superior position to determine standards of living and to influence cultural expressions and social associations by their choice of the large-scale use of new inventions discoveries, methods, patterns, styles and formulas.

Should not such potential global development by the people be considered part of future mankind history as much as any potential, technological, scientific, psychological or whatever development? As a possible part of future mankind history, should it not also be part of mankind education, especially with regard to future moral values?

Again, some people may say: "This is grossly exaggerated." Again, I reply: Those who want to see, can find the signs; for example:

Ever more leaders coming to the fore to plead the cause of the poor and forgotten people.

Ever more of the disenfranchised aiming to become leaders by taking advantage of educational opportunities.

Multinational corporations in developing countries giving the poor and the illiterate larger visions and broader perspectives than they had ever before.

Automotive and other technological devices causing natives to move to the cities where they learn the difference between "haves" and "have-nots".

People taking greater interest in world affairs, taking part in demonstrations, public debates, other activities.

Growing political influence of people in the developing nations showing in the voting record of the United Nations.

Communist propaganda throughout the world supporting the demands of the people.

This is my hope: Mankind conscience will admit the great moral wrong of the past. Mankind motivation and determination will see to it that similar wrongs will have no place in the mankind-oriented society. They will see to it that moral mankind values are made its very foundation, which they have to be if that society is to become a reality.

These qualities: mankind conscience, mankind motivation, mankind determination, are the privilege of leaders and educators. But to have the mankind-oriented society accepted, that is the privilege of the people. If they do not accept, there will be no society. The way to have them accept it, as they have previously accepted the communal society, the urban society, the nation society, is not primarily by intellect or by mental aptitude, but by feeling, by living, by loving the new mankind age.

The immediate task is to introduce the new generation, that will be in control twenty, thirty and forty years hence, to the mankind age. John Goodlad, Frances Klein, Jerry Novotney, Ken Tye and others have dealt admirably with mankind education in their fine book, *Toward a Mankind School*. They have taken the first courageous step in bringing the idea of mankind to the people. They are entitled to a vote of profound gratitude from all of us.

As for the mankind educator: Is he supposed to have accurate knowledge of all the realities and possibilities I have outlined—past, present and future? Of course not! But perhaps he should have:

The *awareness* of mankind, meaning that mankind exists, not only as a multi-national, multi-racial, multi-religious conglomerate, but primarily as mankind itself, that wants to be recognized as itself, that should be known by its own moral values, that means something precious and unique just as mankind.

The *understanding* of mankind, meaning that mankind today offers far greater wealth, variety and opportunity, but also greater problems and crises than ever before; if the mankind educator is to evaluate this greater whole correctly, he must think in broader perspectives than those he has been accustomed to—without changing basic moral values.

The *motivation*, meaning the deep feeling for mankind. I believe that, before one can effectively "teach mankind", one must feel it. Even children are capable of a feeling for mankind—when they listen to a cantata by Bach or to the Ninth Symphony by Beethoven, when they look at the "Pieta" by Michelangelo or read a poem by Emerson. Then again, even the most erudite mind may not be able to understand the eternal craving of mankind. Only when a strong feeling for mankind has been awakened, can the awareness of mankind be meaningful. Only then can be clearly felt what is good for mankind and what is not; what is a moral mankind value and what is not.

The *determination* of mankind, in setting an example of devotion to the task of elevating mankind consciousness into mankind conscience, and of cultivating one of the greatest of all moral values—the love of mankind.

AN EXCHANGE OF BEING

A Short Story

Promode Kumar Chatterji

That the man would ultimately land me in a plight terrible beyond all my imagination was something I could never have conceived. But perhaps he himself was not responsible; the thing might have simply happened according to the normal but inexorable decree of the Creator; or it might have been due to my own shortcoming or a result of my own sin. Whatever that may be, there must have been something in the simple and guileless nature of the man whose contact produced this uncanny state in me — something which escaped my notice even in the lacunae of his conduct.

I am only here trying to atone for my sin by making it clear to all how narrow and erroneous is our notion of such men and how capable of perversion because of the utter hollowness of judgment by people like myself—high-salaried gazetted officers of the

imperial British government, who are not only obsessed with their self-earned dignity of office and the financial ease, comfort and luxury which it implies, but are always proud and self-conscious of their singular good fortune in life. But with all that vaunted knowledge, erudition and capacity for work, one is apt to commit mistakes in truly judging such men — as I myself once did.

It was probably in 1938. At that time there was in Delhi a hierarchy of graded officers of the imperial rank down to the lower division clerks, and their social status was determined according to their pay. In other words, the relation of the upper grade officers toward the lower was one of the coldness of aloof indifference. Strange indeed is our society. In such a dispensation, I who was drawing a salary of twenty-five hundred rupees per month was not supposed to have anything to do with Dr. Gupta who was getting only fifteen hundred; but still a light friendship grew up between us. This was because Dr. Gupta was a highly educated man, a matter of envy to many. Consequently, both of us were connected with the Ramakrishna Mission, Harisava, Kalibari, students' clubs and many other local institutions.

During the Kalipuja that year, we decided to have some intellectual and religious entertainment in addition to the usual music,

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dance, theatre and fireworks which comprised our annual programme. Thus we would have something which could add to our knowledge and enjoyment. Dr. Gupta suggested: "I have an artist friend who has written a book about the practice of Tantra. If you all agree, we can listen to some discourses on Tantra from his own lips." All agreed to the proposal and the artist was contacted by wire; in a short time he presented himself in Delhi.

It was his first visit to Delhi; he stayed as a guest of Dr. Gupta. Darpanarayan Upadhyaya was his name. He was tolerably fair in appearance and seemed between forty and forty-five years old; but actually, and it would have been difficult to believe if I had not heard it from his own mouth, he would be stepping into his sixties within two years. The few discourses he gave about the religion of the Tantra and the conversations we had, induced in me some respect for him, nay, even attracted me a little towards him, for I thought of him even after his departure from Delhi. I might have retained that feeling of respect and friendliness for him had he not returned once again to Delhi. He came back at the invitation of Dr. Gupta after a lapse of nearly three years and stayed as his guest this time also. Dr. Gupta had sent for the artist for the renovation of some pictures in the government department. The work was finished in one and a half months, after which he stayed on to seek his fortune in Delhi. We used to meet from time to time. In conversation, Upadhyaya was direct and straightforward and it is true that we relished his company.

Dr. Gupta was his real friend and well-wisher. He had a special feeling for the man and wanted him to stay permanently in Delhi so that our cultural associations might be

strengthened. The artist had travelled not only all over India but also in Tibet, and his writings were well-known in travel literature. Further, he established considerable fame through his book relating his experiences in the company of holy men. Over and above this, he was an adept in music and had an exceptionally sweet voice.

I had a good opinion of him then and we met occasionally. But one day Dr. Gupta unwittingly altered my view with the remark: "You see, Upadhyaya is a great artist and has many achievements to his credit, but he is not able to make much headway in Calcutta. Since he wants to try his luck here for some time, and I do think Delhi is the place for a man like him, don't you agree that it is our duty to do our best to help him?"

The moment I heard this, strangely enough, whatever respect and good feelings I had for Upadhyaya faded away; a contrary feeling such as that which a wealthy benefactor has for a poor gentleman took possession of me. Yet outwardly I kept up an attitude towards him which can be described as neither respect nor disrespect—it was something artificial. Thereafter, when I would meet him, I greeted him with polite formality and a show of a smile. Thus it went on.

Sometime later, something happened which filled me with great bitterness. Dr. Gupta's fourth daughter was a student of class seven and my daughter Mira was to be promoted to the matric class. Dr. Gupta suggested that if our daughters were given an opportunity to learn some painting from Upadhyaya, it would not only be good for them but would help the man a little financially. It would not be a bad beginning for him since the tuition for them both would

come to a hundred rupees per month. We ascertained the feelings of our daughters and both of them were agreeable. I placed the proposal before Upadhyaya with a certain air of patronage and made him understand that it was our first joint effort for his welfare. This made the man reflect a little and then he asked: "Did you have a talk with those who want to learn? What is their intention actually?"

With the hot temper of a boss, I told him in a scolding tone, "Yes, yes, we talked about the matter and they are also willing."

But the queer man persisted, "They may be willing because of your wish, but have they shown any zeal, any real eagerness in the matter?"

This time I replied with even more impatience. "That zeal may come in the course of learning. Tell me if you want to take up the job or not."

"Well, I have understood from the very beginning that you wish to give this work to me in order to do me a favour. But I do not like to take up a work of this nature in which there seems to be some element of doubt regarding motivation."

"Why feel such a doubt present in a matter like this?" I wanted to know.

"I wonder whether girls nearing twenty who are about to appear in the matric examination and who are entirely new to this kind of work, not having ever drawn a thing, would be really interested. I don't think they would enjoy it. It would then be a sheer waste of labour on my part involving much expenditure of energy and would only disturb my peace of mind. Moreover, it would mean a needless loss of time to all of us."

"And just what kind of pupil would you consent to instruct?"

"One who has some grounding, is really

interested in the art of painting and has a bit of experience in drawing—well, you understand I suppose."

After this incident I no longer had any regard or good feeling toward him. All that was left was a certain coldness. But the incident did not seem to produce the least impression upon the mind of the artist himself. We had offered a way to help him earn his living and he simply cold-shouldered it. Then let him go to hell—what else could we do for him? He could now help himself as far as I was concerned. I came to know sometime afterwards that he was trying for the job of an instructor in the local polytechnic, but I did not intervene on his behalf though I could have.

One afternoon shortly after the incident he came to my bungalow—as he did now and then—as if nothing had happened. When he visited, we used to stroll near the India Gate or thereabouts. That day I was late in returning from my office and I learnt from my daughter that Upadhyaya had long been waiting for me. I immediately decided to make up an excuse to avoid seeing him. Through the window I saw the man seated in the garden sketching the big eucalyptus tree; he always used to carry a sketchbook with him. Perhaps purposefully, I became involved with sundry domestic concerns, ordering the servants and conversing with my daughter while eating, and soon forgot the man was even there. But she reminded me by saying, "He really has been here for a long time; won't you see him now, father?"

He was to have taught painting to this very Mira, but evidently she had not taken his refusal seriously or personally. She had perhaps reconciled herself to the matter with the thought that one could not afford to begin to learn drawing while preparing for

the matric. To my great surprise she had remarked at the time, "He has really saved me from a great humiliation; I could never have learned it, father." I observed that in fact her regard for the man had considerably increased, as was now apparent. For she was not only urging me to see the man, but was trying to induce me to go with her to Dr. Gupta's house to see the pictures the artist had brought from Calcutta and those he had recently sketched. However, I had presently to find a way to dismiss the man under some genteel plea. I told her: "Forget that for now and tell him that I have gone to the station for some urgent business. Thereafter he will quietly go away. I don't wish to see him now."

I do not know if he felt this mild rebuff. Even if he felt it, what did it matter to me? It is not something strange or unnatural but rather quite usual for someone who comes and goes in order to get a favour from a man like me to be rebuked on occasion. All those who want jobs must be prepared for such treatment. And this man tried even more to mix with us with complete informality because Dr. Gupta was very intimate with him and treated him as a man of his own rank; but I didn't like it. I wanted that the man should maintain a respectful barrier between us as became our position in office and society. But he never acted in accordance with this. I could not get him to feel or to understand that we were his patrons, and as such it was his duty to seek our favour. Do all I could, I failed to instil this idea in his mind. He used to declare openly, even somewhat defiantly I felt, "The only giver is God himself; what can men do?" On this and many points we differed from each other.

Five months passed more or less in the same way, I maintaining a cold outward

attitude, he unrepentant. Then the unexpected happened. One day he came to me and told me in a firm and clear voice, "Now I have no other refuge except you." I was surprised and enquired what was the matter. He explained that a family of Dr. Gupta's relatives was coming and his accommodation was needed. He had therefore been asked to move and had no other place to turn but to me. I had C class quarters, a very big bungalow with several rooms. My family consisted only of myself, my son and daughter, since my wife had passed away some seven years earlier. We occupied only a portion of the house and there were in fact several vacant rooms which were used for guests and relatives when they came. I had once incidentally mentioned this to the artist, and as he knew the situation, it was easy for him to broach the subject without much ado. I immediately said, "Yes, surely, come straightaway and live in the room on the western side." For I was pleased, it flattered me to learn that he had no other alternative but to come to me for shelter. He did not plan to come immediately, since Dr. Gupta's guests were to arrive a few weeks later. But he continued his visits to me as before. In the meantime the inevitable happened. I hurt him terribly and as a consequence, or so it seemed, I underwent that extraordinary and unprecedented experience that brought me acute suffering at the time, but which also completely changed the course and content of my faith and knowledge.

As the afternoon of the day following his request was a bit cloudy, I had not intended to go out after coming back from the office. My bungalow has a very big compound and the whole garden was illumined that day with the season's flowers. At one spot there was a bed of pansies with poppies interspersed. In the same area there were a

few peach trees in full blossom. One cannot describe in words the marvellous display of colours. Viewing the scene, my heart was instantly filled with delight. And at that very moment I saw the artist who was also obviously in rapt enjoyment of the same sight. I was very glad to see him in that state of happy absorption and decided to join him. "When did you come?" I asked as I approached.

His meditation was apparently disturbed yet he replied good naturedly. "I have been here for some time. I was looking at the flowers and the beauty of the peach trees. How nice they are together. I have seen nothing of the kind in any other quarter here, or before in Bengal. It is simply a magnificent sight."

A deep sympathy passed through me and I extended a friendly invitation to him to come inside for a talk. It was I who called him but he did the talking. He began to speak of the workings of the laws of nature as they were reflected in the garden scene. One characteristic of his I had marked was that whatever the theme of the conversation, he would invariably give it a turn towards the Divine and convert you to faith at least for the time being. A sort of inebriation ensued. I felt renewed regard for him and said: "I am very glad you have come, but I have to go out presently to attend a special engagement. But before I go, you must accept a request of mine."

"You have merely to ask me", he replied.

"Please come again next Saturday, but a little earlier and stay for dinner." To this he agreed, and then I added, "And while you are here, I would like you to speak a few uplifting words on religion to my children; it would benefit them."

But to my surprise he retorted: "Would

they relish a talk on religion? They have become so anglicised that their whole outlook on life and their culture has changed."

His words passed like fire inside me; the audacity of the man! Yet I repressed the feeling and simply said, "We have to maintain both the sides; that is why something of Indian religion must be instilled in them also." He did not pursue the argument and agreed that he would come Saturday evening.

Though he was due to come, I did not remember it, for a delightful incident took place that Saturday. Mr. Bose from our department was commissioned to go to Rangoon representing the government. No Indian had been entrusted with such an important position before. On that happy occasion, a farewell party was arranged at his home. My forgetfulness of the appointment with Upadhyaya was of course in a way deliberate. What he had said made me deeply resentful and I retaliated by ignoring him in this manner.

The party at Bose's that Saturday was an exceedingly pleasurable and unprecedented occasion. All the most important officials drawing between one and six thousand rupees monthly were present. The cuisine and the whole milieu were simply charming. The presence of Sir and Lady B. L. Mitter as honoured guests added to the grace of the function, as did in quite another way the marvellous dance of Ragini Devi. There was nothing lacking in the evening. I returned home at 11:30 that night.

As soon as I arrived home, I was told by the servant Upadhyaya had come punctually at 7:30 and had waited for a long time. When no one appeared, he wrote a note and left. The Nepali servant handed me the note which was clearly written in Bengali: "I came on time at your special request; had

a hearty meal and am now taking my leave after a short religious discussion with your children. Thanks."

I knew that the children had gone to their clubs in the afternoon and had not yet returned. I tore the paper to pieces. I was burning with anger. Our own liberality was responsible for the increasing presumptuousness of these gentlemen beggars. Avaunt such thoughts. In any case, I was not in the least repentant, and this insult gave me peace. It was now nearly midnight; going to bed, I very soon fell into a deep sleep.

I awoke at my usual early hour. A slight dreaminess lingered as happens just before sleep is entirely broken; and in that state I saw a strange sight. I was standing by the roadside in a village with a scythe in my right hand while my left arm was being pulled by a tiny girl who had on a black dirty cloth and whose hair was braided in the form of a pyramid. She was saying, "Come, let us go home; mummy is waiting for us with food." My drowsiness broke instantly.

But the dream had still not vanished completely. What a bed I was in! Only a mat and a tattered rag on a plank. What was this? There were patches all over the mosquito curtain, dirt and a foul odour all around. Who was that lying by my side—a dark-hued woman with a black-bordered sari, wearing just below two silver bracelets, an iron ring and a few glass ones on her hand? Her fingers were thick at the joints, one hand spread out and the other below her head; she was dead asleep. What was the matter, and who was this woman and the children nearby? Where was I? And whose body was this? Instead of my bald head there was a shock of coarse hair. And my physique was such as I never owned, large and muscled. My face

had a bristly beard as though I had not shaved for a week or so. Surely, it must be a dream and nothing else. I said to myself: "I am Mr. Dattagupta living in a C grade bungalow on Shahjahan Road, Delhi. How could I be here? But if this is a dream, the dream is not leaving me. What a plague!" I sat upright with eyes burning from constant rubbing, but still I was dreaming the same dream and still in that bed. "But I have had many queer dreams before this; it will also vanish when the sleep ends and I get up."

But when I got up I saw only the inside of an old hut. It appeared to be one of those huts with a roof thatched with straw such as I had often seen by the railway side—one of the crude cottages of peasants I had glimpsed from a running train. It was exactly like that. But how could this state have come about? Where was Delhi, imperial Delhi, and where was I now? How long would this continue? I only knew I would be most relieved when it ended.

At this point I heard the voice of an old woman. She was speaking from the door with her face poked inside, "Nistar, are you still asleep?"

The moment the sleeping woman by my side heard her, she jumped up and exclaimed, "Oh God, it is clear daylight already!" Turning toward me she said, quite annoyed: "Why didn't you wake me up? Look at his ways! He does not even heed when I am speaking to him. Can't you hear? I should have been up earlier; the paddy is waiting to be boiled, and . . . What is this, are you dozing, seated? And what about the money? Have you been able to get it or not? What's the matter with you that you don't speak? At least get up and go to the kutchery to pay what is owed to the babus."

Wonderstruck, I just stared at that terma-

gant peasant woman. I witnessed the scene in a spirit of thorough disgust.

I had had many a dream but never such an ugly and drawn out one such as this. I felt like crying out in sheer despair. What was I to do? I could not conceive how I came to be in the midst of this strange and unknown family. What was the cause for such a bizarre occurrence? Even if a dream, it must have had some antecedent links to connect it with the present. I was Mr. Datta Gupta, C.I.F., a gazetted officer of the government in the two and a half thousand rupees grade. What could be my connection with a miserable peasant family in an out-of-the-way, evidently Bengali, village? I could not by any stretch of memory recollect how I came to be here. I was consumed with anxiety, stunned to inanimation and filled with fear. If it was not a dream, what was it? The thought recurred to me time and again like another's voice within my mind, "It is all right for the saintly philosophers to ignore reality for a dream, but it hardly becomes a worldly-wise and egoistic official like you."

A harsh voice from the courtyard broke my stupor. "Haladhar, Haladhar!" Coming nearer, the man was clearly calling me. He said it was past the time to go to the field.

Was I then this peasant Haladhar by name? Was I turned somehow into this person in a dream? But, strange, how could even that be, since my mind and memory was not that of Haladhar—only the body seemed to have undergone the change. How was this possible? And where was the real Haladhar whose place I now occupied? Good God, how could such a thing take place in the twentieth century? Hopefully it was not some occult spell that had been cast on me, for who would want to practise these things

against me? I had done no harm to anybody. I had only enjoyed what belonged to me. Then how and why could this body of mine have been changed? There was nothing different with the mind and memory, the change was confined to the body and the milieu. What was this terrible joke?

Now the man who had called me firmly grabbed hold of my hand and forcibly took me out of the house. In front there was a broad kutcha road with a banyan tree on the side. Below it in a hut was located the smithy; and the man took me there. The smith stopped hammering, looked at me and remarked: "What's the matter with you, Hala? Why do you stare that way? Why are you in such a reflective mood today; and last night also you did not touch the drum in the Harisava. Tell us what has happened to you."

A few people gathered to see what was happening, but I just walked away absorbed in thought, still very confused. They did not follow me but began to talk amongst themselves. I heard one of them remark as I left, "There must be something wrong with him; perhaps some evil forces have taken possession of him." Another countered, "All that is bosh; the real trouble is just that he can't pay the tax."

Another incident soon startled me as I walked absently through the village. There was, coming in the other direction, Upadhyaya! He looked exactly as I would imagine he would appear in his native place. He stopped when he saw me. I observed a slight smile on his face as he began to speak to me. When he called me Haladhar, I was simply taken aback. But he must know all about this affair. I asked him, "How is it that you are here?"

He replied: "What? You are asking me,

your friend Apu, such a question as if you had never seen me here before. Pray, why have you that strange look in your eyes?"

I could no longer contain myself and cried out: "Were you not in Delhi? How could you have come here overnight?"

"I have come" he replied, openly smiling, "in the same way as you. Tell me, Haladhar, when were you there?"

Now I too began to play with the truth. "I had a strange dream this morning. You too were there with me."

Hardly had I uttered these words before this man interrupted me. "And you live in a C class bungalow on Shahjahan Road, work in the secretariat of the viceroy, draw a monthly salary of rupees two thousand and five hundred, have dinners with VIPs, and are used to shower baths. You go to your office on a bicycle but to parties in your car. And after inviting a country painter like me to dinner you can completely forget it— isn't it so? We are insignificant creatures compared with yourself. Your only relation to us being that of an alms-giver to a beggar. Wouldn't you agree?"

I was stunned. This man, Apu Babu or Upadhyaya or whoever he was, knew what had happened and must have undergone the same change as I had. Upadhyaya had become this Apu Babu, and I Haladhar. Was this God's retribution for my pride and vanity or what?

What an ironic smile was on the lips of Apu Babu! My inner being alone knew what a blow I had received from his words. But I saw he was keenly observing my astonishment and seemed to sense the inner convulsions his words caused. Though his look was not unkind, something moved him to continue. "Yes, Haladhar, what could be more splendid than the secretariat at New Delhi, the

pomp and wealth of the town, the prestige of office and the dream of promotion to the highest post. Surely it is not possible for an underling like me to be equal to a man of your wealth and position. And certainly not possible for one to read the thoughts of others. Moreover, there cannot really be to someone so reasonable, someone called God." My head began to reel. How frightful! Was he punishing me after divining my thoughts or was I still simply trapped in that horrible dream? I tried to say something, but could not. What happened to me afterwards I cannot recollect, except that I must have passed out.

When I regained my senses, Apu Babu was still there, staring at me calmly with a mysterious expression on his face. As soon as my eyes opened, he said: "Enough of it. Go about your business, Haladhar. Perhaps you have now experienced and even understood something which you had never before felt, conceived or even imagined in all your life as possible—a state which goes well beyond dream-experience. Isn't it so? Or if not, you soon will." Receiving no reply from me, he continued. "I do not know anything really, but I feel that this state has come to you as a result of your inherent selfishness and pride. See if perhaps all this brings you back to your senses."

This did force me to reflect, though I said nothing aloud. "It's true. This is the disease from which I am suffering and I have been given the just remedy. We are insignificant beings and prone to fail in our judgments. We do not understand anything according to our intellect. The dense ego and still denser vanity stand in the way of our understanding." I could hardly believe it was me thinking these things, but perhaps it wasn't.

"Think about the matter at your leisure",

he observed, and left me without once looking back.

I did continue to think about it, but certainly not at leisure. "I acknowledge that I am full of vainglory but, pray, who is free from it in this world? Each of us must have it in an overt or covert way, and especially those who are self-made men. Why then should God mete out this punishment particularly to me? I do not understand. Shall I be forever hopelessly obsessed with this dream?" Turning round, my eyes caught a tin signboard which said: Bakule-Chandpur Post Office, Thana Kulpi. Somehow this made me cry out in despair, "O my God, help me!"

What was this? I was calling on God. I had never sworn by Him or prayed for help. I had held the firm conviction that He was a device invented by an idealism from antediluvian times in order for men to find a way of escape from the wrongs, injustices and troubles of the real world. I did not believe there really existed any God beyond the mind and intellect of man. I went to Harisava, gave regular subscriptions to the Kalibari, and involved myself in the worship of Durga because it did not look proper if a man of prosperous and affluent circumstances was not connected with these things. I counted myself among the intimate "disciples" of Anandamayi Ma of Dacca. I shared in her prasad—the blessed fruits, sweets and the water hallowed by her touch—with the others. But what did that matter? Let people call us devotees if they so choose. I knew in my heart of hearts that it all was superstition and irrational.

Calm again, I sought to find some reasonable explanation. Why, of all persons, should I now have the likeness and position of Haladhar? How could I have come overnight from Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, to

this Bakule-Chandpur? And where could Haladhar of this place have gone? He must be now in my place. Whose conspiracy was all this?

The whole riddle looked like the fable of the golden ball. Save the form, two men had undergone an exchange of mind and intellect and place. To think of this kind of transformation, this exchange of being in the present age was quite unimaginable, yet . . .

I suddenly became intensely curious to know what was taking place in my bungalow at that moment? And further, it might give some clue as to a way out of this predicament. But to go there meant a minimum of fifty rupees for third-class railway fare and other expenses. I did not have any money with me and knew not where I could get the sum. It was doubtful if anyone in that village had fifty rupees at a time.

Then it struck me that my only chance was to deal with the people here as though I really were Haladhar; that might help me to find a way to return to Delhi. So thereafter I played the part of Haladhar, disguising my unfamiliarity.

I returned to Haladhar's place, and found two young men smoking in front of a fire. Seeing me, one of them exclaimed: "Papa, Kshetra Pak just came here from the Zemindar's place. They have sent for you. You had better go." By that and by their resemblance to each other, I knew that both of them were Haladhar's sons. Robust young men of dark complexion and handsome, I liked them.

Since I did not know which way was the Zemindar's house, I said to the boy who had spoken, "Let us go together."

"I have straw to cut now," he replied, "I can't go. You best go alone."

What was I to do now? Fortunately, I

was presently delivered from this dilemma by the appearance of Kshetra Pak himself. "Ah, there you are Haladhar; the Meja Babu has sent for you. Where did you go?"

I did not reply to his query but simply said, "Come, let us go."

The way lay straight through the village, and soon we reached the entrance to the Zemindar's mansion. I went inside and found myself in a very big hall. At the front was the Chandimandap with rows of spacious rooms with verandahs on three sides. A fat, fair-skinned middle-aged man with a coat on was absentmindedly taking out a bunch of shining keys from his pocket and putting them back in. Behind me seated on a chair was a thin, fair gentleman with silver hair at the sides only; he was smoking a hubble-bubble. Besides these, there were present many subjects other than myself, standing with folded hands. Seeing me, the coat-apparelled gentleman exclaimed: "Hala, where have you been? You were to bring your dues this morning—the Nabab seems to have forgotten this!"

His words set me aflame with anger and I forgot all about who I was supposed to be and omitted even the expected obeisance to him. "You are apparently a gentleman. Why do you use this kind of insulting language? We are all human beings, though you may be the Zemindar."

The Zemindar was so shocked he was simply dazed. All the others stared at me in sheer amazement. I then realised the foolishness of my words and that they would only serve to worsen my predicament, to say the least. The babu turned to someone near and exclaimed, "Umacharan see what heights of insolence your brother has reached." And then to me: "You rascal, son of a pig, you have become a gentleman have you? Just

wait and see how I expose your respectability." With this he called out, "Dobey, come here!"

So, this was Umacharan, my elder brother, and evidently the village head. He was an aged man with tulsi beads round his neck and a tranquil look in his eyes.

A man immediately appeared near the entrance with a club in his hand. The babu ordered him to take me by the ear and take me out, to a fate all too evident. But Umacharan pleaded with him with folded hands. "Meja babu, he is deranged. He was not able to get any money yesterday and has gone without food, drink and even sleep since then." The babu clearly had some respect for Umacharan and heeded his plea; I was saved by his intervention.

But the Zemindar was still very angry and demanded, "Now, my good gentleman, where is my money?"

I slowly answered, "I have nothing with me."

This only made him more angry. "Then why did you say so confidently the day before yesterday that you would pay this morning all your dues?"

I could merely affirm, "I have no money."

"But this will not help us! Have we not in any event to submit in time the instalment to the government? You must borrow the money somewhere. I must be paid today!"

I thought to myself that this was very good, I would pay by borrowing and at the same time borrow the railway fare to Delhi. The debtor could answer for it all afterwards; I would even give Haladhar the money if I met him in Delhi. All I wanted was to get there. I asked the Zemindar, "But who will lend me the money?"

"Either Chauthi or Dobey, I suppose, at the usual compound rate of interest."

I then asked the gomasta, "Please tell me how much exactly is due."

He looked at his papers and said, "As I already told you the day before yesterday, it is thirty seven rupees, twelve annas and three pies."

To this sum I added fifty rupees and arranged to borrow it from Dobey, the very same man who was to have punished me for my earlier "insolence". He took me to his farmhouse and ordered me to sit down. I did so. He returned shortly from somewhere with the money; no one knows the place where these people deposit their money. While counting it, he raised his head and asked why I needed such a large sum. At just this moment the gomasta appeared and said, "And add to that the money that is due to us." I asked him what he was talking about. "Ah, you are a ninny," he said, "who will pay for our services? And then there is the amount owed to the person who has brought you to the kutchery, the road-cess, chowkidari-cess, the subscription to the common fund . . ." He went on and on and then demanded, "Who else will pay all these?"

What was all this? I bought my freedom by paying several rupees more than the official dues. A feeling of great sympathy for Haladhar came to me. The poor man had to pay with his life and property for the "privilege" of cultivating the land of this zemindar. Spontaneously I thought: "Oh, God, do away with this zemindary system. Let communism come." But then I remembered that I, that is I as Datta Gupta, had a lakh and a half of rupees in the bank, not counting the money invested elsewhere. If communism came, could I retain my bank balance? Such unpleasant thoughts were useless either way now, so I just asked Dobey to give me ninety-five rupees in all. He gave

me the sum after first deducting two and a half rupees as interest at the rate of one pice per rupee per day. From the remaining amount I had to pay my zemindari dues and all the sundry other payments and still have enough for the trip to Delhi. After paying a total of forty-three rupees for the "debts", I had fifty-two rupees in hand.

As I was returning, I saw the man named Trailokya who had brought me out of the hut in the morning coming towards me. Since I did not know the way, I appealed fervently to him to do me the service of accompanying me to the railway station. "But the station is a full five miles from here; and besides, what business could you have there?" I told him that I had to go there to settle an account. I again implored him to come and offered to pay him two rupees if he would. Surprised, he answered: "Why should you pay me for nothing and how can I accept the same from you? Only tell me what's the matter with you."

"Why, there is nothing wrong. I simply want you to come with me."

But he insisted: "Tell me frankly what is wrong with you. I have been observing it since morning. You seem completely changed, as if you do not belong to this village. Tell me what has happened to you. There is nothing to be afraid or ashamed of in confiding to me. Have we not been friends since our naked days?"

Now what could I answer? After a pause I simply said, "Let us first go to the station; I will tell you there." He reluctantly agreed, but kept trying to question me on the way. We reached Sangrampur station after walking for over an hour, I still avoiding his queries. I asked him to wait, and upon enquiry learned that a train for Calcutta was due to leave in half an hour. I immediately paid the fare

which was only twelve annas. I returned to where Trailokya was waiting after taking as much time as possible. With now only fifteen minutes remaining until my departure, I simply continued to stall, and kept insisting I had some money matters to settle in Calcutta. He gave no credence to my words and warned me not to go, feeling something was doubtless wrong with me. He admonished me not to leave simply because of my debts, from which he felt I was trying to escape, and asked who I expected to look after my family. He went on and on like this till the train was about to leave, and I only escaped his grasp by assuring him I would soon return, and by giving him five rupees to take to my eldest son for the time I would be gone. With great difficulty I tore myself away from him and boarded the train for Calcutta.

No sooner had I found my seat than apprehension about the real Haladhar I supposed to be in Delhi began. In what state would he be? Might he not resist any attempt to restore things to their former status, he returning to the villages' squalor. What would happen when we met? I reached Sealdah in this state of cogitation. From the station I went to Bowbazaar where I purchased a bleached dhoti, a genji and a twill shirt.

Thereafter I bought a pair of sandals and went to the Calcutta Hotel. I decided to rest a little after having a bath and lunch, and thereafter went to the Howrah station to catch a Delhi-bound train. In about half an hour I boarded one on which there was not much of a crowd. I got a nice accommodation in an interclass compartment with a full sleeping berth all to myself. After dusk, I went to bed. A powerful drowsiness assailed me as a result of the day's strains, and I instantly sank into a dense and unconscious sleep.

I woke up after a long time. Alas, what a nuisance and what a plague! I found myself once more in the bed of Haladhar, his wife by my side and his children lying all about. Why had I in my folly gone to sleep again? Somehow I felt this would not have happened again if had not gone to sleep. More distraught than ever, I sat up in bed in the dark and was plunged in despondent reverie. What was I to do now? Was there then no escape for me? Was there never going to be an end to this protracted dream or whatever it was? I racked my brain for a way of deliverance, but my mind's efforts were of no help.

*[To be concluded in the issue of
December 1975]*

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

RELATIONS

Personal and National

From Betty Ford's freestyle reactions about her and her presidential family's sexual life to China's Mr. Huang's UN steering committee exchange with the Soviet delegate, Mr. Malik, a wider and more candid opening seems growing between people in positions once known for formulated phrases. I agree there are personalities and personalities but still, can you look back a couple of years and imagine Pat Nixon discussing such intimacies regarding her husband; or Chou En-lai saying, " 'If Mr. Malik is really manly' he should proclaim that the Soviet Union. . . . " ? (*The Hindu*, 20 September 1975).

The more and more confident emergence of this directness is not only verbal. An example of action in the most hamstrung type of administrative work — chief responsibility for a controversial area within a large nation — is that of Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir. Mr. Kuldip Nayar writes in the October 4th *Indian Express* that the Sheikh has reduced the people's twenty-two year old rice subsidy, and intends to remove it, throughout the network of ration shops with a slogan of self-confidence: "We shall eat half a loaf, but we shall remove the subsidy." Next, he is retiring and dismissing bulk numbers of his bureaucracy so the salary dominated budget can be freed for more beneficial use. The third change he made can only be fully appreciated by readers residing in India. It really should be quoted.

The greatest risk that the Sheikh took was when he stopped the practice of copying in examinations. Students used to carry into examination halls textbooks to answer their papers. He took the odium of even posting policemen in campuses but got rid of copying.

Attempts to control copying by school administrators have usually resulted in marked destruction of school property, helpless closure of the school, student custody of and assaults on teachers and administrators, and the quicksand victory of the students.

One can almost follow this movement of straightforward construction like a compass from nation to nation.

The 14th of September issue of the *Indian Express* reported that Chile's military government — which earned such infamy following its 1973 coup — has released a considerable number of major political figures from prison. Chilean observers have taken this as a first sign of a possible shift from iron-lined policies.

The Ethiopian government, in the person of their Brigadier General Tefui Bante, admitted in an appeal to Eritrean secessionists that many of that province's problems may have been caused by "the constraints of a highly centralised form of government" (*Indian Express*, 15 September 1975). Despite the continued claim of sovereignty over Eritrea and the political attraction for making some positive effort in a war of negative results so far, such an acknowledgement is an unmistakable entrance of rare humility and candor in a national setting of relentlessly proud deportment.

Unless you have been following the dispute for over a generation, it would be difficult to imagine why the *Indian Express* of October 7th gave its nearly largest headline to the settling of the water use conflict between two Indian states, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. However, the dispute was one of several between knots of states that have been helping to tie up the process of national development for years. This Godavari River disagreement was one of the largest and most stubborn, and its clearing will surely bring a powerful, persuasive light into the destiny of the others.

The sweeping force of the time-spirit arranging the Godavari confluence can be appreciated in excerpts from the news report.

Talking to newsmen shortly after signing the accord, a beaming Mr. Vengala Rao said: "I conceded all the demands of Maharashtra and he (Mr. S. B. Chavan) conceded all the demands of Andhra Pradesh."

Asked whether there were other problems between the two states, Mr. Vengala Rao said: "We have no other problems." Mr. Chavan added: "We do not propose to have any more problems."

The dispute over the Godavari waters, which had been hanging fire for over two decades, was settled in just forty minutes.

We are able to consider something truly magnificent in China because of the efforts of the United States' CIA! Their agents, in three independent investigations, have returned similar findings that Peking has been making heavy cuts in its production of and expenditures for military equipment. Specifically, activity and expense in 1972-74 has been about twenty-five percent lower than it was in 1970-71, China's peak period — and the decline has continued into 1975.

Even more interesting, one of the reports asserts that:

The broad scope and long duration of the decline suggests that it is not simply the result of a coincidental cutback in several weapons programmes. Rather, it is due to some general cause or causes. [*Indian Express*, 17 July 1975]

The reports cannot, of course, do more than speculate on the cause — the most confident guess being that the Chinese see any further military spending as an exorbitance flung into diminishing returns compared to other national needs. Whatever the reason, it is a solitary but happy irony that, while other powers are glacially inching forward in showcase arms control talks and simultaneously increasing budgets and sales of armaments, China has refused to join any negotiations and is simultaneously showing somewhat more arms restraint than the negotiators themselves recommend. Although one cannot yet say how, it is certain this policy will generate a penetrating effect beyond Chinese borders.

Such new lines of action are difficult to credit any personality or personalities with, particularly in the Peoples Republic of China. In Thailand, however, the attitude which permitted the government to withhold a punishing response to the destructive riots on the prime minister's home is plainly visible in his own words. When asked in a *Newsweek* interview (15 September 1975) what his reaction was to the domestic ransacking which destroyed his extensive antique collection, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj replied:

I thought it a rather childish thing to do and for that reason I forgave them. I am a practicing Buddhist, you know — perhaps the most detached person in the world. I couldn't care less. As for the antiques, when all things are destroyed you can begin a new collection. It's very exciting and I don't know what I will collect next.

If he is able to apply this detachment to statesmanship and the power of his own position, Mr. Pramoj will be a very unusual leader which all the world could benefit by watching.

After explaining his government's role is to give people time to think and act in an exemplary atmosphere of cool-headedness and nonviolence, the prime minister discloses that he is working for a kind of cultural reunion in his talks with Hanoi. He wants to hold a music and dance festival in Bangkok, inviting performing groups from the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. "We will invite North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos," says Mr. Pramoj. "They may not be ready to come but the invitation will mean something."

Thailand has already led us from the diversity of Asian countries' internal styles to the expansion into international relations. But first, consider that the variousness of Thailand's,

China's and India's effectuating personalities is only a flick of movement in the thousand-gestured earth process, nation by nation, toward unity; and then ask, is there any planned or rational effort by any international organization that could program an earth process so rich, so complex and so interesting?

International

Besides the unarguable achievement of Israel and Egypt, face to face for the first time, working out the technical applications of an agreement in which they have surrendered the future use of force; besides the tremendous Arabic reaction to that Egyptian solo; there are some other aspects of this news which may take us more into its currents.

In spite of Damascus' opposition posture to the agreement, the Syrian daily, *Maariv*, reports President Hafez Assad asking Henry Kissinger to arrange negotiations with Israel. According to this information received by the September 14th *Indian Express*,

Maariv said General Assad would like to start negotiations by next month even if they proved to be lengthy and took months or even a year to complete.

In an issue of *Newsweek* printed one day later, it was revealed by President Sadat that Israel had offered to return the entire Sinai peninsula if Cairo would end the state of war. Mr. Sadat said he rejected that, accepting only a thin percentage of land because Israel must settle all questions — of the Palestinians, the Golan Heights, et al. — in order to make formal peace.

Catapulting the Arab states' outcry and the Israeli parties' complaints into the atmosphere, is that old dynamic of frontline (but passing) resistance to any marked change in human affairs. Given the fact that Egypt had to be the leading edge of Arab negotiation, one can hardly imagine any successful conclusion the hardliners on both sides would not want to redo.

And there are small gestures which open and show, close and cover a reality in Arab-Israeli relationships that is not composed of suspicion and enmity. *After the Guns Fall Silent* was written by an Egyptian journalist named Sid Ahmed, who is the editorial page editor of Cairo's widely regarded *Al Ahram*. A review of the book, which discusses the possible peaceful relations of Israelis and Arabs some day, was written by Stephen S. Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post* who says:

What is most interesting about Sid Ahmed's book, though, is the absence of conventional prudence. It addresses itself directly to the Israelis' longing to be truly accepted by the Arabs and to have that acceptance

evidenced not by words alone, and certainly not by words offered to parties other than Israel, but by specific deeds of cooperation and trust.
[Reprinted, *Indian Express*, 11 August 1975]

In Israel an equally interesting gesture has grown into their culture—cursing in Arabic. Apparently, Israelis simply do not have that sort of repertoire in old or new Hebrew and, like other parts of the world, were attracted to the language of their foes for such moments. But it is not only that—which in itself indicates a hate mixed with love, for one doesn't choose to use and appropriate and make a part of oneself something one feels no relation with. Ben Yehuda, who is a co-author of the world dictionary of Hebrew slang, reminisces in the *Los Angeles Times*:

As children in Palestine, . . . she [Ben Yehuda] and her peers "admired the Arabs. It was almost a kind of sickness. We saw the Arab as noble, as natural. We copied the Arabs. This way we absorbed their worlds." [Reprinted, *Indian Express*, 12 July 1975]

In musing over the Arab-Israeli situation, it would be much more than refreshing if people in general were visualizing not the negotiating obstacles and chances of more war and maneuvering but the potency and beauty realizable in the long waited reunion of these Semitic peoples, whose harmonized vitalities could marshal that entire area into one of the truly great centers of the coming new world.

10 October 1975

REVIEWS

The New Spirit in India, by *H. W. Nevinso*. Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co., 1975. 353 pp., Rs. 75.

The republication of this book is a welcome event. The author, an English Liberal journalist, made a tour of India during the winter of 1907-08 and recorded his impressions of the country and her people in a series of well-written essays. His tour took him from Poona to Madras, from Madras to Orissa and Bengal, and from there to Surat for the historical 1907 session of the Indian National Congress. He then swung back to Benares and the United Provinces and managed to meet Lajpatrai in the Punjab and witness a *darbar*, royal court, in Baroda before sailing back to England, his notebooks crammed with people, places and happenings.

Mr. Nevinso was an Englishman through and through. There was nothing in him of the "Nivedita-type" that could penetrate by intuitive insight the very life of the people. He remained always an observer, an interested outsider, a journalist on assignment. But he was a journalist possessed of some powers of observation, some sensitivity and, wonderful to relate in this age where the press is either dry unto death or slick and "with-it" ad nauseum, gifted with some sense of style. His prose, at once clear and varied, objective and original, is both readable and informative.

Nevinso met with the men that counted, the men whose names filled the newspapers then and are found in the history books today. Among the figures we encounter in these pages are Tilak, Banerjea, Lajpatrai and Sri Aurobindo. Nevinso met the latter in December 1907, just before the Congress session, and he has left a vivid eight page account of the interview.

He was a youngish man, I should think still under thirty.¹ Intent dark eyes looked from his thin, clear-cut face with a gravity that seemed immovable, but the figure and bearing were those of an English graduate. . . .

1. He was, in fact, thirty-five at the time of the interview.

Some of Nevinson's remarks are revealing to the point of prophecy

There is a religious tone, a spiritual elevation, in [the *Bande Mataram*] very characteristic of Arabindo Ghose himself, and of all the Bengali Nationalists, contrasted with the shrewd political judgement of Poona Extremists. In an age of supernatural religion Arabindo would have become what the irreligious mean by a fanatic. He was possessed by that concentrated vision, that limiting and absorbing devotion. . . . Nationalism to him was far more than a political object or a means of material improvement. To him it was surrounded by a mist of glory, the halo that mediaeval saints beheld gleaming around the head of martyrs. Grave with intensity, careless of fate or opinion, and one of the most silent men I have known, he was of the stuff that dreamers are made of, but dreamers who will act their dream, indifferent to the means.

Nevinson's account of the debacle at Surat has become a classic. Quotations from it are found in many biographies and histories of the period. The journalist, finding himself become suddenly that which every reporter dreams of being, a witness and not merely a transcriber of history, rose to the occasion and has left an authentic and vivid description of the dramatic events :

But Mr. Tilak asked for no protection. He stood there with folded arms, defiant, calling on violence to do its worst, calling on violence to move him, for he would move for nothing else in hell or heaven. In front, the white-clad audience roared like a tumultuous sea.

Suddenly something flew through the air — a shoe! — a Mahratta shoe! — reddish leather, pointed toe, sole studded with lead. It struck Surendra Nath Banerjee on the cheek, it cannoned off upon Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. It flew, it fell, and, as at a given signal, white waves of turbaned men surged up the escarpment of the platform. Leaping, climbing, hissing the breath of fury, brandishing long sticks, they came, striking at any head that looked to them Moderate, and in another moment, between brown legs standing on the green-baize table, I caught glimpses of the Indian National Congress dissolving in chaos.

Sri Aurobindo was the president of the Nationalist conferences that took place both before and after the session. Here he is as Nevinson saw him on the day after the Congress was broken:

Grave and silent—I think without a single word—Mr. Arabindo Ghose took the Chair, and sat unmoved, with far-off eyes, as one who gazes at futurity.

But Nevinson, like the others who were present, was not aware of the real making of history at Surat: he did not know whose was the voice that gave the order to break the Congress. This voice was Sri Aurobindo's, but when exactly it was uttered, we do not know. Had he arranged the charge of the Mahratta volunteers beforehand? or was his order given to the Bengal delegates who shouted Surendra Nath off the platform on the first day of the session? or was it given in another, more indirect way? Nevinson, at least, gives no clue.

Next in value to his portraits of the personalities of the time, are the author's descriptions of contemporary conditions in India. These make an unhappy chronicle: plague in Poona, flood in Orissa, famine in the North. Nevinson relates what he saw with a sort of sensitive stoicism, his English stiff upper lip tempered by a genuine feeling for human suffering. But suffering was not all that he saw. Behind the mask of hardship was the face of a new god that was being born, a new spirit whose breath was blowing across the land, a spirit whose word that was being uttered by *Bande Mataram* and *Kesari*, whose force was working through Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission, whose might was lifting up the race and preparing the way of the future.

The winds of the new world have come and gone. The change that they brought has been accomplished, at least in its most extenal form. And if India yet has not found her road to true greatness, she well might turn back for a moment to the age of the new birth.

Peter Heehs

Peter Heehs is a twenty-seven year old American who has been a resident of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram since 1971. The author of Night and Dawn, a recently published collection of poems, he does editorial work for the Sri Aurobindo Ashram Archives and Research Library.

The Key to the Sciences of Man: The "Impossible" Relativity of Value Reactions, by D. G. Garan. New York: Philosophical Library, 1975. 561 pp., \$10.00.

The key to this book is described on the dust jacket, in the foreword, the initiating chapter, in every following chapter and a good number of the remaining pages. Simply, it is that men in all fields of science and human activity must stop fattening human satisfaction which, in floods of instances through modern affluent life, is stimulated to the point of exhaustion and the breakdown of diseases and degeneration. The adjustment for this is the opposite movement, termed a kind of relativity: restricting and opposing the curve of pleasure-based values so they will maintain themselves, and our balance in life, by swimming invigoratingly against the current.

Beginning with a book called *The Paradox of Pleasure and Relativity*, then expanding to the whole field of psychology in *Relativity for Psychology*, Dr. Garan now seeks to apply his idea to a range of problems in psychiatry (and psychology), futuristics, education, genetics, the problems of disease and the art of medicine, art, physics, philosophy and economics, where he confronts some leading authorities in these fields. It would have been more compelling and interesting reading if the author had spent greater energy describing the positive effects his theory would have in examples of mental illness, economic prediction, et al.—rather than devoting most of himself to criticism of each field—for Dr. Garan has moved in a remarkably wide, and sometimes deep, exploration of study.

The question is, of course, how sound is the theory? Certainly no one can thoughtfully disagree with what appears to be an analysis of the lack of balance between selflessly directed effort and pleasure-based satisfaction. The evidence of a swing toward the latter has been sullenly available in the developed West for years. Some of the examples harvested in the author's work are amusingly pointed: asthma specialists realizing that heavy and prolonged exposure to the identified allergens is the most effective cure; 154 incurable mental patients fleeing a devastating bombing raid on their hospital during World War II who all were then able to directly resume normal life in nearby towns. But the belief of the author that a status quo of the human organism, from birth to death, is the basis of the balance; that no subliminal parts of the being have any important effect on human activities; that philosophies and other mental formations have no weight in peoples' motives (which are all physically based); and that only science is capable of instrumenting any progress—these are all considerable ballast on the flight of his argument. Nevertheless his heroically inconsistent humanity counters these principles in various asides of the long and diverse exposition. Some attention directed to Indian psychology and yogic understanding of the planes and parts of the being, which is still probably centuries ahead of the tinkering West, would fill out his admirable inconsistency a little more justly.

The last section, on the future, is wonderfully imaginative. Dr. Garan entertains space travel by "tele-presence" so people could go to other galaxies while physically on earth, the control of time by stopping, expanding or compressing it, the conscious and multiple interaction with living processes that would actualize the power to make new beings as normally as we now move our limbs, and other possibilities including solutions to energy and pollution and population problems.

Despite its scientific exclusivity and physical declarations, the book finds its way toward an integration in the development of consciousness.

Ronald Jorgensen

A writer who also does work of an editorial nature, Mr. Jorgensen contributes the monthly "Currents of Events" review to World Union. His articles on Auroville and on education have appeared in a number of journals since he came to the Sri Aurobindo Ashram five years ago.

FOCUS

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

24 OCTOBER 1975

I can only conclude from the information available to me as secretary-general that the members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts.

**U Thant
9 May 1969**

During the last thirty years fears were often expressed by pessimists that the United Nations might go the way of the League of Nations. At one time there was a move by a few disgruntled nations to create a new organisation, rival to the UN, which happily did not materialise. The UN has survived these years and there are now indications that it will evolve into a stronger body. It came into being on that day of 24 October 1945 when the soul of the human race was stirred by the hardships and sufferings of the Second World War. The Charter of the United Nations, drawn up in the last days of World War II, was given force then.

The United Nations, in spite of obvious weaknesses, defects and failures in its functions and action, represents the highest and boldest stage that aspiration and endeavour have reached towards human unity — so far. It can look back on a record of substantial achievements during these last thirty years. It possesses the possibilities for evolution into a world authority if its statesmen become inhabited with the right attitudes and make a serious effort for that growth and evolution.

The UN is a reflection of the unity underlying a universe in which the One has become many. It is, therefore, an en route result of the truth of unity struggling to manifest itself in the life of the earth. We know that in the present state of human consciousness there is always a wide gap between ideal and practice in individual, group, national or world life.

November 1975

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The failures of the UN reflect the attitude of its member states who hardly accept the interests of the human race as superior to the interests of any national state and who hardly hesitate to hurt the interests of the UN in order to serve selfish interests of a nation.

Just as the world has greatly changed since 1945, so has the United Nations. Its membership has risen from 51 to 142. In non-political matters a great deal has been done by allied agencies such as UNESCO, FOA, WHO and ILO. In characterizing the UN, we should remember it is not a super-state but is merely meant to bring about cooperation among nations; a task which it has largely succeeded in on many occasions, particularly in non-political matters.

Without the UN there could not have been a Declaration of Human Rights as early as 10 December 1948, or such wide support for women's and children's rights — though the UN has no power to assure these rights yet. In a number of cases' potential conflicts, the procedures of UN conciliation and mediation have helped in averting armed action and in arranging settlements. It will not be an exaggeration to say that without the UN the world would have perhaps failed to stand clear of a third great war. An important role of UN responsibility helped carry the independence of many dominated territories and UN trusts into the light of reality. It is by world public opinion generated through the UN that colonialism has nearly been liquidated. To supplement the efforts of less developed countries for economic and social progress, it has set up multilateral technical assistance programmes. There are about four dozen organs and inter-governmental agencies related to the UN in which delegations of the member states meet and discuss atomic energy for peaceful purposes, disarmament, refugee solutions, human rights, women's rights, solutions of economic difficulties on regional bases, relief to children, international law and conventions for international conduct, wide varieties of technical assistance and UN development decades, labour problems, world food supply and increased agricultural production, educational and scientific and cultural matters, maintenance of ancient cultural monuments, world health, abolition of racial discrimination, problems of world environment, various peace keeping operations and emergency peace forces, world population, sea and sea bed problems, disasters requiring humanitarian assistance, agencies and organisations for providing financial assistance to developing countries and means for their rapid development, international trade, global telecommunications, planetary meteorology and many other subjects — a most substantial and impressive roster of cooperative activities.

It is now time for world statesmen to make serious, persistent efforts to clear the deliberations and decisions of the UN and its organs and specialised agencies from power politics and its spheres of influence, from the selfish interests of any nationalities; to determine that these decisions reflect the truth of the situation and the intrinsic qualities of the subjects handled. There should be a conscious and deliberate effort to initiate dialogue and avoid confrontations wherever differences irritate member states, because the ultimate aim, of course, is to evolve cooperation among all nations for the common good of

humanity. It is a happy sign that the recent general assembly session involved such a deliberate effort to introduce dialogue between the rich and poor nations for the just sharing of world wealth and for moving towards a new, fair economic order. Such attitudes will help in creating an atmosphere of confidence in the UN; its further growth and power will be accepted, beneficial.

The time has come for the UN to concentrate on the rule of law for governing relations between nations, and for the enforcement of human rights and the protection of individual freedom. The International Court of Justice has done a good deal of useful work towards such a development but its work has been greatly hampered by the refusal of most nations to submit important political disputes to its jurisdiction. For the rule of law to govern international relations and human rights to be properly respected and enforced, adequate provision should be made in the charter of the UN to arm the International Court of Justice with the necessary powers.

If the world is to live in peace and every country in the world is to have a reasonable sense of security against acts of aggression by its neighbours or other powerful countries, and if we desire to build a spirit of concord among the nations on a basis of lasting peace, the UN must develop itself into a true and effective custodian of peace. As a first step, it must devise means to at once detect acts of aggression — wherever they are committed — and dissolve them with an adequately powerful international police force to which all member states must contribute their due. This could be one of the most effective guarantees of the rule of law adjudicated by the International Court of Justice.

There is already a growing number of individuals who consider themselves to be citizens of the world. Therefore the UN now ought to devise methods to confer on them special international privileges without abrogating in any way their rights as national citizens.

All the steps mentioned here will contribute to the growth of the UN. Further, they are useful and necessary until the truth of the spirit leads humanity to a higher state of collective consciousness for reaching the goal of a true, living world union.

ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITY

World Union Centres

Asansol A good part of the day of India's independence and Sri Aurobindo's birth, August 15th, was spent in oratorical activity by which the Asansol centre attracted young participants from schools and colleges of the local area. The orators were offered a choice of two subjects, one dealing with India's role in world unity and the other with women's

role in it. Apparently such orations are very beneficial for students' development, in English, of thought in subjects not presently included in their curricula. (Presiding: Professor Dibyendra Mitra; special guest: Sri Jayraman; speaking: Sri Kalyanmoy Mukherjee.)

The centre held its regular monthly meeting on 6 September; the second monthly meeting of its new women's wing occurred on September 12th and was occupied with plans for new projects. (Presiding: S. R. Guha; speaking: Sri R. C. Chatterjee, Sri S. N. Nag. Women's wing: presiding: Smt. Gita Neogi.)

Bangalore Their meeting of October 5th was held specifically to decide a long-range work, and a very thorough preparation was made for this decision. First a working paper, based on the conclusions of last June's national convention of World Union centres, was read; then the selection criteria were worked through—priority, feasibility, adaptability, viability or resiliency, "cost" effectiveness (that is, will the result be worth the effort?) and relevance to the aims and purposes of World Union. A unanimous decision was reached, after discussing many projects, to begin a cooperative medical and health centre in the city. (Presiding: Sri P. V. Rajagopal).

Butwal, Nepal In two weekly meetings on the 13th and 20th of September, the centre initiated a contact with Lucknow University's Sitaram Jayaswal, a professor in education, for opening a teacher's training centre in Uttar Pradesh and holding a seminar at Lucknow on education. Related to discussion on the meaning of world union, Sri M. C. Bharah read some passages from his writings on oneness which played on the expansion of individual mental consciousness beyond all natural barriers of group, traditions and religions. (Talks: Sri S. K. Rattan).

Chaibasa A devotee of Sri Ramakrishna presided during the 15th September weekly meeting, which ran for a full two and a half hours to accomodate the discussion ignited by Sri Samar Basu's talk. He explored the unusual world situation all of us find ourselves in and described the decisive part India must take in moving it toward world union. Professors, advocates, social thinkers, students and other interested persons formed an active audience.

In addition to regular meetings, the Chaibasa centre has recently begun gathering on Sundays to read, study and discuss the small, concentrated book, *Bases of Yoga*, by Sri Aurobindo. (Presiding: Sri Sukumar Sarker; devotional song: Sri Gaur Pada Chatterjee.)

Eastern Region Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, October 2nd, brought the centres of the Eastern Region to the hall of Uttarpara Jaikrishna Public Library, where Sri Aurobindo delivered his famous Uttarpara speech in 1909. Student members of the centres conducted a symposium, entitled *The Future Evolution of Man As Envisioned by Sri Aurobindo*, while adults listened. They organised the symposium into four stages: (1) *What We Have Been In the Past: From Matter to Mind* (explained by Sri Diptendu Sakhar Bhattacharya of

Chinsurah centre); (2) What We Have Become at Present: The Rational Age (explained by Konnagar centre's Km. Shikka Pal); (3) What We Shall Be in the Future: The Subjective Age and the Spiritualised Society (Km. Urminala Ghosh, Konnagar centre); and (4) How We Shall Build That Future: The Necessity and Practice of Yoga (Sri Purnendu Ghosh, Chananagar centre). (Devotional songs of Rabindranath Tagore: Km. Aparna Choudhury.)

New Alipur An exchange has begun with the local Sri Satya Sai Baba Centre, whose Poor Medical Clinic receives the offering of Dr. S Mukherjee's services. Dr. Mukherjee, the chairman of the New Alipur centre, in return hosts the attendance of Sai Baba members at regular World Union discussion meetings. They are also using the centre's mobil library, and the centre offers money to the Sai Baba clothing distribution service for the poor.

Although they have begun a women's wing which alternates on a weekly schedule with the regular meetings, all meet together with other persons who are interested in Sri Aurobindo's vision once a month at a place called the Unity Centre. In a recent Unity Centre meeting, a decision was taken to communicate Sri Aurobindo's karmayoga and related ideas to different trade unions, in a non-political way. Already several different organisations have responded favourably and now are invited to the Unity Centre to exchange views.

The regular and women's wing meetings have been the scene of instructions and discussions on silencing the mind, developing body consciousness, methods of meditation and concentration, and the philosophical background for these efforts.

North Calcutta After several minutes of group concentration with recorded organ music of the Mother, the September 20th monthly meeting began. A women's wing, youth wing and children's group have all been initiated by the North Calcutta centre, and this evening arrangements were assured to provide some weekly education for the children's group. The women's wing has opened what seems to be a regular programme of sports and games, and the youth wing offered a recitation programme. Several persons read their own poems and one member offered her own musical composition. (Inaugurating: Sri T. K. Sinha; presiding: Sri Samar Basu; talks: Sm. Anita Bose, Sri Samar Basu, readings: Sri Sujit Kumar Palit; devotional songs: Sri Robi Ghosh.)

Rishra, Shillong, Vikhrol Shillong centre reports a very rich observation of World Union Day on August 20th, which attracted a feature broadcast of All India Radio. Speeches, a student essay competition, a swimming event, devotional songs, and readings characterized the activities of these centres.

Changes

Eastern Region The executive committee of the West Bengal state council was

elected on September 8th. Chairman: Sri Sailendra Nath Roy Chowdhury; vice chairman: Dr. G. R. Mitra; secretary: Sri T. K. Sinha; members: Sri Samiran Ghosh, Sri Samar Basu.

Konnagar These are the new officers elected on 14 September: president: Sri Subodh Chandra Guha; assistant secretary: Sri Asit Kumar Chakraborty.

New Life Members

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 240. Dr. Ambalal Shanabhai Patel | Amul Dairy
Amul Dairy Road
Anand
Kaira District, Gujarat 388001 |
| 241. Mrs. Meher K. Master | 1 Alexandra Road
Poona 411001 |
| 242. Smt. Jayaben G. Shukla | Arya Mahal, 5th floor
"C" Road, Churchgate
Bombay 400020 |
| 243. Dr. J. B. Mehta | Plot 80, Block 5
Chandra Niwas
Sion, Bombay 400022 |
| 244. Dr. (Miss) Geeta C. Shah | Geeta Mandir
Baroda, Gujarat 390004 |
| 245. Smt. Dayalaxmi B. Choksl | 65 Sibylle Apartment
Worli Hill Estate, Bombay-18 |

General Secretary
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*A world union based on the fact of human unity
realising the truth of the Spirit*



EDITOR: M. P. PANDIT

EDITORIAL

Detente

It was wise of the American secretary of state not to have yielded in any way to the Chinese clamour for abandoning the movement of detente between the West and the Soviet Union. The very fact that the Chinese are exercised about it is proof that detente is having some wholesome effect, at least enough to interfere with their plans for the worldwide encouragement of revolution.

Those who have observed events in the USSR from the years before the Second World War know how much things have thawed after contacts were established between the West and the Soviet Union. The sustained attempt to promote interchange with the Communist block at various levels has given a certain leverage to the democratic forces to influence, to however mild an extent, the trends in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Some Western advocates of detente have spoken of the benefits of gulliverisation and colanderisation. The series of measures that have been taken by the West to establish links with the Communist leviathan are likened to the innumerable threads woven around the giant Gulliver. Similarly, the large number of holes that have been made in the Iron Curtain allow a certain flow; and these openings will enlarge and increase with time.

The important thing has been and is to acquire, maintain, and multiply contacts in an abnormal situation. The process of mutual openness must not be allowed to be slowed down by the petulance of the hard core elements within the Soviet Union or in the Peoples Republic of China. At stake is not just a strategic adjustment of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union; detente has obvious worldwide implications and effects. The stronger and wiser party can afford to concede some points of contention in the larger interests of humanity. Detente must continue, be extended, and gain momentum.

The Next Future

Amidst the universal crash of values that continues relentlessly, it is natural that some should give thought to what it is all leading to. Among them

are prophets of doom whom we leave out of our purview. There are others who study world trends and seek to know in what direction humanity is moving or is moved. Some look into the distant future, some into the immediate or impending future. What does the future of tomorrow and the day after hold? That is the question being asked constantly and the answers given are bewildering in their variety. To study this question in depth is the objective set before the fifth triennial conference of World Union International, scheduled to meet in early January 1977 in consideration of the theme, The Next Future.

Naturally the future which interests us is the emerging, immediate future that concerns man. Accordingly it is proposed to approach the subject in terms of the four soul-powers of man, the integrated development of which constitutes his progress and proper evolution. These powers or psychological aspects, broadly stated, are Knowledge, Power, Harmony, and Service. All the diverse fields of his life and lines of growth lend themselves to be grouped under one or more of these heads. A functional means of approach has been tentatively arranged for purposes of the discussion. We invite our members and all those interested to participate in the proceedings in the fullest manner open to them; please see the "Focus" section of this issue for a more detailed announcement.

M.P.P.

DECLARATION OF INTER-DEPENDENCE: A NEEDED REVISION

Magoroh Maruyama

Next year, the United States will celebrate the bicentennial anniversary of her Declaration of Independence. Traditionally the centennial, the bicentennial or any multi-centennial anniversary was dedicated to the perpetuation of the past, or of the principles established in the past.

But in the future, such anniversaries may very well become an occasion for examining whether the principles established in the past might have become obsolete and should be replaced by new principles. Indeed, in recent years it has become increasingly clear that many of the philosophical, ethical, social and political principles which have been taken for granted as "good" in Western civilization are by now obsolete and need to be revised or replaced. The concept *independence* is an example. Historically it was born as a reaction against a hierarchical system. However, it turned out to be the other side of the same coin called "the western logic". It became and was meant to become the basis for competition, exploitation, ethnocentrism, internal homogenization, external missionaryism, and disregard for the heterogeneity, harmony and interrelatedness of diverse elements in the universe. As we painfully witness daily, it has already considerably damaged our world not only ecologically and biologically but also psychologically, socially, culturally and ethically.

What is the alternative? It does not help to flip the same coin over and over, such as instituting another form of totalitarianism or attempting world homogenization, which many of the futurists advocate. We need to consider a different type of logic: the logic of heterogeneity, interrelatedness, non-hierarchical network, mutuality, harmony and symbiosis. This seems obvious and is easy to say. Yet it is very difficult for most of the Westerners to digest and live this type of logic fully.

There are historical and philosophical reasons why it is difficult for the Western cultures to adopt heterogenistic principles in their society. By Western cultures I mean the European cultures, including East European cultures and Russian cultures, and the emigrated European cultures in Canada, U.S.A., Australia, South Africa, Latin America and elsewhere. On the other hand, by non-Western cultures I mean not necessarily Asian cultures, but also original African cultures, Eskimo cultures, and the native cultures of Australia, the North

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and South American continents. I am not including Islamic cultures and cultures of India, because they are in many respects akin to the Western cultures when compared to the African cultures, the Native American cultures or the Japanese culture. Let us also stress that even among what I call non-Western cultures there are many differences. The Chinese logic, even though considered typically oriental by Westerners, is much closer to the Greek logic than the Japanese logic or the Navajo logic. Similarly, also among the Western cultures there are many variations. The Danish way of thinking has much oriental flavor compared to that of the Swedes or the French.

In this article we have no time to go into the fascinating details of these cultural differences, but let us take up the following basic point: The Western cultures are strongly influenced by what is called the Greek logic, that is to say the component of the Greek philosophies which was taken up and elaborated upon by medieval European scholars and later European philosophers. Let us again remind ourselves that there were many Greek philosophers who did not subscribe to what we now call the Greek logic.

What we call Greek logic has the following characteristics: homogenistic and universalistic with the assumption that the same principles should apply to all; deductive and hierarchical; competitive and often quantitative; believing in one source and one right answer; advocating "unity by similarity" and seeing diversity as source of conflict; monotheistic.

What is a non-Greek logic? The Westerners tend to assume that it must be non-hierarchical and therefore must be anarchic, individualistic, egocentric and chaotic. But to think so is only a deduction based on the Greek logic. In fact, such deduction was used by the medieval European philosophers who tried to oppose the universalistic philosophy. They advocated what is called nominalism, a philosophy which recognizes individuals, and only individuals, as reality. But the nominalism is the other side of the same coin, the Greek logic.

There are other philosophies based on other logics. Among them is the heterogenistic, symbiotic philosophy which corresponds to the biological processes and is therefore more scientific than either the homogenistic or the individualistic philosophy. Consider the following. The animals convert oxygen into carbon dioxide, and the plants convert carbon dioxide into oxygen. They do exactly the opposite. Yet they do not conflict. On the contrary, they help each other. The richness of life in the tropical rain forest or in coral reef is possible thanks to the heterogeneity of the species living there. If all animals were to eat the same food, there would be food shortage and life would be impossible. Heterogeneity also assures richer evolution and higher probability of survival in ecological and environmental changes. An African philosopher put it very aptly: "If you force people to be similar, the only way left for them to be different is to get on top of one another. This creates conflicts" (9).

For a clearer overview, let us make a table of the characteristics of these different types of philosophies. This is an oversimplified table and is overly categorical, prepared for those who are used to categorical thinking. But there are many non-categorical logics, and for those who think in non-categorical logics, this table is unnecessary.

TABLE 1

	Homogenistic thinking	Individualistic thinking	Heterogenistic thinking
Philosophy:	Universalism: Abstraction has higher reality than concrete things. Organismic: The parts should be subordinated to the whole.	Nominalism: Only the individual elements are real. Society is merely an aggregate of individuals.	Network: What characterizes society is the nature of inter-relations which the individuals develop among themselves.
Logic:	Deductive. Axiomatic.	Inductive. Statistical.	Complementarity. Interrelations.
Ethics:	Competitive	Isolationist	Symbiotic
Esthetic principle:	Unity by similarity and repetition. Symmetry, dominant theme and subthemes.	Random. Capricious. Haphazard.	Harmony of diverse elements. Avoidance of repetition. Asymmetry.
Religion:	Monotheism. Creator and prime mover. Omnipotent, omniscient and perfect god. Missionary work to convert others (belief in superiority of own religion).	Individual beliefs.	Polytheistic harmonism.
Diversity seen as:	Source of conflict	Unrelated	Resources, enrichment, mutual benefit, necessity.
Uniformity seen as:	Basic and desirable	Irrelevant	Impoverishment, decrease of resources, and consequent competition.

I mentioned briefly that the heterogenistic thinking is more scientific than the homogenistic thinking. I would like to elaborate a little on this point. The three types of thinking correspond to three paradigms in science, as follows:

TABLE 2
SCIENTIFIC PARADIGMS

	One-way causal paradigm	Random process paradigm	Mutual causal paradigm
Causality:	Two things cannot cause each other. Cause-effect relations may be deterministic or probabilistic (conditional probability.)	Each event is independent and has its own probability. Non-random patterns and structures are improbable, and tend to decay.	Many things may cause one another. There are many causal loops in the universe. Mutual causal processes can generate and maintain patterns, such as evolution and morphogenesis.
Information:	Past and future inferable from present, either deterministically or probabilistically	Information decays and gets lost. Blueprint must contain more information than finished product.	Structures and new information can be generated by differentiation-amplifying mutual causal processes without preestablished blueprint.
Cosmology:	Predetermined or almost predetermined universe.	Decaying universe.	Self-generating and self-organizing universe.
Research hypothesis and research strategy:	Dissimilar results must have been caused by dissimilar conditions. Differences must be traced to conditions producing them.	There is probability distribution. Find out probability distribution.	Dissimilar results may come from similar conditions due to network of mutual differentiation-amplification. Similar results may occur from dissimilar conditions due to network of mutual deviation-counteracting. Analyze the network rather than the initial conditions.
Perception:	Categorizing	Isolating	Contextual
Knowledge:	Belief in existence of one truth. If people are informed, they will agree.	Why bother to learn beyond one's own interest.	Poly-ocular: Binocular vision enables us to see three-dimensionally, because the differential between two images enables the brain to compute the invisible dimension. Cross-subjective analysis enables us to see dimensions invisible in monocular vision.

Let me emphasize again that the preceding tables were oversimplified schematic presentations. In actuality, there are more complex details and interrelations, which I discussed elsewhere (8). The categories used in the previous tables should not be taken too categorically. If we take them too categorically, we will be ourselves falling into the trap in which the hierarchists now find themselves.

The contents of the preceding tables were to a great extent self-explanatory, with the exception of the mutual causal paradigm which requires some additional discussion because of its recent history and ramifications.

Within the Western thinking, the mutual causal paradigm has become scientifically recognized only in the 1940s when mathematical sophistication occurred in the study of various feedback systems such as radar-controlled antiaircraft artillery and servomechanisms. Until then, the Western logic prohibited the formal formulation of causal loops, and the paradigm of one-way causality had dominated the Western thinking for almost 2,500 years, even though there were exceptions from time to time (2,3,8).

Since 1940, the mutual causal paradigm has undergone a series of developments. Its first phase was in the 1940s and 1950s, when the efforts were concentrated on the deviation-counteracting, stabilizing mutual causal processes such as homeostasis, morphostasis and servomechanism. Its second phase has been from around 1960 to present, when differentiation-amplifying mutual causal processes gained scientists' attention.

During the first phase, there was an increasing realization that Shannon's information theory formulated in 1948 was inadequate. Shannon's information theory per se had nothing to do with mutual causal paradigm. In fact, it was based on random process paradigm in the sense that it assumed the basic state of the universe to be homogeneity, and considered heterogeneous structures as unusual occurrences, which tend to decay into homogeneity under the influence of random noise. In Shannon's formulation, nothing can grow.

It was gradually recognized that what increases structures, differentiation heterogeneity in such processes as evolution was another type of mutual causal processes. For example, there is a species of moth and a species of bird which feeds on it. More camouflaged mutants of the moth survive better, and the mutants of the bird who are more capable of finding the camouflaged moths survive better. Therefore the moth gets more and more camouflaged generation after generation, and the bird gets more and more capable of finding the camouflaged moth. This type of mutual causal processes was named "deviation-amplifying mutual causal process", "morpho-genesis", "positive feedback systems", etc. (1, 2, 3, 4). In 1960, Stanislaw Ulam has mathematically formulated that simple rules of interaction can generate complex patterns, and that it takes more "information" to describe the finished patterns than to describe the generating rules (5). In other words, the amount of information as defined by Shannon's formula can grow in mutual causal processes.

Independent from this direction of thinking, there was another school of thought which attempted to explain growth of information. This school (6, 7) pursued "noise" as a source of new information, since it was assumed that new information could not come from anywhere else. For example, random trial and error can result in "success" once in a while.

By accumulating such successes, one can make a pattern or a structure grow. Similarly, noise can be selectively accumulated to produce information. This paradigm is philosophically quite different from the differentiation-amplifying mutual causal paradigm. The former is more concerned about where the "stuff" (something like raw material, but in informational sense rather than in material sense) comes from, assuming that there must be some input of the stuff. The latter, on the other hand, is not concerned about the supply input. It looks for the generating process from within. The condensation theory in astronomy may be taken as an example. According to this theory, at the beginning the universe consisted of homogeneous distribution of gas. But the gas molecules began to come closer at some places due to mutual attraction, and astronomical bodies were formed, making the universe less homogeneous. If we consider the whole universe as a closed system, this theory proposes increase of heterogeneity without any "input" from outside.

The mutual causal paradigm so far has become able to explain growth of patterns, heterogeneity and information. The next problem to be studied is the process of symbiotization once heterogeneity has been generated. This is particularly important in our planning process. In recent years we have seen rise of diversity and demand for diversity in our society. But we have not worked out the methods to find symbiotic combinations of heterogeneous elements. Suppose individual A has three ways a_1 , a_2 , and a_3 to implement his goal; individual B has two ways b_1 and b_2 to implement his goal. Then there are 3 times 2 or 6 different alternative combinations between the two individuals. Some of these combinations may be symbiotic, while other combinations may not be. For a greater number of individuals, the number of combinations becomes enormous. Perhaps there are individuals who cannot be put into the same network because no symbiotic combinations between them can be found. The selection of symbiotic combinations and the selection of networks for each individual require some methodology, which we do not yet have. The next phase of the mutual causal paradigm will be to develop such methodologies.

Thanks to the development of the mutual causal paradigm, it has become clear that the basic principle of the biological, social and even some physical processes is increase of heterogeneity and symbiotization.

The significance of the development of multiculturalism becomes clear when we realize that heterogenistic principles are more scientific than homogenistic principles, and that the Western cultures have been trapped in the homogenistic philosophy for 2,500 years.

The principle of majority rule amounts to domination by quantity, and is based on the homogenistic principles. Under the majority rule system, individuals are encouraged and even required to "vote" for his own interest or for the interest of his faction, disregarding the considerations for others. The statistical tabulation of the votes is supposed to make the system democratic. Of course this is a fallacy. When this fallacy is understood, the Westerners inevitably propose a system of consensus as the alternative. But this alternative is again homogenistic. The heterogenistic way is to *eliminate hardship upon any one individual* while allowing for diversity, and to develop methods to find combinations and channelings of diverse elements which will result in symbiosis, as discussed above.

At the same time it is crucial that each person in the system can see the points of view of other persons with *their* logic, not his. It is no longer sufficient for each person to vote for his own interest only.

In a heterogenistic society, it is each citizen's responsibility to actively seek to understand others' logics. It is no longer permissible to passively wait for others to speak up in your own form of expression, because others may have different forms of expression and different modes of communication.

But mutual understanding between persons who use different logics is often an illusory matter. Quite often a person believes that he "understands" other persons, while in fact he is only reducing their thinking into his own logic. This is called dimension reduction.

Dimension reduction occurs when a person converts someone else's paradigms into the dimensions available in his own paradigm. The conversion may or may not produce an internally consistent "explanation". When it does, the person is likely to be convinced that the explanation is the right explanation, even if it is incorrect.

When the interpretation is internally consistent, he most likely deludes himself into thinking that he has understood the other person. "I understand you perfectly, but you keep saying that I don't understand you" is a typical statement made in such situations.

On the other hand, when the dimension reduction produces an internally inconsistent interpretation, the person doing the dimension reduction tends to think that the fault is in the other person, and tends to consider the latter to be illogical, unintelligent, insincere or deceptive.

In order to avoid dimension reduction, one must learn to think in other persons' logics. One must put himself in the *head* (not shoes) of other persons. This is called trans-spection. There are many cultures in which the training for trans-spection is built into their social system. An African philosopher writes: "During the course of his life the individual goes through several phases of his life. Adolescents are assigned certain tasks to perform in the society, young adults perform other tasks. In the yearly 30s the men assume the administrative responsibilities of the society. Their roles are often misinterpreted by Western scholars as those of 'chiefs'. The function they assume, however, is not that of authority but that of caretakers. They must do all the worrying for other people, but they have no special privileges. In the late 30s the men retire from this heavy responsibility, and take up other functions. Old persons are respected for their wisdom because they have gone through many phases of life. Heterogeneity and change are two complementary principles and are the origin of harmony. This is because a person who has gone through different experiences can understand different situations and different types of individuals. The members of our tribe are skeptical of westernization for two reasons. On the one hand, they suspect that some homogenization will result from westernization. On the other hand, they fear that specialization brought about by westernization will lock each person into one task and one function, and this prevents him from going through other types of experiences, and consequently makes him incapable of seeing the situation from another person's point of view" (9).

A further explanation is needed here. Westerners often say: "You must see things from different sides" or "you must see things from different perspectives". Such notions, when based on the Western logic, are different from what is meant by the Mandenka. Westerners reason that many eyes can see more because each eye may see a side which other eyes cannot see. But this misses the whole point of poly-ocular vision. The binocular vision works, but not because the two eyes see different sides of an object, but because the *differential* between the two images enables the brain to compute a third dimension which is invisible to both eyes.

Moreover, Westerners have the compulsion to ask which image is right and which is wrong, or to stick to "what is common to all", or to seek "universals". This procedure will miss ninety-nine per cent of the richness of our world. Our greatest resource—cultural and social as well as material—lies in the diversity in the world, and the symbiotic relations which are possible only when there is diversity. Symbiosis is a positive-sum game, while competition or independence is a zero-sum game or negative-sum game. This is why we must replace the declaration of *independence* by a declaration of *interdependence*.

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DREAMS

Three Poems

*Obeissance of love and a soul's white pain,
The flaming poignancy of an unborn dream—
Like a dawn muted by remnants of night—
Illumes with passion softly the future's body
And wakes the burning promise occult in sorrow.*

*

*Fallen through the night, a yellow shadow
Of flowers lies beneath early morning
Trees, a brilliant and inviolate shade.*

*

*A master-soul, a white storm of delight
And equipoise, he divinely disturbs and inspires
With the breath of a life singly pure, intense,
Supremely given as is constant rain
Which pours itself into original seas,
Or a moon in full reflection of twin, perfect suns.*

Tatsat

NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTINGENCIES AND SOME OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Henry Winthrop

1. International Change and the Breakdown of World Order

International transformation is occurring today at a pace that is clearly too great for most of mankind to grasp. This statement applies not only to the average man but likewise to the world's leaders. It probably applies also to specialists and scholars in such areas as the formulation and conduct of foreign policy, international relations, international trade, international diplomacy, international law, international politics, the international economy, military policy, and many other areas too numerous to mention here. What Alvin Toffler has called "future shock"¹—the tendency for emerging attributes of the future of the human condition to

thrust the bare beginnings of their future expression into the present—is today impacting upon human consciousness in a manner that is disorganizing human thought and perspective.

A host of new global contingencies, affecting the relations between nations have become clearly observable to most men. They became visible only because in 1972 and 1973 these contingencies reached such an intensity of expression that they changed from what was previously a quantitative status affecting special-interest groups to a qualitative status in which they began to affect visibly the day to day conditions of the average man. The world's shortage of raw materials plus the dizzying rise in their price structures constitutes one example of this type of new contingency.

A second type of global contingency—one that is almost wholly new and one that affects the relations between nations—is the surprising appearance of military revolutionaries of leftist rather than rightist persuasion. The military leaders of the armies of Portugal and Ethiopia are two cases in point. Contingencies of this type are almost wholly new, since they make a sharp break with the recent past. The Russian Revolution of 1917 showed, of course, that at least a fraction of the military, in certain crises, could be persuaded to move leftward, but

1. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), 505 pp.

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this has not been the typical case for most military revolutions or military takeovers. In the overwhelming number of cases of military intervention since the end of World War II, during periods of national crises, the role of the military has usually been a backward-looking one. In its mildest form that role has been conservative. At other times it has been clearly authoritarian without an ideology. Often it is openly tyrannical, oppressive and murderous towards its opponents. On still other occasions military intervention has been explicitly protofascist or unmistakably fascist as with Franco and the Falangistas of the Spanish Civil War. Today, however, we are observing the beginnings of a reversal of the usual role of the military—a reversal that is unmistakably expressing some form of a Marxist outlook. In Bell's famous volume on the post-World War II world²—that world which Bell has christened the "post-industrial society"—one would be hard put to discover any recognition on this distinguished author's part of the military eventuality that we have just emphasized.

The hundreds of international transformations that are taking place throughout the world today are making the tasks of achieving world unity, international understanding, and world brotherhood, almost impossible. Genuine international brotherhood should clearly appear in secular terms that express a willingness to share global resources and finished goods in a new form of division of the world's wealth, that is, Gross World Product or GWP. Such a new form of global allocation of nature's bounty and man's artifacts would constitute a new state of dis-

tributive justice on the international level—an international state of well-being that would satisfy some of the constraints of distributive justice described by Rescher.^{3,4} In addition, international brotherhood requires expression in the form of increasing international cooperation. But international cooperation today—under the impact of our new global contingencies—is being honored more in the breach than in the observance.

Clearly it is imperative that the average man have some familiarity with our new global contingencies if he is to move towards a higher level of international understanding. Unfortunately people today pay lip service to the importance of international understanding, but what they actually do in the way of enriching their understanding concerning international issues is another matter entirely. What most people seem to have been interested in up till now are such matters as (1) the Vietnamese War, (2) anecdotes about life in the USSR, Japan, Cuba or Israel, etc., (3) internationally known personalities, such as Mao Tse-Tung, Charles de Gaulle or Haile Selassie. In addition, the cinema, television and other mass media have generated an interest in (4) stories of international intrigue a la James Bond, 007, or what we might call the "cops and robbers" game on the international level, (5) spy stories a la Hollywood and similar types of phantasies. None of these lend themselves to any real measure of international understanding.

2. Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 507 pp.

3. Nicholas Rescher, *Distributive Justice: A Constructive Critique of the Utilitarian Theory of Distribution* (Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1968), 166 pp.

4. Nicholas Rescher, *Welfare: The Social Issues in Philosophical Perspective* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 186 pp.

In the effort to teach international understanding, obviously there is great value in learning systematically about a given culture, say that of Brazil, or taking a course in international communism in which one studies the USSR or the Peoples Republic of China. But even here the gain will be limited because the more realistic approaches that will generate international understanding lie in quite different directions. These approaches are of two kinds: (1) factual situations, on the one hand, and (2) theoretical, philosophical and speculative matters, on the other. In the first of these two categories lie most of those contingencies that are leading to international social change. In the second of these two categories lie all those approaches to international understanding that seek to confer meaning upon the myriad social and cultural variations among nations by one or another type of intellectual organization, theoretical patterning or suggestive interpretation. Examples of this latter that come immediately to mind will be found in the work of Northrop⁵ or Wagar⁶. The present paper will represent an effort to deal only with some of the contingencies in the first category.

In the first category lie those new global contingencies that have created a new world that is very much different from the mental models that most people possess of the international system. Part of the effort to achieve international understanding today will involve the task of becoming familiar with some of these new contingencies. One finds the need

5. F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), 531 pp.

6. W. Warren Wagar, *The City of Man: Prophecies of a World Civilization in Twentieth-Century Thought* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), 310 pp.

to dedicate oneself to this task recognized over a whole spectrum of publications, from the *Newsletter* of the Union of International Associations⁷ to so popular and earthy a journal, strictly intended for laymen, as *U.S. News & World Report*.⁸ Let us turn, then, to a discussion of some of these contingencies.

2. Some New World Contingencies Related to the Achievement of Improved International Understanding

A. Ecological Contingencies

Perhaps the most pressing, worldwide

7. The Union of International Association issues a *Newsletter* that is concerned with the ongoing production of a yearbook of *World Problems, Integrative Disciplines and Human Development*. As of June 1975, four issues of the *Newsletter* had already appeared. Two other organizations are cooperating with the Union of International Associations on this project, namely, Mankind 2000 and the Center for Integrative Studies, under John McHale, at the State University of New York at Binghamton.

The editors of the *Newsletter* feel that healthy individual development is inextricably associated with healthy international development and the achievement of world unity. They feel, however, that it is rare to find sources that show authentic knowledge of the meaning of personal growth. They cite, however, a few of these sources. One is the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* of which the present author is one of the founding fathers and with whose editorial board he is affiliated. In addition, two edited volumes are cited, containing chapters by the present author. There is some satisfaction in noting that one's work on human development is recognized as complementing one's interests in international studies, international relationships and the task of achieving world unity and world union.

8. It is interesting to note that this journal recognizes the practicality of the work being done in this connection by contemporary futurists who are explicitly recognizing and studying these new contingencies. See in this connection the following: "World Perils Ahead—but 'Humanity Will Survive'", *U.S. News & World Report* 78, no. 25 (June 23, 1975) 64-5.

contingency today is the task of preserving our common human environment. That environment is the natural womb of life for all nations. The task of preserving this environment of nations has made us recognize that we are really faced with a "nest" of ecological problems. The major problems in this nest are well known. They include the following goals: (1) reducing and controlling air and water pollution throughout the world; (2) reducing, recycling and controlling industrial waste and, hopefully, perhaps, finding a practical method for using human waste, much as the Chinese did in the past when they employed human waste as a natural fertilizer; (3) whether or not this second goal proves feasible—making certain that the water we drink and the beaches we use for swimming do not prove to be sources of disease and infection; (4) preserving the web of life in nature, which is to say, ensuring the conservation of plants and animals, preventing the unnecessary extinction of species, and protecting the delicate balance between the flora and fauna of the natural landscape, that is, of forest, field and stream; (5) controlling the amount of radiation fallout in the human environment—due chiefly, but not solely, to the testing of nuclear weapons—so as not only to reduce the risk of death, illness, poor health and food contamination from this source, but also to prevent those transformations of the human gene pool that will lead to the physical deterioration of the race; and (6) a coordinated international effort to control the world's population in an effort to avoid those dilemmas and tragedies that were brought into focus a long time ago by Matthus.

These six ecological contingencies are matters with which most people today, throughout the world, are familiar. There are

many more environmental contingencies, a good many of which we are unaccustomed to think of as environmental. These too are problems for the technologically advanced countries of the globe and, derivatively, for all other nations, too. Among these are the following: (1) increasing the energy resources of the world and husbanding them rather than wasting them on unnecessary or questionable activities; (2) a more intelligent use of land that is becoming increasingly scarce, particularly in relation to the earth's growing population, which is to say, better management of scarce land in relation to an appropriate order of priorities and the achievement of some sort of consistency among these priorities; (3) the control of environmental noise so as to avoid stress and some of the medical morbidity associated with noise that chronically assails the human being; (4) chemicals and toxins in our processed foods, in livestock that are prepared for human consumption and in fruits and vegetables that have been contaminated with insecticides, pesticides, fungicides and herbicides used in crop control; and (5) chemicals that have proven toxic to industrial workers and miners and which, in some cases, spread to the immediate environment of a factory or mine causing toxicoses and deaths, primarily in children and animals but also in adults who live in the vicinity of the factory or mine.

All the preceding conditions and several others we have not mentioned, constitute the nest of environmental problems that are, in many cases, international in scope and have to be treated as part of a set of international ecological contingencies demanding international understanding and cooperation.

Perhaps the most farseeing concept in connection with an effort to deal with the

international ecological contingencies prevailing today is the European concept of "total environmental management". For four days in February 1970, European delegates from eighteen countries and several international agencies, explored the degradation of the European environment and what to do about it.⁹ They came at the invitation of the Council of Europe to attend the European Conservation Conference as part of the European Conservation Year, 1970.

The aspects of environmental degradation that were discussed included, among other topics, such themes as pollution, destruction of the environment, the pressures upon certain areas of the environment that arise from masses of holiday-makers, and urban sprawl.

The most important agreement to emerge from the conference was the recognition that the problems of the environment loom much larger than just the problems of air and water pollution. To deal with the degradation and spoliation of the environment, delegates agreed, one must also be concerned with cooperation in most civilised activities, from farming to city planning and from industry to recreation.

It was agreed at this conference that men everywhere need to coordinate national and continental policies in such a way that nature will be protected, the quality of civilised life will be improved, and different countries and sectors within countries will be engaging in patterns of environmental behavior that either complement each other or reinforce all the objectives being pursued by each of them. The meaning of coordination in total environ-

9. Robert C. Cowen, "Environmental Concern Grips Europe: Parley Weighs Degradations and What to Do About Them", *Christian Science Monitor* (February 17, 1970).

mental management is still one that is largely neglected in the literature of planning. The structural features of coordinated planning involve abstract and complex methods of analysis and decision-making. These structural features still remain to be explored in the science of planning.¹⁰ But the important point in the present connection is that the task of total environmental management may become the first large-scale testing ground for the application of the methodologies of coordination.

Delegates to the European Conservation Conference also made the point time and again that to emphasise conservation alone, or to emphasise solely the social costs of advancing technology, would be a mistake. The recent wave of public interest in ecology is, of course, largely the result of the effort in recent years to arouse public concern over some of the undesirable fruits of our progress in technology. Jacques Ellul is one of the critics who have dealt with many of the serious social costs of technology in contemporary civilisation—costs other than the ecological ones that are now so visible to public attention.¹¹ It is curious to note that in the new field that is concerned with studies of the future—particularly of the future social impacts of science and technology—practically no work has yet been done to foresee some of the social costs attending many of the forms of emerging science and

10. Henry Winthrop, "The Meaning of Structure and Coordination in Social Planning", *Sociological Inquiry* 33 (1963):144-56. This material appears in revised form in Henry Winthrop, *Ventures in Social Interpretation* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts 1968), 551 pp.

11. Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 449 pp.

technology that are already being celebrated by the technocratic hang-up of contemporary Western civilisation.¹²

The concept of total environmental management is really not so much a new one as a more complex extension of an old one. What we are dealing with here is an extremely sophisticated and mature form of the older and more familiar notion of systems management and the systems approach. The Europeans, then, are arguing for the simultaneous application of the systems approach to the ecological problems of concern to biologists; to the social problems of concern to those who specialise in the causes of urban pathology; to the management of agriculture; to the industrial processing of the food that is set before modern man; to the management of waste disposal; to the management of natural resources; to economic, social and city planning; to the wise use of leisure; to the spread of industrialisation and the development of new technology; and to many other matters too numerous to mention here. Because these are all interdependent aspects of the total environment, they can be handled most adequately by total environmental management—a technique that is a more complex and sophisticated form of systems management.

To put the concept of total environmental management into practise, it is obvious, I think, that international agencies of control will have to be set up. These agencies will also have to be given legislative and advisory functions as well as punitive powers. Representatives of all nations will have to serve in some capacity in such agencies. And, finally, these agencies will have to come into being

through an international consensus and through the employment of the principle of voluntary association on the international level.

In order to appreciate the tasks and functions of such agencies, the citizen of the world will have to make himself familiar with the kind of information that will provide to some degree an awareness of global ecological dislocations and disequilibria. There are many sources, of course, for the citizen to acquire the familiarity with environmental problems that we have been stressing here. One excellent source for the understanding of the world interlinkages involved in man's ecology is the *Scientific American* volume entitled *Man and the Ecosphere*.¹³ Another is *Population Resources Environment* by Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich.¹⁴ A third is *The Ecology of Man: An Ecosystem Approach* by Robert Leo Smith.¹⁵ When it comes to the problem of waste, an excellent treatment will be found in a relatively recent work by Wesley Marx.¹⁶ A grasp of the main outlines, at least, of the world as an ecosystem will make abundantly clear the problems that require international cooperation. These are problems which, if attended to, will increase the level of international understanding but, if ignored, will

12. Henry Winthrop, "Social Costs and Studies of the Future", *Futures* 2, no. 2 (December 1969): 488-99.

13. *Man and the Ecosphere*, readings from *Scientific American* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1971), 307 pp.

14. Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, *Population Resources Environment: Issues in Human Ecology*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1972), 509 pp.

15. Robert Leo Smith, *The Ecology of Man: An Ecosystem Approach* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 436 pp.

16. Wesley Marx, *Man and His Environment: Waste* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 179 pp.

exacerbate the quality of international misunderstanding and tension.

B. Raw Materials Contingencies

We are moving today into a new world. One of the new contingencies of the world that has changed before our very eyes is the fact that while our global population is increasing and more and more underdeveloped countries are seeking to industrialize, the raw materials of industrialization are becoming scarcer both in an absolute sense and in the relative sense of annual amounts available per capita as these raw materials enter into semi-fabricated and finished goods. Such semi-fabricated and finished goods may be in the form of consumer durables or capital goods for industry. But it becomes harder and harder, as time goes on, to meet the industrial demands for such raw materials and we are treated today to the spectacle of nations competing for such limited raw material resources via beggar-thy-neighbor policies and at the economic cost of worldwide inflation.

The world of 1975 is quite familiar with the raw material most in short supply today and that is petroleum. Since the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War (The Yom Kippur War), a vast literature has appeared on the contemporary shortage of oil. Western newspapers have been discussing the oil shortage ad nauseam, both in the daily news and in Sunday supplement feature stories. Much speculation has been engaged in as to the likely future date of the disappearance of oil entirely as a source of energy. Distinguished and internationally known scholarly journals have likewise featured papers on the oil shortage, in recognition of the fact that oil is, perhaps, the most basic raw material in the energy economies of the West and Japan.

Thus, picking some random numbers of a well-known journal, that have been issued in 1975, we find a group of international authors concerned with a variety of questions surrounding the economics of the importation of petroleum.¹⁷ In a later issue of the same journal, we find Simonet discussing the impact of the energy crisis on the future of Europe.¹⁸ In a still different American journal, with a readership consisting largely of high-calibre business executives, Burck discusses the change in automobile design that may be forced upon the automotive industry by the world's oil shortage.¹⁹

In short, the treatment of the world's permanent oil shortage as a new historical contingency has been receiving ample attention from many quarters. For this reason we shall assume that it is by now a contingency that is familiar to all our readers. We shall concentrate, instead, upon existing and coming shortages of other raw materials — shortages that are less well known to our readers but which, nevertheless, constitute part of the general, major contingency of raw materials shortages the world is now facing. These shortages will require new forms of international relationships and international-mindedness, if mankind is to adapt effectively to this new contingency and still make industrial survival a reasonable international expectation.

At this time we all require some knowledge of the actual and threatened raw mater-

17. Khodadad Farmanfarmaian, Armin Gutowski et al. "How Can the World Afford OPEC Oil?", *Foreign Affairs* 53, no. 2 (January 1975): 201-22.

18. Henri Simonet, "Energy and the Future of Europe", *Foreign Affairs* 53, no. 3 (April 1975): 450-63.

19. Charles G. Burck, "Detroit Turns Against the Gas Guzzlers", *Fortune* 89, no. 1 (January 1974): 98-101, 140-42.

ials shortages, if only because friction is bound to erupt intermittently between nations supplying such raw materials and nations importing them. If these frictions are to be assuaged rather than followed by a decrease in international amity, we should become aware of this new contingency of the modern world, of the raw materials that reflect this new contingency and of the plans of economists, modern industrialists and foreign-policy experts for dealing amicably with these shortages. But even if we lack the time to study the many plans that are being forwarded to deal with these shortages and that are aimed at preventing international friction and international misunderstanding, let us try, at least, to obtain some idea of the raw material commodities that are now in short supply or may soon be so.

Some of the actual raw materials in short supply and that are threatened with cartelization, either at the present time or in the near future, include the following industrial materials and consumer items: oil, bauxite, phosphate, copper, tin, coffee, tea, bananas, iron, tropical timber, natural rubber, nickel, tungsten, cobalt, columbium, tantalum, pepper, quinine, and cocoa.

This list is by no means exhaustive at the present time and as time passes we can expect still other items to be added to the list—items that were not on it in the mid 70s—as a result of world industrialization and uncontrolled population increases.

In October 1974 the pessimism concerning the extent of the new contingency, that is, the pessimism concerning how widespread are the raw materials shortages facing the world today, was well nigh boundless in some quarters. Sidney Lens, a labor leader, lecturer and world traveler, writing in the American journal, *The Progressive*, pointed

out that for part or all of the year 1974, the following items were in short supply: paper, plastics, steel, toilets, freezers, cotton, copper wire, lumber, onions, raisins, chicken, beef, gasoline, fertilizer, propane, nylon, acetate yarns, salmon, penicillin, cortisone, cement, aluminum, vinyl, tin cans, antifreeze, paints, sporting goods, and plastic lamps.²⁰

This gives us some idea of the effect of raw materials shortages on the U.S. economy at the time. In addition, the following items were subject to a "supply slowdown" in the construction industry alone: pipe, sheet metal, plastics, reinforcing rods, paints, ceramics and plumbing, electronic and electrical items.

Things were so bad in 1974 that the purchasing agent of Inland Steel, a well-known American company, summed it up despairingly as follows: "There isn't anything *not* in short supply."

Shortly after the Arab-Israeli War broke out and the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) showed the clout it could command, the question that arose in the minds of many experts was whether countries that controlled other raw materials could, like the petroleum exporting countries, form cartels to blackmail economically the technologically advanced nations in the West, as well as Japan. These were the nations that were deeply dependent upon oligopolistically controlled raw materials that they had to import because these materials were essential to the life-blood of their industries. Initially the experts could not agree. Thus the journal, *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1974) held a symposium on the question—a symposium entitled "One, Two, Many Opec's . . . ?"

20. Sidney Lens, "Running Out of Everything", *The Progressive* 38, no. 10 (October 1974):15-21.

Both Professor Mikdashi of the American University of Beirut, an advisor to OPEC, and Fred Bergsten, a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and formerly assistant for international economic affairs on the senior staff of the National Security Council, took the position that cartelization was possible in relation to many other basic raw materials that were in short supply.^{21,22} On the other hand, Stephen Krasner, assistant professor of government at Harvard, who in 1974 was on leave at the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, took the position that cartelization was highly unlikely for most basic raw materials, setting forth a multiplicity of reasons for his position.²³

As time passed and awareness of the shortage increased, both on the part of laymen and experts, the preponderant opinion among specialists may have veered more in the direction of the conviction that not only could the cartelization of many raw materials in short supply take place, but that, in several cases, such cartelization had a very good chance of succeeding. Nevertheless, opinion is still divided among the experts. Bergsten, whom we have already mentioned, has spelled out in greater detail than he did in his *Foreign Policy* article the reasons why he is convinced cartelization is coming. The new trends that he perceives as a result of the world's raw materials shortages are "commodity power" and "resources diplomacy" and both of these, he feels, will be with us

for the relevant future.²⁴ On the other hand, Mikesell, W. E. Miner Professor of Economics at the University of Oregon, takes an opposite view. He does not believe cartelization will succeed because for many raw materials, particularly minerals, production and reserves are widely distributed or substitutes are readily available. Mikesell believes that cartelization can be impeded by stockpiling industrially needed commodities so as to ensure a supply equal to one or two years' import requirements.²⁵

One of the chief results of the new contingency that is being reflected by worldwide shortages in so many of the basic raw materials of industry is, of course, inflation. I do not want to leave the reader with the impression that the only cause of our current global inflation is the existence of these shortages. There are, of course, other factors. But our worldwide commodity shortages make a heavy contribution to the inflation that is now pandemic.

Efforts to control inflation have thus far been fiscal or monetary in nature. Less known, but being considered in a number of countries, is a more drastic form of control, known as indexation. What is indexation? Essentially it involves the employment of price-escalator clauses in private and governmental contracts. The item escalated can go up or down—usually up, of course, in a period of inflation and the escalation, itself, is geared to rises in the general price structure. We are already familiar with escalation in the United States in which contracts

21. Zuhayr Mikdashi, "Collusion Could Work", *Foreign Policy* 14 (Spring 1974): 57-68.

22. C. Fred Bergsten, "The Threat Is Real", *Foreign Policy* 14 (Spring 1974): 84-90.

23. Stephen D. Krasner, "Oil Is the Exception", *Foreign Policy* 14 (Spring 1974): 68-84.

24. C. Fred Bergsten, "The New Era in World Commodity Markets", *Challenge* 17 no. 4 (September/October 1974): 34-42.

25. Ramond F. Mikesell, "More Third World Cartels Ahead?" *Challenge* 17 no. 5 (November/December 1974): 24-31.

incorporate the guarantee of a rise in wages with a rise in prices. The wage rises in these cases are locked to the rises in the cost-of-living index. The conviction that one ought to lock increases and decreases in various kinds of economic entities into the rise or fall of different types of indexes has generically been referred to as indexation.

The first nation to try indexing on a large scale, in order to control its hyperinflation, was Brazil. That nation was very successful in reducing and controlling hyperinflation via indexation, and thereby avoiding economic and national ruin. An American economist, Hassey, the chief economist of the State Street Bank and Trust Company in Boston, conducted a study in 1973 of the use and success of indexation in Brazil. A brochure summarizing that study has been made available as an adjunct to the annual report for 1973 of the State Street Boston Financial Corporation.²⁶

Indexing has taken two principal forms in Brazil: (1) escalator clauses on incomes, including wages, salaries, rents, and pensions and (2) what has been called "monetary correction" of such assets and financial variables as savings accounts, public utility fees, long-term private and government debt, working capital and fixed asset valuations, and depreciation accounting. Tax brackets were also indexed in Brazil and exchange rates for the cruzeiro were subjected to a form of monetary correction beginning in late 1968. Hassey has come out for indexation as a meritorious technique for controlling inflation, based upon his full-length study.

The conservative and distinguished American economist, Milton Friedman, has like-

wise made a study of indexation and come out in favor of a cautious use of it to control inflation in the United States. He has expressed his stand in no uncertain terms in the following way:

Perhaps indexation is not the best expedient in this time of trouble. But I know of no other that holds out as much promise of both reducing the harm done by inflation and facilitating the ending of inflation. If inflation continues to accelerate, the conventional political wisdom will be reversed. The insistence on ending inflation at whatever cost will lead to a severe depression. Now, before that has occurred, is time to take measures that will make it politically feasible to end inflation before inflation ends not only the conventional wisdom but perhaps also a free society.²⁷

Dr. Ronald A. Krieger, associate professor and chairman of the Department of Economics at Goucher College, has also made a study of indexation in Brazil in relation to the feasibility of its prospective use for the U.S. economy.²⁸ Dr. Krieger sums up his thinking by asserting that if and when policy makers conclude that rapid inflation has become a permanent feature of the U.S. economy, then, and only then, would it be appropriate to consider indexation seriously,

26. The report is entitled, *Inflation: The Need for a New Mentality*, 8 pp.

27. Milton Friedman, "Using Escalators to Help Fight Inflation", *Fortune* 90, no. 1 (July 1974): 94-97, 174-76.

28. Ronald A. Krieger, "Inflation and the Brazilian Solution", *Challenge* 17 no. 4 (September/October 1974):43-52. Dr. Kruger's article is the text of his statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization (Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs) on June 10, 1974.

in terms of escalator clauses and monetary correction. But at the time he was giving his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization, Dr. Krieger did not think indexing's time had come.

Although the experts differ as to the value of indexing and although we cannot foresee what means will eventually be employed to control inflation, we can be sure that present worldwide inflation is an inescapable concomitant of the new contingency of worldwide shortages of many basic raw materials. These shortages are bound to grow worse with time, and inflation itself is also likely to grow worse unless some very successful measures are found for controlling it in the immediate future. Until such time as it is controlled, it will add to friction between nations, particularly suppliers and consumers of raw materials. Part of the emerging history of the world's immediate future will depend on how men and nations adapt to the new contingency of permanent global shortages of raw materials and the concomitant inflation that attends these shortages. Likewise, the

nature and the length of any successful adaptations that men everywhere may have the good fortune to stumble upon, will, in part, determine the emerging quality of international peace and international understanding. Inflation, after all, has a long history of destroying nations as well as civilizations. For an international order to be healthy it must be free of the ravages of inflation. Even more important, it must be creative in its ideas as to how to share equitably among nations the diminishing bounty to which nature has now constrained us, in the form of the inescapable raw materials shortages men face everywhere.

In some subsequent papers I hope to discuss some of our new contingencies that have not been dealt with here and which fall into the first category of the dichotomy to which I referred in the earlier part of this paper. In addition, I plan to discuss some of the theoretical, philosophical and interpretive considerations relevant to the establishment of world union and world unity — considerations that fall properly under what I have earlier called the second category.

A SHORT JOURNEY: MEDITATION WITH REVELATION

Robert A. Smith, III

To journey into the fields of life is to experience wonder, awe, and a great love of simply being. To quote the immortal bard, there has been "much ado about nothing" in our frenetic search for ritualized life in the form of worship, meditation, and concentration. These, alone, do little to open our total sensory awareness. There is perhaps nothing that opens our total senses as much as a walk through the countryside. The music of Bach and Beethoven, paintings of Botticelli, the tone poems of Villa-Lobos and Debussy, the etudes of Chopin, the voice ranges of an Yma Sumac or a Ginamaria Hidalgo, or the dance movements of a Rudolph Laban come closest to making for total sensory awareness. But it is only the walk through the countryside which opens the ears, the eyes, the nose, the taste buds, the tips of the fingers, and the psychic alertness to all life.

Transition times are particularly interesting as when winter is turning into spring. There is a hidden sense in all things that Easter is being renewed — that there is a wonderful reincarnation of the previous spring — that the death of winter signals the birth of this spring. You sense this as you walk. Your ears hear courtship songs of the meadowlark, the mourning dove, the puffing grackles, the flashing redwing blackbird, the strutting male cowbird, the sassy cardinal, the chirping chipping sparrow and all the others. Groundhogs feeding on fresh clover notice too as they sit up and alertly listen to the chorus. My eyes catch the brightened yellow breast of the male meadowlark, the vivid flashes of the cardinal, the robin's russet breast, the running pairs of bobwhites, the loggerhead shrike on barbed wire, and the flocks of goldfinches going northward. Horned larks arise and tumble skyward and scouts from the swallow tribe — barn swallows and martins — arrive to survey the scene. White clouds barely move in the blue sky.

Later the smell of clover, honeysuckle, and the fragrant white fringe tree permeates the woods. Yellow-breasted chats and other warblers arrive along with indigo buntings,

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kingbirds, orchard orioles, chimney swifts, and finally the night hawks and whipporwills.

I love to walk out through the open meadows to the foot of Madkin Mountain where the deep hardwood glades welcome the wood thrush and his lovely melody. The wild plums, service berries, and dewberries ripen and taste buds water. The grass has a softness when touched.

The walk is a meditation involving all the senses and the mind. There may be total sound or total silence—a marvelous differentiation and integration—a constant tao or union of multiple opposites. The walk in the countryside is a synthesis of multiple perceptions—a psychosomatic wholeness of mental and body health—a pantheistic reunion with all there is under the great arched cathedral.

And this great arched cathedral harbors unique designs. I come upon a killdeer whose body and legs are one grand design. The body merely provides a place for legs to fold into when at rest. Each tree, plant, weed, and flower has different colors for making a fantastic mosaic.

And the song of the wood thrush, mockingbird, catbird, brown thrasher, towhee or the carolina wren is like the organ of heaven playing in my great cathedral. There is the sound, the yang, and there is the silence, the yin, and, as with Bach and his cantatas, the feathered musicians make great music blending sound with silence. The songs of birds, like all true music, are spiritual. Swallows, our feathered ballerinas, are free form at its best—a synergy of sound, form and movement—sounds with decibels in the low range for the most part broken occasionally by high decibel thunder storms.

There is a sense of mortality and immortality in my walks, of finiteness and infinity, of an ageless past and yet-to-be future. There is an essence of life distilled in the heady nature I encounter during my walks. The fire is the sun; the essence the beholding; the sensing of the pulsations of a sentient universe—the sun, the galaxies, and the beautiful earth tell me of its timeless being. You will not find this essence in bottles on the pharmacist's musty shelves, in the bubbling retorts hidden away in dimly-lit chemical laboratories, nor in the drugs of Coleridge's altered perception. The essence is the omnipresent aura of living systems with our yesterdays meeting our tomorrows in the beautiful now of the multiple perceptions of nature.

There comes the knowledge too, in my walks, that life is an organized thing and we should seek its processes. Its processes, like clouds, are the ever forming of patterns—patterns no artist can capture on a single canvass, nor musician in a single composition, nor ballerina in a single dance interpretation. There is the constant meaningful interplay of sound and silence, seasons, rhythms, harmony—the cosmological forces adjusting themselves through the eternal now. It is this communion with all nature, this sharing and being

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shared, that makes forty-five minutes a spiritual lifetime.

Away from the abstract and the bureaucratic wise I can touch the earth again, I can kiss the skies. I can forget the shiny cars and houses where the Joneses keep up with the Browns. I see the peace to die in on hills slow sweeping and solitary still bending toward the higher mountains, away from the curving river. I am in the pines, my own nature's wines, amidst the solitude that sets me apart yet brings me together. I have been given free tickets to a never-ending drama with thousands of actors. I feel a sadness as each scene ends with a joy of expectation of the one to unfold. I have been blessed with a built-in Moog synthesizer and video synthesizer. I am in harmony with the gentle pace of life as it was meant to be.

Great sermons—that on the Mount or in the Garden and great learning there was in the desert. Lilies of the fields are the distillation of free essence and I can say with Robinson Jeffers "love that, not man apart".

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY — VII

Relevance and Limitations of Western Political Thought: Notes for an Alternative Indian Political Philosophy

K. Dutta

Feudalism: The Collapse of Empire

It is one of the most curious phenomena of history that time and again a virile and barbarian race gathers itself somewhere in central Asia and then bursts forth with the fury of a cyclone shattering all that is desiccated in civilisation. In the early centuries A.D. hordes of nomadic Huns thus swept across the world in all directions, harassing equally the Hun Empire of China, decadent Rome and the great Guptas. Rome was the first to succumb, China the last.

The Guptas held out for a long time struggling valiantly under Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta against what was really a force of nature. The Huns were inexorable in their march of destruction and the empire at last gave way under the double pressure of the Hun tide and internal fissures. A period of extraordinary confusion ensued. The central authority crumbled, new ethnic groups pushed into India and a large movement of populations began to occur in the north. Trade declined rapidly and became largely local: where it was more than that, it consisted of specified commodities that moved in fixed routes to monopolised markets. In this atmosphere of frightful insecur-

ity came painfully into being a new order of cooperation and association — the feudal system.

Large political organisations had become impossible, land was now the only important form of wealth: the organisation of society and government, therefore, became fundamentally local and centred on the land. Life and property being unsafe, the small land owner had but one recourse: he must become the dependent of someone strong enough to aid him, and the strong man may himself seek protection of a yet more powerful king. The process worked the other way also, indeed more often so. A king could put his land to use only by granting it to a vassal or tenant who would make a return in services or rent. The result was that a sort of pyramidal structure grew up which "had the advantage of obviating the need of a centrally administered bureaucracy. Revenue was collected by vassals who could also carry out judicial functions, as they were sufficiently powerful to assert their authority in cases of dispute."¹ The peasants cultivated the land and handed over a fixed share to

1. Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), 1:109.

the landowner who in turn remitted a part of the revenue to the king or overlord and maintained troops for him as well. This military aspect was to become increasingly important in later years leading finally to the rise of the Rajputs. The villages were now based on a self-sufficient economy and by degrees got converted into closed cesspools of stagnation. Buddhism, which had long been associated with the mercantile classes and had been considerably corrupted, now suffered an irretrievable decline, the coup de grace being delivered by the great Shankara.

In the fluctuating struggle between the king and the feudatories the brahmins sided on the whole with the former, for they could hope to and did receive land grants from the king. Education, which was in brahmin hands, lost all constructive dynamism: it became repetitive and scholastic, intended at every point to strengthen authority. Caste, which in its origins had been a generous device to live and let live widely disparate cultural groups, had always retained some of its early humane flexibility. But now with the terrific social confusion of the age, stability and order became overriding considerations; and when order did at last come it was vitiated by a senile catalepsy, and caste rigidified and fragmented into subcastes at the same time. The suppleness of a great creative institution was thus replaced by the death grip of an artificial strait jacket. This was north India's darkest hour. Harsha's empire, a highly civilised anticipation of Charles Martel's in Europe, represents no essential break but a temporary effulgence which serves only to heighten the gloom.

It is to the south, where feudalism set in only with the coming of Islam, that we must look for all that is distinctive in the cultural life of the age. There the Chalukyas, the

Pandyas, the Pallavas and the Cholas, often at war but always buoyant and full of maritime activity, were impinging upon life in many-sided vivacity that shames the stagnation of the north. Here it was that the great Acharyas—Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhawa—founded the three great Vedantic schools, advaita, vishishtadvaita, dvaita, and thus gave to Hinduism that brilliant form which it retained, though not always intelligently, till its recent renaissance. Here it was that the dormant devotionism of India's religion first found powerful expression among the Alvars and Nayanmars, thus making possible the later casteless and reformist bhakti movement of the north. And here it was that a young sannyasin set out to establish great maths at Badrinath, Puri, Dwarka and Sringeri and thus proclaimed more effectively than even Asoka and Samudra Gupta the inviolate unity of India.

Feudalism: The Coming of Islam

At about the time that the temporary glow of Harsha's court was diverting India's mind from her sorrows, there burst upon the desert sands of Arabia an intense and inspired personality with an ardent faith in submission to the will of the Almighty and in the brotherhood of all believers. And that ancient land of small and bickering nomadic tribes was welded together, imparted a new religion, given a fresh social and political appearance and made sovereign over one of the world's greatest empires. Syria and Egypt, the north coast of Africa and Spain, Persia and Western Turkestan, the borders of China and of India—all these were brought within its imperial sway within a hundred years of the passing of Mohammed.

Everywhere the Arab mind, curious, critical and speculative, learned, absorbed and created. From Persia a fine aesthetic sensibility, from the Greeks Aristotle, from China paper manufacture, from India mathematics and philosophy—all were drawn into the single stream of a fresh and surging culture. Unfortunately, it did not last for long. To the early dissensions between Shia and Sunni were added the smouldering grievances of subject peoples unequally treated by their theoretically equal co-religionists. A change of dynasty, Abbasids in place of Umayyads, was followed first by separation of province after province, Persia, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and finally by the reduction of the caliphs into mere puppets in the hands of the Turkish bodyguard, the Buwaihids, or whoever had strength in his arms and ambition in his breast. The caliphate was dead. The age of sultans, independent "provincial" adventurers, had dawned. Mahmud of Ghazni, one of the first sultans, celebrated his new status with an orgy of seventeen marauding raids into India which do no credit either to Mahmud himself or to the religion he chose to represent.

Thus when Islam came to India in a big way, it had already lost its freshness and great liberating potential. It was represented, moreover, by the ruder and less civilised Turkish and Afghan sultans, military adventurers who brought neither fresh ideas nor a new socio-economic structure. India, too, had meanwhile lapsed into feudalism, and its earlier buoyancy, which made it assimilate Greeks, Seythians, Parthians and Huns down the ages, was now at best a memory. Between two such cultures in decline a creative contact was scarcely possible. Feudal India was, feudal she remained.

But within this narrow structure the entry

of Islam produced two far-reaching consequences: feudalism in the south, and the breakup of the cultural unity of India. The earlier invasions and pressures of ethnic groups had left the southern region happily undisturbed. Thus sheltered, there resulted that era of extraordinary literary achievements which we owe primarily to the Chola imperium. But the langour of wealth and the corruption of temple life had slowly eroded a vitality which was increasingly strained by the insolence of the Yadavas and Kakatiyas and the attacks of the Hoysalas and Pandyas. And with the lightning raids of the armies of Alauddin Khilji "associated with the sack of cities, the slaughter of the people, and the plunder of the temples",² old life was eventually extinguished. The chaotic conditions that ensued were an indication of the shattering of the existing social and political fabric; and when it was reshaped it was in conformity with the model of the north, consciously (as behove co-religionists) in one case, unavoidably in the other. For Vijayanagara was essentially a military state, locked in battle for survival with the Bahmani. Everything, all its trade, crafts, guilds, were subordinated to the one end of maintaining the nobility that provided the troops. Culturally, it was stagnant and repetitive and its architecture shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence, ornate design rather than bold conception.

Indian society, always divided into castes, was also unified by the sense of a common religion and culture. Islam introduced a new element of division without the unifying

2. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Kalinkinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (London: Macmillan, 1965), p. 308.

cement of the old culture. On the other hand, the religion of the Prophet, proud, exclusive, sure of its mission, has had to compromise with "idolatorous" subjects and ultimately to suffer them as equals or superiors. Hindu-Muslim relations have therefore been (and continue to be) characterised by an ambivalence whose resolution is one of the most urgent tasks of our time. But great problems are never solved by hypocrisy or opportunism; they demand the sturdiness of mind and generosity of spirit that can stand up to very unpleasant facts and yet retain the poise and detachment which are the precondition to their resolution. Therefore the well-meaning attempt of "secular" historians to paint this age with the one brush of "synthesis" is not very much better than that of the venomous fanatics to whom "The Taj Mahal is a Hindu palace."

The best minds and spirits on either side did indeed touch one another, a process which received its stimulus from the challenge of Islamic social equality and Hindu tolerance and mysticism and its medium in the growth of vernacular languages. The result was the early bhakti movement of Kabir and Nanak and the eclecticism of the Sufis. But these movements were vitiated from the start by their escapism which ensured tolerance, unity and synthesis only in the rarefied realms of mysticism and not in the daily life of the world. On the other hand, by eventually succumbing to caste, Islam lost what social dynamism it possessed and led instead to the retrograde step of placing Hindu women as well behind a *purdah*, a veil. It was only with the Mughal introduction of Persian graces that aristocratic society, Muslim and Hindu, acquired many common characteristics; but by then the divided currents of commonality could

not be rejoined.³

Feudalism: Contradiction and Collapse

The Delhi Sultanate, distracted by the wild undergrowth of independent provinces, was mowed down by the burning scimitar of Timur. The new, tangled growth that took its place invited an arm strong enough to plough its way through it and sow anew. In the powerful yet charming figure of Babar it found its man. Born a king yet a wanderer for almost two decades, he turned to India in search of the kingdoms he had lost in Farghana and Samarkand. Administering successive defeats to the Afghans and the Rajputs at Panipat and Khanua, the descendant of Timur cast his imperious glance at the rest of India from the sovereign heights of Delhi. His early death and the triumph of (Sher Shah drove his son Humayun to seek refuge in Persia. But the work of Babar was not lost: in Sher Shah was a successor truly worthy of the Mughal. On his return, Humayun and after him Bairam Khan and Akbar

3. In any case it is a mistake to think of the Hindu-Muslim question too much in cultural terms. For a tolerant country like India, cultural differences have never constituted an insurmountable barrier to a common life. The Hindu-Muslim problem is essentially a political problem which, it is needless to hide, has become even more tangled since the creation of Pakistan. The Hindus seem to demand assurance of national loyalty from the Muslims; even the fanatics could not have raised this doubt had there been no partition. The Muslims, on the other hand, justifiably insist on assurance of cultural freedom; a proud religion cannot be expected simply to submerge itself. This is not an absolutely insuperable problem. Given honest and sane leadership on both sides, a political settlement incorporating the claims of both communities can be arrived at. It will necessarily involve the sharing of power between Hindu and Muslim on some mutually agreed basis. This is something that the sheer logic of survival demands.

merely picked up the threads to found one of the great empires of history.

Mughal rule, brilliant and truly majestic, has attracted much attention but its really distinctive feature does not appear to have been taken note of: its amazingly contradictory nature. It was a genuine national monarchy governed in India's interest. Akbar himself had ceased to be a Muslim in any meaningful sense and Hindus occupied high positions of crucial importance in the empire. Yet the folk tales about Birbal in which he invariably scores a point over Akbar unmistakeably point to a Hindu mind unreconciled to Mughal governance. In personal habits and social behaviour important Hindus took over most of the Persian-Islamic fashions during this period. Yet this was also the period when the escapist devotionism of an earlier age gave way to the activist and even militant bhakti of Tulsidas, Ramdas and the Sikh Gurus. And Sikhism itself, the one philosophy deeply imbued with the spirit and influence of Islam, was also the most violently opposed to it. Among the Muslims this was the age of Sirhindi who is regarded by Spear as representing the first germ of the future Pakistan.⁴ Crafts and industry, especially cotton manufacture, flourished again, and trade and commerce revived to a notable degree. Never since the Guptas had India known such prosperity, but "the profits of commerce, were skimmed off by a series of duties at ports of entry, at every provincial frontier, and at every large town. . . . Thus the greater part of this surplus income, whether from agriculture or commerce, found its way into the imperial treasury."⁵ This was

so because the Mughal empire was a military state and every officer a member of the army. In its essential structure it remained feudal, a circumstance that was reinforced by the later mansabdari system. An unsteady equilibrium, it could not last for long. Aurangzeb, a truly logical and thoroughgoing mind if there ever was one, attempted to break through these contradictions, but broke in and within them instead.

Two independent tendencies, both obscurely present under the Mughals, now worked themselves out fully: the speedy rise of the Marathas, and the steady consolidation of power of a British company. The first development, inspired by the genius of Shivaji, took place with a greater impetuosity and was early dashed to destruction against the Afghan invader at Panipat. British power, involving the elimination of both local and European rivals, grew more silently and surely, and ultimately produced far more profound consequences. Back of it was not the genius of a single individual but the great and continuing transformation of an entire civilisation. The rise of the trading community and the entry of dynamic new ideas had slowly broken the shackles of feudalism in Europe. In this atmosphere of intellectual and social ferment a corrupted and reactionary Church was subjected to devastating criticism, and the resulting break-up of the unity of Christendom accelerated the existing movement towards the formation and consolidation of independent European states. The ensuing national rivalries delivered a fresh impulse and prescribed a new direction to the growing commerce of the continent. Company after company sought charter from the monarch for trade in further and further corners of the globe. One such was the East India Company, destined to

4. Percival Spear, *A History of India*, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 57.

5. Percival Spear, *India: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1961), p. 155-56.

acquire renown in Europe as the world's wealthiest commercial enterprise, and notoriety in India as the author of the best organised, most systematic and longest sustained robbery that India had ever known.

The "achievement" of the East India Company was not merely to loot and to extort but to break down in the most complete and decisive manner the socio-economic framework of Indian society and to replace it with an inhuman European brand of feudalism. India's trade was ruined and her industries wilfully strangled. The bones of the cotton-weavers, Bentinck himself was to write, are bleaching the plains of Hindusthan. The pressure on the land that thus resulted was overwhelming, but there, too, the land settlement broke the back of the peasantry and subjected the country to recurrent, devastating famines. Under the Permanent Settlement, the cultivator was deprived of his traditional occupancy rights, left at the mercy of the heartless zamindars and their middlemen, and subjected to rack-renting and ejection. The zamindars, a class of rentiers with no roots in the village, depended on intermediaries who gave the peasant "freedom" only to sell his labour. The ryotwari system, by subjecting the peasant to heavy assessments drove him to seek credit and, by simultaneously giving him the right of lease, mortgage and sale never before possessed by him, put him inevitably in the permanent clutches of the moneylender. As a result the moneylender acquired in many places the effective position of a zamindar. The mahalwari or joint village system, which may have developed more favourable features, was unfortunately temporary even in intention, and from the very beginning there was a trend towards individual assessments, and in practice the

co-proprietors were treated as individual proprietors. These cultivators, therefore, were placed in the same position as those under the ryotwari system.

Thus the relatively mild feudal system of ages was replaced by a brutal imperial feudalism, and for the first time in India's long history came into being a large class of exploited and landless peasantry. The languorous feudal village was subjected to the hurricane of finance capitalism: the caste system, the joint family, the village community all reeled under this terrific force. The collective and regulated life of custom was being replaced by the anarchy of individualism and self-interest. At the same time the East India Company was relentlessly expanding its domain, overcoming all states and annexing those kingdoms which left no direct heir.

The stress was becoming unbearable and in 1857 it exploded with the "cartridges" in a great uprising, popular but reactionary. There had lain no intellectual movement behind it, its leaders had not even heard of Ram Mohan Roy; and even had it succeeded in driving out the British it could not have resulted in the kind of great transformation that Japan was soon to bring about. India would not permanently have escaped the powerful currents sweeping the world, and it is certain that freedom so gained would again have been lost. The one condition for retaining independence is the capacity properly to understand and appreciate the forces operating in the world at large. This is the very last thing that an India of the immature Lakshmibai and the dreamy Bahadur Shah was capable of. At the moment, however, all seemed lost: India lay prostrate, helpless and broken, with the cry that her civilisation itself had come to an end.

Recovery and Crisis

The "mutiny" shook British complacency as well and their behaviour and attitude were never again to be the same: fear and racial snobbery took the place of bold naturalness. Organisationally, the East India Company was replaced by the crown, board of directors by secretary of state, governor general by viceroy. The rajahs, nawabs and zamindars were now to be allies and props of the empire, not just to be tolerated as oddities but to be made members of an order having personal relationship to the monarch. The character of the British economy itself had been undergoing change all these years. The industrial revolution, greatly assisted if not actually caused by the Bengal loot, had brought into being a new and higher stage of capitalism. What Britain now wanted was not trade but raw materials for its manufactures, markets for its products and an expanding area for investment of its growing finance capital. All these India provided. Britain was already paramount in that country; it was therefore unnecessary and imprudent to disturb it in any way. The loot must be conducted with greater grace and sophistication, with the willing consent of the bovine "natives" who would slowly acquire the benefits of "civilisation" in the process.

The advantages of "civilisation" were indeed acquired. For the very process of British governance necessitated the education and creation of a new class subjected to the impact of European ideas. Ultimately, it was this rising class which, having assimilated powerful new ideas, undertook as in all history the great task of the transformation and reconstruction of the old, encrusted civilisation.

This mighty work of renewal and re-

organisation was effected through a puissant renaissance that poured itself into three vigorous streams—cultural, economic and political. The question had repeatedly been asked: Is India civilised at all? Therefore, the first awakening was cultural and spiritual. This complex, many-sided cultural stirring involving simultaneously religious, philosophical, literary, educational and reformist activity, was heralded by Ram Mohan Roy, triumphantly proclaimed by Swami Vivekananda and bestowed a definitive philosophy by Sri Aurobindo. The process, already delineated briefly in the introduction, need not be gone over again; suffice it to say that its central personality is Vivekananda. With him the reality and greatness of India's civilisation was finally placed beyond question. The soul of India is in spirituality; India fell not because it had too much religion but because it had too little genuine spirituality. The neglect of the masses had been the greatest sin of our ancestors and one of the causes of our downfall. The upper classes had become dead, physically and morally dead; India's hope lay in the masses. This was Vivekananda's vision, the most powerful and incisive proclamation of the principles for new construction.

Meanwhile, there was a body of men, sober and passionless but constant and laborious, who descried in British rule a divine dispensation and in the rulers a love of justice and fairplay, and who, therefore, determined to work for the cause of the people by appealing to the humanity of the Briton. Mahadev Govind Ranade had recognised that the representations and petitions of the moderates, as these remarkable men came to be called, were at least of educative value, whatever else they may or may not achieve. And between the early prayers and pleas of Dadabhai

Naoraji and his later fulminations against the "Drain", between the early bureaucratic activity of Romesh Chander Dutt and his later devastating *Economic History of India*⁶ there was a sea-change of understanding and attitude. Exploitation of India must end, industrialisation must consciously be undertaken, the land system must be modified—and urgently. Would the Briton do this willingly or on his own? Never. The governance of the country must pass finally into Indian hands. How was this to be achieved? The moderates, with their memorials and petitions, with their lack of faith in the masses, had no decisive answer to give.

Therefore it happened that there arose in Maharashtra a powerful, rugged and heroic personality, who called for an end to humble petitioning and for the bold assertion of rights instead, who in organising public discontent and in imparting a new dimension to India's struggle suffered the uttermost that any Indian leader has ever been called upon to. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, radical political leader and conservative social reformer, learned scholar and realist statesman, was an embodiment of the new spirit of confident vigour and manly suffering that was vaguely stirring to life in the country. In 1905 upon the partition of Bengal, the extremist slogan of boycott-swadeshi, passive resistance and national education captured the imagination of the entire nation and Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and young Aurobindo emerged as leaders of the new militancy of the country. A bitter struggle with both the moderates and the British led first to temporary eclipse and eventually to the decisive triumph of the great principle—defiance and

not servility—for which the extremists had all along fought. This motto once secured, a more flexible attitude seemed both possible and necessary. Therefore the Montford proposals received "responsive cooperation" from Tilak, always the true statesman "ready for a compromise which will allow of getting real work done . . . [and taking] willingly half a loaf rather than no bread, though always with a full intention of getting the whole loaf in good time".⁷

During all these years, however, grave developments of far-reaching import had been taking place in a divided Europe; and these culminated in such terrific convulsions, the European civil war (1914-18) and the Bolshevik revolution, that their din and thunder could not entirely be muffled from even insulated India. Was European civilisation really superior? Did India not have some wisdom to give to the world? These were natural questions which entered the common consciousness of the country. Upon a public mind so quickened fell the news first of the offensive Rowlatt Act and then of the savage massacre of innocents at Jallianwala Bagh. A tremor of cold rage shook the whole nation. Protest meetings were held, resolutions passed, titles relinquished. The staid wisdom of an ailing Tilak could no longer gain a hearing. A new direction, a new lead, a new vigour seemed called for. And now descended upon the scene a strange man, whose true measure history is yet to take, and he spoke a new language and the people followed him as they did the prophets of old.

[To be concluded in the issue of
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6. Romesh C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1960), 788 pp.

7. Sri Aurobindo, *Bankim—Tilak—Dayananda*, Birth Centenary Library ed., vol. 17 (Pondicherry, India: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, 1972), p. 355.

CONCEIVING TOTAL WORLD TRANSFORMATION

Toward the Planned Evolution of Consciousness

Howard John Zitko

We meet again at another turning point in human history and are grateful that in some distinguishable way, we can affect the flow of that history with our ideals and our efforts.

As I come before you for the twenty-eighth consecutive year, I cannot help but feel that surge of spiritual power that is generated between those who guide the World University from within and those who execute the Plan from without. For you are not just any audience—not just observers of a world in transition—but the executors of a sacred work whose significance ramifies far beyond the confines of any one gathering such as this.

While I am your president, assuming the responsibilities of that high office as a matter of commitment and honor, I am also even more the emissary, born to convey an insight into an emerging new age when the old order, based largely upon error and misjudgment, will pass away, and the new, rooted in truth and love, will prevail.

My purpose in bringing this keynote address to you is always the same: to offer an interpretation of the Plan which is ultimately to bring about total world transformation, the theme of this great conference, leading to the acceptance of Divine Order upon the Earth. The World University, in my humble judgment, is destined to the major vehicle in world education for revealing the outlines of the Plan and the manner of its execution.

For twenty-eight years, it has been my aim to project the concept of a world in which man was both the master of himself as well as his environment. Others sought to bring in the new age with a knowledge of the new parapsychological sciences and the latest psychotronic technology. Still others worked with great dedication to influence the progress of international law and order. I have tried in my own way to conceive the future from past precedents which originated in the prehistoric world. When all the viewpoints are merged and the synthesis is perceptible, I believe we can conclude at least one salient fact: everything begins in consciousness; everything exists because of consciousness; and everything

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advances with the evolution of consciousness.

In the ancient world of Lemuria and Atlantis, whose one time existence is acquiring more and more validity in academic circles, this concept of the inseparable relationship between man and his environment was even then the bedrock of the prevailing philosophy. A healthy mind was the guarantee of a healthy world. Ecological deterioration was only a symptom of mental irresponsibility and psychic disintegration—the ultimate disease. The destruction of the planet, in whole or in part, which was given to man for his enjoyment and dominion, could only be construed as the ultimate crime—total insanity.

If anything brings the World University into proper focus, it is total concern for total mankind. What other basic purpose can education have than to teach the sacredness of life? This is the solid core of all philosophy, and the beginning and the end of all wisdom.

By such a standard, as I am here suggesting, all nations are far down on the scale of civilization. Government policies are geared, not to the general welfare, but to the business of building and preserving power. Few would deny this. The changes that are going on about us under government sanction and encouragement are all on the outer periphery of materialistic progress. I have reference to such mundane matters as transportation, communication, and energy. But government also concerns itself with weapons systems that are designed to guarantee the perpetuation of power in ways that are too horrible to contemplate, and involves itself with drugs and poisons and a host of consumable products that not only bewilder the imagination but achieve a certain sanctity regardless of their destructive effect upon the citizenry. The economy grows, but not the individual who is involved in its operation. The standard of living rises for many, but not the aspirations of those who accept its benefits.

What is most amazing in this whole pattern of academic misguidance is our seemingly total unfamiliarity with the evolution of the individual component of our society. We live like primitive peoples in a wilderness of fantastic technologies, but without the perception of what this life is all about. We communicate almost instantly by methods which range from verbal contact to telepathy, but we cannot communicate honestly or honorably with one another. To be honest or honorable is not a requirement of the educational process, as we know it today.

We have learned the secrets of the atom, but we have no prohibitions against its use, even if it means our total destruction. We are appalled at the pollution of our environment, but we continue to pollute as though this was the most desirable form of mass suicide. We consume energy as though it were going out of style, creating an unprecedented standard of living, which even the Caesars would have envied, and at the same time seal our own doom by succumbing to the pressures of an industrial system that we had designed to serve us.

The symbol of Frankenstein does not need further elucidation. Man has conceived much that is potentially good, even actually good. His problem is to stay on top of his creation and control it for the welfare of all. This will not come easily. Man has fallen under the sway of negative forces so powerful and so corrupt that he is unable, in the seats of power, to avoid the temptation to compromise the human values for which he should stand.

It is true that we have made great strides in material progress. We have exalted competition, intellectuality, and individualistic self-reliance. But these values no longer intrigue us. They tell us nothing as to where to go and how to get there. We have been playing with superficialities for generations without number, and the real significances have escaped us. We have called this situation education, hardly the kind of learning process we should be embracing if our goals are clear and our aims are high.

Educators sometimes tell me that our institutions of higher learning today have never been more prestigious, never more perceptive of human need, never more secure than they are at the present time. That may well be. But is that a compliment, or is it an indictment? Where is the major concern? Is it with finance, with research, with curricula, with administration, with accreditation, or is it with the student? If the student, why do they train for jobs that don't exist or won't exist in the future? Why do they instruct in disciplines that support the obsolescence of systems no longer useful or relevant? And why do they surmise that force is still a criterion of greatness and that war is a continuing and necessary evil to be clothed in dignity and honor?

The World University can never be a party to an educational system that degrades the human being and sanctions his exploitation, whether of body, mind, or soul. True education transcends all such petty objects, as have been set before man since the Dark Ages. True education dignifies the individual by holding his life sacred, not to be pitted against other individuals whose claim to divinity is as great as his own. Education fails to educate when the student is thrown into the arena and forced to enter into a compact with others in pursuit of their mutual destruction.

There is no question, it seems to me, that the world today is exactly the way it has been conceived. As a race, we are enamored by our creation. We actually like what we have produced, and will cling to it for dear life even after its foundations have crumbled beyond repair. It is true that we object to unemployment, to economic frustration, to political corruption in high places, to crime and disease, and to a host of conditions that try our patience and cripple our aspirations. But we don't object to their causes, only to the inconvenience and the distress of their effects.

We are enslaved by an intellect that has never been trained to think in terms of spiritual maturity. We don't even know what spiritual maturity is supposed to mean in a civilization where violence is the measure of respect and love is proscribed as weakness, a major flaw in human character.

I have yet to hear the word love stated in any official proclamation, treaty, or executive order, whether in this country or abroad. One would think that there is no such word in the language. We hear such an expression as detente which means a relaxation of international tension, hardly an armistice, even less an acknowledgment of mutual trust. Nations try to reach an understanding as how far each will go in the protection or extension of its national interests. But there is no love between nations, only a general agreement on what constitutes the limits of aggression before war becomes the justifiable alternative. We are living in times of a tenuous and fragile peace that holds no guarantees for anyone.

Several generations back, the principal frontier was the open land, its conquest and its

exploitation, including the resources it could disgorge. Then when there was no more land and boundaries became fixed and sacrosanct, the frontier shifted to the realm of science and technology. Under the impact of the new knowledge and its industrial applications, a new world emerged, and the battle lines drawn once again, mostly between the rich and the poor.

Are there no more frontiers? Have we run out of challenges? What are we going to do now that we are all so well educated, in the old traditions of course, that we are facing possible extinction with hardly a protest? We are not protesting too vehemently because we are still unaware of where the trouble really lies. All we know is that we should be doing the same old things in the same old ways, and perhaps, hopefully, the result may be different, if a different result is what we want.

My thesis is this: the time has come to conceive total world transformation, to know what is needed to survive, and to act upon that conviction. To conceive such an enormous undertaking, much less carry it out, we need to acknowledge the opening of a third frontier, a frontier probably greater and more pregnant with possibility than anything that has ever gone on before, I speak of the frontier of the human person.

We have explored the planet and penetrated the solar system. We have pried from Nature some of her most cherished secrets, long guarded in her precious arcanum. Now we must learn to explore the human potential—the world within ourselves—and turn it into a revolution of the internal consciousness.

What leads us to believe that there is a new and third frontier? It is the growing interest in the paranormal, in parapsychological phenomena, in extraterrestrial beings, in interplanetary communication, in psychotronic technology, and in what is broadly termed "spiritual experience". It is a primary and significant movement away from rationalism, as defined by current materialistic science, to an involvement in intuitive and emotional processes that accent the worth of the individual as a spiritual being with divine dignity. Such a person then employs a material counterpart only as a convenient mechanism to insure his survival and progress in a world of material values.

At no time in recorded history have we seen so great a shift in man's concept of his own identity. Man has reached that place in his development where the evolution of consciousness is becoming as important to him—even more important—than his mastery of the outside world, particularly if he feels that the outside world has little to offer him beyond the comforts provided by modern science and technology. The new goal is not to strive for wealth and power as ends in themselves, but to achieve self-realization. If the world exists for man, and not the reverse, then all of society and its institutions must conform to this new objective. From this point on, civilization must be geared to the unfoldment of the human capability and every organized effort, in whatever area of endeavor, must have for its goal the fullest possible expression of that capability.

This shifting of attention from the world without to the world within by increasing numbers of people everywhere is probably the single greatest orientation that is taking place in modern times. To some, who have never taken themselves too seriously, this introspection may even be frightening. What if one is able to gain the whole world, to paraphrase scripture, and looking inside, find nothing there? How can anyone be really happy with a surfeit of

material conveniences and be empty inside?

As long as happiness was considered a bonus in this life for right living, whatever that might mean to the individual person, it was never thought to be a natural condition to which anyone might attain, if he were lucky. Suddenly, happiness begins to loom large on the horizon of man's aspirations, and people are becoming more and more conscious of its absence. Unhappy marriages end in divorce instead of being endured for life. Unhappy jobs lead to resignations instead of lifelong tolerance with professional frustration. Unhappy surroundings result in moves designed to overcome depressive influences that only wither the hopes for a better life.

Happiness is not just a bonus for right living; it is a birthright that must be claimed by all those who agree to the necessity for total internal transformation of the human soul. This is what is required of every human being alive today. And no one will escape the responsibility of engaging in that transformation, as this is the price of survival.

Whatever is necessary to shake the individual to his spiritual foundations will eventuate undoubtedly within the present lifetime. As I look around me, I see souls in travail, including my own. I find people coming to grips with themselves as never before. And those who seem to be escaping the general trend are only approaching their moment of truth. None can escape, because if they did, they would be lost to the new age and the new civilization.

It is patently impossible to conceive total world transformation without realizing the necessity for total self transformation. They are two sides of the same coin. If we are even to imagine the possibility of a Kingdom of God—call it Divine Order or whatever—that Kingdom must be evolved within the consciousness of man and projected into an externality of form. Anything less than such visualization falls far short of what someday must manifest as a reflection of the total human potential.

What I have just said provides us with a world view and a concept of human worth that is vastly different from the prevailing opinion. We must look in an entirely new direction for the answers to the dilemmas of our time. In short, we've got to learn what it means to be human. As long as people are regarded as expendable by government and industry, by the military and even by the academic establishment, we are far from an understanding of how to organize our institutions with the evolution of the individual person in mind.

If man is evolving, the question arises from what to where? This question may be new to the average student, but it is not new in the annals of educational history. What we are witnessing today is the externalization of the sacred schools of the past which first provided the foundation upon which all our modern learning rests. Now these same schools are emerging in the form of a World University, still only a symbol, at this early stage, of the new education that is spanning the entire amplitude of learning from the idea of the world to the idea of the soul. This is what thrills me—as it should all those who have an initiate knowledge of the future of man—that there is a Plan, conceived by master souls with an overview of history stretching into seventy-six millenniums, which will result ultimately in the birth of a totally new way of life.

This is why the World University, in spite of its struggles and opposition in a world that is not yet ready for its vision, persists. Even its detractors are apologetic in their disagree-

ments. There is something here that is so good and fine, even those who cannot help are sympathetic and sometimes awed by the implications of the new world which it suggests. Any institution that can conceive the inevitability of total world transformation in order to meet the requirements of an evolving humanity is certainly in the forefront of the human scene.

To conceive the ideal world may not take too much imagination. We would not need to think profoundly in reaching for answers that would satisfy the human psyche. The larger proportion of the human race would be happy to live without war, without hunger, without disease, without oppression, without crime, and without pain. Who or what then is preventing such a situation from materializing?

There are probably as many answers to this question as there are people, and were such answers to be analyzed for content, the conclusion would be inescapable. Virtually no one wants to believe that the cause is with himself—the thinker. We are trained to place the blame on some opposing force, call it whatever you will. As long as man ignores the true source of his opposition, which is self-created, he remains enslaved by his own creation. Man originates the very means by which he is systematically destroyed.

Strange as it may seem, man punishes himself by a form of divine penance in which he finds spiritual merit. This is ignorance at its worst. Ignorance means to ignore the truth, the origin of the word. Truth impels us to accept the ideal world and not to make excuses as to why it doesn't exist.

The major thrust of the advanced souls on the planet is to open the frontier of the human consciousness so that man may realize that he is ever his own worst enemy. No man individually meets with any resistance that is not self-caused. It is his prerogative to conceive the ideal world at any time and to do so as a matter of right. But by the same token, he must also conceive his own perfection. Everything has two related sides. The objective and the subjective must eternally coexist.

Nothing makes the World University more relevant than its delivery of a universal and integrated curriculum in which the outer world and the inner soul are indivisibly linked. This is what endears the World University to its initiated adherents—the concept of transforming the world by transforming the soul. Human error is responsible for the present unsatisfactory state of the human condition. The discharge of this error by a planned metamorphosis of consciousness will reverse this condition, and man will have the ideal world his consciousness will accept.

The problem is not with the world and its complicated system of repression. It is with the people who have created the world by which they are being systematically repressed. Educators have told me that our academic goals have not been altered since the Middle Ages. If our present colleges and universities were training students in improving the world by improving themselves and their role in that transformation, we would be making more rapid progress in the solution of our current difficulties. Instead, students are taught to tolerate the errors of the system and to conform to those errors if they plan to survive within that system.

The third frontier of the evolving consciousness is inseparably linked to the widening

educational revolution. As only ten percent of the population will need to work directly in the production of wealth by the end of the century, as present scientists agree, the larger portion of mankind, particularly in America, will be turning to the exploration of inner growth. The attention will shift from material livelihood to spiritual necessity. An ever increasing number of the younger generation are seeking to discover a new awareness of why they are here and where they are going, but they are being frustrated by superficial answers that leave the soul impoverished.

The World University is unique among institutions of learning because it lays the truth on the line. Possession and consumption are not the goals of genuine education. The goals are integrity and self-mastery. We can be possessed by what we possess, and we can be consumed by what we consume; but unless we can master our body, our emotions, and our mind in soul consciousness and help to build a world that reflects divine intent, we are a lost generation, a wasted people.

The opening of the third frontier coincides with the worsening of the world crisis. This is well, because without such a crisis, mankind would fail to realize that something was radically wrong somewhere. Because of our inferior education, we have been taught that the way to effect a cure is to suppress the symptom. So we contaminate, instead of purify. We shift the effects without touching the causes. We can postpone the ultimate collapse, but we cannot prevent it, not by the remedial methods so far employed.

We have a money crisis, an energy crisis, a divorce crisis, a race crisis, you name it; we probably have it. But the greatest crisis is in the human consciousness. We have delayed too long in reaching for the truth of our own responsibility. And so the boom lowers. Unless we feel a little pain, we'll never know what hit us.

At least, there is still time, although not much, to start exploring the interior of our own spiritual anatomy. For all our problems, in the final analysis, are within, and all we are doing, when we seek to survive on the outside, is fighting the extension of our own deficiencies.

What is unemployment but a lack of vocational direction? What is economic frustration but the uncertainty of how to apply our energies for the common good? What is marital unhappiness but a misunderstanding of what love is all about? What is war but an exercise in futility over issues that have no substantiality in truth? The answers are all in the human consciousness; and the remedies are all in the lifting of that consciousness to new and higher levels of spiritual awareness.

The World University is proud to express these insights and to contribute its knowledge to the solutions suggested. But the way up is long and hard, because man has not yet been taught to unlearn. We have been taught to believe that all we need to do is to learn—and prosper. What we must now accept is the need to unlearn—and purify. The World University does its best work when it can persuade the student, in his own best interests, to discharge error so as to make himself a vessel for truth.

This is a new idea in education: to discharge error by recognizing its existence and source. For too long we have been trained to superimpose our learning upon a foundation of false teaching inherited from a forgotten past. The past may be forgotten, but not the effects of our mistakes. That is the purpose of life—to correct those mistakes and to get on

with the business of evolution. After all, what else is there that is more fundamental to human progress than to evolve into ever higher states of usefulness and joy.

The World University, by this definition, might well be termed an unlearning institution. What is there to unlearn? I suppose one should say: plenty. Probably the first thing to unlearn is that hunger, disease, crime, accident, violence, and even war, are not in the indispensable nature of things at the human level of existence. These conditions are all avertible. Man causes them to exist by his deliberate action, or by a subconscious acceptance of what he considers to be his inescapable fate. The thought is father to the deed.

Once the student understands that all suffering is self-inflicted—by reaction—he will decide, if he is sane, not to suffer anymore. If he is biased by his past, he will continue to suffer because that is the way it has always been. But he can decide just as easily that he has had enough of this foolishness and that he will now turn in a new direction to find happiness.

This is what education is all about—the pursuit of happiness. Not learning how to buy happiness in the marketplace, but how to earn it in selfless service to the race. The idea of education is not to earn money, important as that may be, but to merit progress toward total spiritual integration—the joy of becoming a master server in a world of serving Masters.

This, I submit, is the genius of the World University. It starts to educate where the traditional schools leave off. It is not that we ignore the need for technical skills. This is still important as we build our future upon the foundation of the second frontier. But unless we can redirect these skills and apply them to the problems at hand, we are still wasting our energies in a futile gesture of preserving a way of life that is rapidly going into the discard.

What all this boils down to, in summary, is evolving a respect for Nature and a respect for man. Anything that stands in the way of honoring the principle of the sacredness of life must eventually be repudiated. No one can be considered truly educated who does not, or cannot, accept such a postulate as an article of faith, never to be compromised by any act of hostility, however justified.

Such a principle transcends all nationality, all creed, all race, all cultures. It supersedes theology, dogma, treaties, and policies. If the third frontier does anything for us at all, it must elevate our perception to include respect for the sanctity of life. It makes no difference what our brain radiation or our IQ is, if we do not have reverence for life, we have nothing, indeed are nothing.

We have crossed many frontiers over the ages, geographical, technological, and philosophical, among others. Today we are asked to cross a psychological frontier that is just as demanding, just as challenging, as any just mentioned. We are being prompted to transcend mind for soul, to yield intellect to intuition, thought to virtue, rationality to love. We are being urged to cognize truth, not just memorize fact. The key to maturity is synthesis. The way is compassion.

Given this motivation and given these goals, the World University is even today in the race consciousness. The outer shell may appear fragile and without substance, but the

matrix of aspiration beneath the surface is strong and durable. I have held the light for twenty-eight years, since the inception of this institution, and I have never been more convinced than I am at this very moment that the work is inspired. Whether I carry the message or someone else—and many carry it in one form or another—the great work goes forward, and someday there will be no more sorrow, because all will have learned to love.

As the younger generation so well state the case: love is where it's at. We may not yet know what love is, but love is the answer. We may not know how to express love in this century or in this lifetime, but express it we will sooner or later, because that is our destiny.

The World University believes that only total world transformation through the exercise of love will meet the demands of the times. The World University believes that only total world reconstruction in every facet of individual and institutional life will prepare the world adequately for the possibilities of the next great age. Such is our goal—to conceive perfected man in the ideal world of his own making.

If the World University can make a substantial contribution towards integration by helping to release some of the unlimited spiritual potential resident within the human person, it will have justified its existence and merited the support of its constituents. The World University is only an institution to some, and an ideal to others. To all, it should be a symbol of man's longing for the truth which shall set him free of all his fears.

For humanity wars not against principalities and powers in high places primarily, but against its own inhibitions and weaknesses. It should be our goal to help the world's peoples understand the method of their perfectibility and to urge their participation in the brotherhood of man.

AN EXCHANGE OF BEING

A Short Story

Promode Kumar Chatterji

[Concluded from the issue of November 1975]

I have no shame or hesitation in admitting that I was totally at a loss to once more find myself in the place of Haladhar. I felt so helpless that tears welled up in my eyes; it is beyond my capacity to describe the bitter remorse with which I was filled. "Oh God, oh kind one, please help me." I spontaneously began to really pray for the first time in my life; I sought refuge in Him. I had read with arrogant contempt of prayers offered in distress, yet I was now myself doing it. Never in my life had I invoked God in such a manner. And with that prayer, something of my egotistical self-esteem was also offered, for thoughts of dignity or aristocracy—terms

connected with position and wealth—began to evaporate. I considered myself as insignificant, or rather as humble, as Haladhar. His life of hard labour, honesty and dutifulness made him appear not only happy but great in my eyes. I conceived a powerful distaste for the life of pomp and haughty self-importance I had been living in Delhi. Thus, though distraught over my predicament, I was relieved to be freed from that life. With these thoughts, exhausted, I again fell asleep.

I woke early that morning, and got up from my own bed in my bungalow on Shahjahan Road in Delhi. The dream, the exchange, had ended. I felt I was born into a new life.

Soon, as I was just arising, Mira came to see me and asked: "Father, how are you feeling today? Truly, you appear almost normal now." I replied that I was indeed feeling fine, in fact, better than ever. She was obviously relieved to hear that and said: "I was really worried about you, especially since yesterday you did not even come out of your room, but lay in bed not saying a thing to us and not eating anything either. Please tell me now what was the matter."

Obviously poor Haladhar must have gone through a great ordeal also; he too was not spared. I did not answer her question but

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asked, "Did that artist Upadhyaya come here yesterday?"

"Yes, don't you remember? You saw him alone and even spoke to him. He is here now also, waiting in the garden to see you." I asked her to tell him to come in immediately.

As Upadhyaya entered, he looked intently at me and asked how I was. "What will you understand if I say I am all right?"

With a slight smile, he replied, "That you have been restored to your normal condition after an experience brought by the will of God."

Seeing that my daughter found his reply odd and was listening intently to our conversation, I asked her to go to prepare tea for the artist. "Then I am going to prepare it for both of you," she said, "you have not touched anything except water since yesterday."

I agreed, and as soon as she was gone asked Upadhyaya, "Please unfold the mystery to me; you seem to know everything that has happened." From him, then, and later from Haladhar himself, I learned Haladhar's side of the experience and something of why it had been necessary for him also.

Haladhar and his brother Umacharan had lived together in Bakule-Chandpur, a village in the district of 24 Paraganas, since their birth. Umacharan was the village leader and president of the local Harisava. Amongst the villagers, he had undisputed power and influence in every community matter. The brothers lived in a joint family until Haladhar's marriage, at which time he suggested that they live separately, dividing their assets. Umacharan, a good and discreet man, agreed and divided the assets before the Zemindar and some other local leaders, rendering to Haladhar all that fell to his share: farm land,

garden, tank, his part of their ancestral homestead, and even kitchen vessels and household items. And though a dividing wall was even erected between their huts, after which their separate lives really started, there was not the least unpleasantness or discontent on the part of either. All knew that this was due to the virtue of Umacharan, and Haladhar's unbounded faith and confidence in him. Never for an evening were the brothers ever absent from the Harisava on any plea.

Eight years had elapsed after the partition, and Haladhar had become the father of two children. But his economic condition had deteriorated drastically because of the failure of his crops for two consecutive years. Haladhar consequently had fallen in arrears for three years' rent, and was seriously concerned about his family's future.

It was at this point that he was first summoned to the Zemindar's kutchery. On the same day, the Mejababu had called many of his subjects and made them clearly understand that the time for payment of government instalments had come. It was incumbent to pay immediately, or else the taluk would be sold in auction at the end of the month. To avoid this, it was imperative that each one in arrears pay at least half of their dues within a few days. Haladhar had to promise along with the others that on the coming Sunday, just three days away, he would come with his payment. He had somehow to find the money in order to save not only his land but his honour.

He tried to mortgage some of his land, but the exorbitant interest demanded dissuaded him—for he would lose all his land at that interest in the course of two years if he failed to pay. It was far better to sell some land than that. But the man willing to purchase it

wanted to pay in four instalments, and the first instalment would not have been adequate to meet even half of his dues. Thus two days, Thursday and Friday passed away. He got up early on Saturday morning and travelled to the home of some rich relatives in a different village. But they did not welcome him at all, and he came back having been insulted. It had taken him practically the whole day to cover the sixteen miles going and coming. He was nevertheless present in the Harisava each of these nights, but could not join seriously in the prayers. And though he was renowned for his sonorous voice, and expert drumming, those nights he could neither sing properly nor touch the drum.

Everyone, of course, knew the state of his mind but since they had no power over the situation, they did not say anything. He too did not open his heart to anyone but harboured his worry within. His uneasiness increased as Saturday wore on. He knew that if he did not go voluntarily, the Zemindar's men would forcibly take him to the kutchery the next day. But where was he to get the money to pay?

At that point he broached the matter with Umacharan. Even though affectionately disposed towards him, Umacharan could not heed his plea because he himself had to pay an instalment of two hundred rupees on the same day for his own dues. He had more land and therefore had to pay more. This year was a lean year not only for Haladhar but for most of the peasants of the village, his brother included. Many were forced to mortgage their land in order to pay. There was not a rich man among them, and those who had even a little hoard of money would not part with it for anything. The money lender also refused, saying: "I have already paid for the mortgage of three or four persons; how much more can I

afford? I have no more to spare." There was no one else to approach.

Haladhar joined the kirtan party that evening. Like those who joined the chorus enthusiastically, Haladhar also tried to sing his best but he could by no means pay full attention to the music. He felt clearly that the thought of money prevented his words from reaching the Lord. The chorus ended at last, and he came out thinking not of Him but of what would ensue when he was taken to the kutchery of the babus by their peon. But at last he could think no more, his body and mind were thoroughly exhausted; he returned home. He went directly to bed, repeating the name of Sri Hari as was his custom before sleeping—yet it was with a special fervour born of his need and the feeling that it was only to Him that he could now turn. Very soon he fell into a deep sleep and was at peace for the first time in days. Sri Hari alone knew what would happen to him the next day.

Haladhar woke that morning as usual with the name of Hari on his lips. But as he started to get up, he looked around and felt he must still be dreaming. For nothing was familiar to him. Never in his life had he even seen let alone been in a bed as he seemed now to be lying in. Moreover, he was alone in that bed with neither his wife nor his children. And where was his hut with its straw thatch and mud walls? This was a regular brick building; the room was spacious with pictures, mirrors, and mounted photos hanging on the walls, with almirahs, chairs, time pieces, and vases decked with flowers. How had he come to be in this room like those of the Zemindar's? "Oh God, oh Hari," he exclaimed, "what is all this? Am I still dreaming or has my mind become deranged by constantly thinking of

money?"

Just then, he heard someone coming and became afraid of being found there. As the sound came nearer and nearer, he lay down and hoped that somehow he would not be seen. The door opened and a pretty young girl of about sixteen with a dazzling white complexion and a face of the shape of a betel leaf entered the room, filling it with the aroma of a costly scent. He closed his eyes. She came straight toward him resting one arm on a rail of the bed, called out "Papa" as though to wake him. He opened his eyes but did not answer. He thought the girl must be very silly, could she not see in that broad daylight that he was not her father but a peasant? But she continued to look closely at him with nothing but concern and said: "Father, tell me what has happened to you; it is so late. Why are you still in bed? Are you ill?"

Haladhar was astonished. He realised that she must see the face of her father when she looked at him; but how could that be?

Since there was no response from him, the girl said, "I am going to call Dr. Maitra; there must be something wrong with you, otherwise you would at least answer me." Haladhar then did protest saying there was nothing wrong, but she did not listen and went directly to call the doctor.

Shortly thereafter the doctor arrived, wearing an immaculate English suit and carrying a shining stethoscope, but could find nothing the matter with him. The doctor merely advised that he rest that day, to which Haladhar immediately agreed.

Later that morning, the girl came again and told him, "Father, Upadhyaya babu has come; I have brought him to see you." When Haladhar looked up he saw not Upadhyaya, a name no one he knew had, but rather with joy saw a familiar face—it was his old friend,

Apu babu. Yet at the same time he was further confused to find him there also, in the midst of his dream or whatever it was; Apu babu's dress also was not like what he usually wore. He was very eager to talk with the man, in hopes that he would be able to explain what was happening. He asked the girl to please leave so that they could speak together privately. The girl went out wondering, being unused to such a request from her father.

Haladhar could not contain himself and directly blurted out, "Tell me, sir, am I dreaming all this; are you not Apu babu?"

Upadhyaya looked keenly at him and said: "Mr. Dutt, please let me know what has happened to you. I came here last night and when leaving left a note for you. Did you get that?"

Haladhar did not understand but said desperately: "Why do you speak to me in such respectable terms? Don't you recognise me? I am Haladhar, a tenant of your uncle's and a brother of Umacharan. Please explain what is happening if you know."

Upadhyaya looked a long time at the puzzled Haladhar and then replied. "Even if I don't understand everything, listen to this one piece of advice. Do not tell anyone here about your being Haladhar. Let what you have told me be kept a close secret. If you let it out, it will bring you serious trouble." Haladhar agreed and then told Upadhyaya all he himself knew or understood, which was very little. He then implored Upadhyaya to tell him if he was really Apu babu and to instruct him how to act in the present circumstances.

"Whether I am Apu babu or not does not now matter. The point I want to impress on you is that if you tell other people here all about what has happened and who you are,

they will think that you are possessed by a spirit and bring an exorcist to expel it by beating you. Even though this is Delhi, the practice of exorcising evil spirits is the same here as in the village. It is best for you to simply keep absolutely silent. Eat, drink, act normally, and pray to God: 'What is this play of yours? What is the purpose of my having this experience?' He will do whatever is needed. All I understand is that this play is confined to only two of you."

Haladhar asked who the other person was. "It must be Mr. Dutt, the man whose body you are now occupying. It is very likely he is inhabiting your body and is in your place in the village. But just remember all this is the play of the Divine, no man can interfere. He has some purpose in it. Keep quiet and see what ultimately happens. There can even be fun in the experience if looked at rightly. Observe to the last and remain silent. I'm going now, but will come again tomorrow."

Haladhar was now considerably relieved and at ease. He understood that the best thing he could do was to follow the advice of Apu babu, or Upadhyaya as he was called here. After a while, a waiter in uniform with a turban came with his breakfast. But the food was like that of the English people so he ate nothing. Instead, he entered the bathroom adjacent to the bedroom and filled his stomach with as much water as he could hold; he regarded what was happening to him as if he was passing through a spell of illness and acted accordingly. He was very much confused about this change. How he could have come to inhabit the body of another, in a room furnished after the European fashion in a garden house in far-off Delhi, was well beyond his understanding, but he knew that everything is possible to the will of God. He thought to himself: "How

can I, an ignorant and illiterate tiller of the soil, understand His ways? I only know, he will do the needful." The day passed occupied with such thoughts and with those of his home and what must be taking place there. Quite late, he finally fell asleep.

When he awoke, he found himself in his own body, in his own hut in the village. In fear, he kept his eyes closed lest in dream he should find himself once more in that Delhi bed and body. He began to repeat the name of Sri Hari, and gave thanks. When he opened his eyes again, he saw his wife asleep by his side, covering their youngest daughter with one arm lest she should fall from the bed. He gratefully got up with the name of Hari still on his lips.

Thus at the same moment Monday morning, both Haladhar and myself were restored to our normal condition—though doubtless considerably different persons than we had been twenty-four hours earlier.

When Upadhyaya finished telling me what he knew of Haladhar and his experience, and I him of my own experience, I remarked, "Even though all this seems to have happened in some way, and to myself, I am still wondering how it could really be possible—and in a way am not yet entirely disposed to believe it."

He became a bit annoyed at this. "Naturally. How can you believe? Your knowledge acquired only from books, your strong tendency toward rational egoism, and the habit of thinking on conventional lines come in the way of your understanding or even believing what you have experienced. Practically no European has ever written about such things, so how can you believe? At least be humble enough to acknowledge that you know nothing of the secret purpose of

the incident that has, indeed, just taken place. Further, I suggest you never discuss it with your friends since none will give credence to it but will only think you are mad. These things are beyond the intellect of men pre-occupied with their petty self-interests."

"But there is at least one thing I understand: I must do all within my means to relieve Haladhar of all his debts—a good portion of which I am directly responsible for incurring." I was able to persuade Upadhyaya to help me immediately to do what was necessary in this regard. Then I said: "And whether I believe in God and His play or not, there is one thing I must admit also. Even if what has happened is a mere dream or imagination or something supernatural, it has produced good and good results alone. This thought fills me with joy and even makes me prone to believe. But despite some mental change and a somewhat more open attitude, still I cannot command true faith or get a settled belief in the existence of the Divine."

After a long pause I continued. "Can you tell me how it was possible? Our two bodies lay in their respective places yet the rest of our beings were transposed. It is still to me incredible, in fact, it seems impossible. Is there any clue in modern science or . . ."

Upadhyaya interrupted and said: "Modern science deals virtually exclusively with matter; it deals with practically everything in the universe except the Spirit. But the connotation of science in our country has been altogether different. Its field of investigation has been what is known as consciousness."

"Then", I asked, "is there the knowledge in this science of consciousness to explain the procedure followed in transferring the being of one person to another, in bringing

about this kind of metamorphosis?"

"There may be some such process, but does it require a procedure for him who pervades the whole universe, who is immanent in every being to fulfill His will? He has merely to will a thing and it is done. The will of the Divine is alone sufficient as an explanation. Is there anything that is not possible if it serves His purpose?"

"And do not despair that you do not yet possess a solid faith. Only when the soul is very powerful can one acquire a faith which transcends all doubts and intellectual questionings. Yet is it not evident to you what a transformation you have already undergone. You were an altogether different man just a matter of hours ago. Have you not felt it? His will has been done and the needs of both you and Haladhar served. Your psychological state has been radically altered, and a happy turn has been given to the anxious and helpless material state of Haladhar. A portion of your accumulated wealth has been put to good use, and that accumulation thus somewhat vindicated. Further, you are better able to see that though Haladhar lacks your wealth and culture, he is an artist skilled in vocal and instrumental music and possesses a pure heart and undiluted faith in God—and therefore from one standpoint, he is a more developed being than you are. Such humility was not possible for you before this happened. You have been given the clue to a simple but informed faith which must come in time."

With this he stopped and we both remained quiet. There began within the gradual appreciation that perhaps this experience of an exchange of being had prompted the beginning of a genuine change of being.

CURRENTS OF EVENTS

Ronald Jorgensen

1975 OUT OF 1974

This is the last comment of the year, and it also seems the moment to touch currents a bit further back, into 1974, which have become stronger now.

"Currents of Events" began with an observation that 1974 was the baby of a new era and since then—in rapid historical procession—the modes of government, of conflicts within and between nations, of economic activities have silently shown something of the magnitude and direction of this era we are beginning to live in.

Except for those who putter about the powdery surfaces of these times which are collapsable by little more than a virile push, not much energy and sanction are being invested in the political party system, capitalism and its democracy, bureaucratic centralism and its communism. What will replace these is still in veils, but its action is evident.

The Portuguese coup and its still effervescent aftermath is one of the most transparent crucibles for the trying, burning, and recombining of the old forms until a desperate enough necessity can finally turn to something beyond the communistic, socialistic, democratic and neo-fascist solutions struggling for supremacy. Who knows what it is, but who doesn't know the present Portuguese political parties all have the same impotence?

Ironically enough the British, still with their arms in an old and established political coat indeed, showed some of the dangerously adventurous way not long after their 1974 general election accounted such greatly mixed results that the suggestion of a merged non-party union government was made: Prime Minister Harold Wilson permitted his Labour cabinet members to publicly exchange differences of opinion regarding entry into the European Economic Community. Amidst astonished criticism that this had never been done and it would disintegrate the Labour Party, Mr. Wilson persisted and saw himself confirmed in the referendum by what he declared to be the largest landslide in England's history (*Newsweek*, 16 June 1975).

Other instances of new patterns are so bold we only need to glance at them. 1974's watershed of American history was created by Watergate, when a nation's journalists and

citizens found they were able to remove a man of damaging character from the presidency. Then India, in 1975 declared the first internal emergency in her history which, on one side, has led to progress in cooperation and concentration one would have dismissed as practically impossible six months ago. Now Australia is swinging into entirely unexperienced waters after her prime minister was dismissed during his reign in office (*Indian Express*, 12 November 1975). Recall President Ford's dismissal of CIA and defence department chiefs because he was "not comfortable" in that working situation toward a second SALT agreement with the USSR according to the *Hindu* of November 11, 1975; and King Hassan's volunteer, armamentless march into the Spanish Sahara and as quickly, his withdrawal when the *Hindu* of 11 November wrote:

King Hassan said Spain was Morocco's friend and negotiations must not be conducted under pressure from one side or the other.

It has some similarities to recent Lebanese switchbacks from civil fighting to the dramatic negotiating success of the PLO's Arafat when bluntly ordered from Damascus by President Assad to settle it, to the resumption of hostilities and twelfth truce apparently partly influenced by what *Newsweek* (3 November 1975) calls the "Voice of Beirut" — a radio commentator named Sharif al Akhawi—who seems to be a considerably powerful ombudsman of the people to which even the government must defer. His comment after settling a broadcasting conflict with the bureaucracy, on his terms, was:

"What I say I say for all Lebanese," he declared. "My voice is their voice, and nobody can silence it."

Further, that twelfth truce announced by Prime Minister Kashid Karami has incorporated the core demand of each belligerent in one policy—not your usual patch-up of compromises that leave everyone unhappy.

In case there was any doubt about just how much the shaking of the foundations has been articulating itself in peoples' minds, *Newsweek* published a couple of very revealing interviews with persons who occupationally exercise a more athletic perception than the rest of us. In the 13 October issue Dora Gaitskill (widow of Hugh Gaitskill, British Labour Party leader, 1955-1963) was disussing the government's cabinet disagreements argued in public and said that

it reflects the position in the country, politically. What is happening almost everywhere in the world is that there's a revolutionary situation. By that I don't mean it's the same as in Portugal, but we have got capitalism breaking down.

Virtually the week before the same magazine carried the interview with Milovan Djilas, the Czechoslovakian political thinker, who said, "Communism is a spent force." Then, in a

wealthy insight stimulated by his questioner who felt the West at a disadvantage for not having a real ideology to oppose the Communists, he countered that that is exactly the strength of the West. That there is no strong and exclusive attachment to any ideology which would prevent a plasticity in growing toward the Time-Spirit's new forms.

The very recent Nobel awards in economics are interesting in this sense, for they go to a pair of thinkers who are finding a new way of more effectively allocating scarce resources and distributing their products, and solving related problems. One of the two is a Russian professor whose theories advocate decentralization of the very centralized Soviet economy. It seems both have independently developed these theories for their respective countries' economies. Bureaucratic centralization has been a great millstone around communist and socialist countries, with Poland's prosperous and attractive dissent establishing the point by contrast.

One believes China has been so admirably successful in medical care, earthquake prediction, education, et al., and particularly agriculture because of the decentralized initiative of her communes throughout the country. But the *Indian Express* of 5 November 1975 reports a change in policy: an attempt is now being made to mechanize and centralize farming work. If it is true that national decentralization is the mark of the future, Chinese development is likely to revert to a less capable phase until this new policy is countered. Let us see.

There is, of course, the easy view of all the foregoing events which places them in simply surprising kinks of the yet old and intractable tail of mankind that leads us, in sum, nowhere. That view comes partly from the popular belief that progress is indicated by so-called positive events: thinking in feelings and feeling in a thought more freely exploratory, we may glimpse that the working of destruction and the casting up of unbroken past formations occur in order to clear the surface for a new creation. Then the loss of "democracy", the "party system" in politics, "centralized bureaucratic control" and "communism", the reappearance of religious war and the perversion in fascist tendencies all kaleidoscope the play toward a unity with a diversity and synthesis that matures the truth and prunes the limitations in each.

This kaleidoscope can be seen in the oil and food crises which both began in 1974, in conferences on the seabed, on aggression, on economic rights and a new international economic order and in events like the Tokyo Round (GATT), the Helsinki and Lima meets.

The epitome of the situation developing countries wanted to bring into more balance in Lima was published in an early 1975 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*. It was a result of a study by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a Quaker group, and is worth quoting at some length.

Suppose all the people on earth (around four billion) lived in a global village of 100. How would they fare? Of the 100 some 70 would be unable to read. Only one of the 100 would have a college education . . . over 50 would be suffering from malnutrition and over 80 would live in what (for lack of a better term) we call "substandard" housing. . . .

In the global village of 100, six would live in the United States. These six would consume one-third of the village's energy. These six would have half of the village's entire income, and the other 94 would exist on the other half.

The problem presents itself as the most pervasive of the year, and one looks forward to the breakthrough developing countries made with the United States in last fall's UN special session being consolidated and extended in the coming Conference on International Economic Cooperation.

Close behind this is a massive result of the 1974 World Food Conference held in Rome which was then ridiculed for its absorption in words. Delegates from sixty-nine nations—developed, developing and oil producers—have just voted \$1,200 million for a fund to help poorer countries feed themselves. The group, called the International Agricultural Development Fund, wants to become a specialized agency of the UN. It was just a question of thirteen months (*Sunday Standard*, 2 November 1975) providing a gestation period before the collaboration would develop that was needed to yield a full budget.

14 November 1975

REVIEWS

This Holyest Erthe: The Glastonbury Zodiac and King Arthur's Camelot, by *Oliver L. Reiser*. London: Perennial Books, 1974. 106 pages, illustrated, £ 2.50.

The work and life of Dr. Oliver L. Reiser (1895-1974) serve as dynamic Western insignia of the Time-Spirit's impulsion toward wonder, openness, and integration. Possessed of unusual intellectual courage and plasticity, a philosopher whose interest and range were universal yet always humanly grounded, Dr. Reiser viewed a spectrum of inquiry from the physical sciences to esoteric spirituality. His genius was his breadth.

This Holyest Erthe is a small but suggestive piece in the grand mosaic of cosmic humanism he was still giving form at the time of his death. It was originally planned as a chapter of his yet unpublished, consummating work—a philosophy of history and theory of consciousness entitled *Magnetic Moments in History*, for which the final publication preparations are being completed under the direction of his colleague, Dr. Beatrice Bruteau—but it grew to deserve separate treatment.

With sympathetic justness, Dr. Reiser presents and unfolds the facts and legends of the Glastonbury Zodiac in the Vale of Avalon, England. Here, at a point long regarded as one of the most sacred places in the British Isles, there is evidence of the existence of 5000 year old zodiacal figures constructed of raised turf outlined by natural and manmade waterways, earth contours, and tracks in a circle thirty miles in circumference. Surrounding Glastonbury's Tor Hill and Cadbury castle (Camelot), the zodiac is believed to have been conceived and built by Celtic-Druid adepts—a millenium before the neighbouring Stonehenge—as a vast mirror of universal harmonies, a heavenly design transposed to earth. For these ancients it would have served as a sun temple and centre for mystic initiation as well as an agricultural calendar and natural computer. Later (A.D. 500-600) it was, perhaps, central in the symbolic quest of Arthur and his knights of the Round Table for the Holy Grail, the chalice of the essential knowledge.

The Glastonbury Zodiac may be seen as holding patterned images of monumental scientific, aesthetic, and religious knowledge, and even an emblematic key to the evolution of consciousness. Should its objective existence be verified and understood, it could well

reflect anew something of a wisdom of the cosmos, the individual, and their relation long obscure to all but initiates of the mysteries or of spiritual truth.

Tatsat

A twenty-nine year old American member of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Tatsat serves as an assistant to the editor of World Union. He has written reviews for several periodicals, and a series of his poems has appeared monthly in this journal during 1975.

Cosmic Humanism and World Unity, by *Oliver L. Reiser*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1975. 274 pages, £ 6.30.

World unity has many faces and the political, economic and social ones are not what this book celebrates. Of all the words in the title, "cosmic" carries the most weight; world unity seems to be an instance in the languageless span of realms from metagalaxies to neutrinos (particles without mass in atoms) and from science through language and music to the fringe of spirituality which the author tries to integrate.

I never met the late Oliver L. Reiser but his writing is translucent to a man of great informal charm, humility, a moving erudition and originality, cheerful humor and openness even toward ideas opposed to his own. In spite of the difficulty anyone but an advanced scientist would have in following all the nuances of his exploration—which voyages through plasma physics, molecular biology, higher mathematics and astrophysics to name only some—he keeps his reader by these qualities and, free of academic categories, darts in and out of dozens of specialties like a hummingbird in flowers.

Science draws so much of his energy because Dr. Reiser believes what he calls the new world religion will have to be a "scientific mysticism, and it must be born out of the very raw data of the sciences". His observation that religion has waned into a generally fixed position and that science is capable of continuous inductive inspiration certainly nourishes his position, a position which encourages the growing momentum away from mechanistic views since post-atom bomb science was stunned by findings like, "Matter is non-matter in motion."

This prepares us for the dialogues with other and renowned scientists, personal dialogues and published ones in such distinguished journals as *Science*, *Nature* and *Scientific American*, on the conscious and even mental properties of some physical particles; on the characteristics, for example, of supercooled liquid helium being so astonishing that it is considered a fourth state of matter—plasma. Discoveries like these illuminate Dr. Reiser's

main theme: that a global consciousness or psychosphere functions in the modality of the helium belt surrounding the planet 600-1500 miles up and that this connects with each human individual's consciousness in some way. As the author puts it in a more specific form near the end of the book: "I would return to the overarching problem of finding the connecting links between the DNA-RNA double helix [in each individual] and the yang-yin spiral of the earth's 'radiation belts of thought'."

I think the reason he has to continue returning to it, and the reason it still hangs, unresolved, over the final page of the book, is the same reason that mothers the two great flaws of this remarkable work. One is the continued empirical battering against empirical obstacles to find the individual-cosmic connection when, in other parts of the book, Dr. Reiser works with alternative methods. The second is more pervasive. Although he wants, in the most genuinely humble way, to bring about "a complete world-view, a theory of knowledge, a cosmology and a possible universal religion", the feeling while reading is of a collection, is of sometimes intense relations, but not of synthesis, of integration.

It is true he passionately sought a synthesis, mainly by trying (in this book at least) to read the signature of the infinite in the calligraphy of scientific data. Yet what can truly integrate except that which is the essence deep within everything? Which also then of course is the connection between not only individual and cosmic consciousness, but between Oliver Reiser's grand eight dimensional pair of a space-time world of relativity physics and a higher unmanifest, spiritual realm.

Fairly early in the writing Dr. Reiser proposes to survey eight major fields—five of physical science, and psychology, social science, and "spiritual concerns". Somehow he leaves this section without surveying the last one which, since spiritual certainly indicates something fundamental beyond the shallows of occultism and parapsychology and even religion, may hold the reins of all fields in integral lordship. This incident suggests that a more precipitous plunge directly into spiritual exploration would have helped his progress toward synthesis. However, had he done this Dr. Reiser may not have related the frontier quests of the sciences and a number of the humanities in such detail so consumingly. His contribution must have been a splendid destiny, for no other contemporary seems to have been able to take us so comprehensively on science's flight toward Truth.

Ronald Jorgensen

Ronald Jorgensen was a management and educational consultant before coming to the Sri Aurobindo Ashram in 1971. He now does writing and editing work, is an instructor of t'ai-chi ch'uan, and serves on the executive committee of World Union International.

FOCUS

THE NEXT FUTURE

World Union International Fifth Triennial Conference

8, 9, 10 January 1977

Sri Aurobindo Ashram

It is not the old that is being transformed, it is quite a new world that has been really concretely born.

At the present hour we are in the very heart of a period of transition, where the two are intertwined; the old persists, still all-powerful, continues to dominate the ordinary consciousness, while the new glides in, still modest, unnoticed to the extent that for the moment it disturbs nothing much externally, and even in the consciousness of most people it is quite imperceptible. And yet it works, it grows till the moment when it will be strong enough to impose itself visibly.

the Mother

November 1957

The next future is seen as the reality that is trying to establish itself amidst humanity's chained friendship with the past. Although rapid changes are entering all fields of study and experience, 2,000 and even 5,000 year old boundaries still dominate the substance of thought, aesthetics, sensitivity, and action.

The thinner and thinner membrane dividing the present from this next future of a unitive consciousness and its new dimensions may have even worn through in places. This triennial conference of World Union may be taken as an opportunity to discover these places, to see where new life is transmuting technologies, philosophies, sciences, arts, and yogas, and is bringing them within an increasingly powerful and higher sweep toward personal, human and cosmic unity.

The conference will be phased into four movements which, in their reach, encircle these fields and which, in their sequence, suggest possibilities of synthesis. These movements correspond to the fourfold nature of the human personality and soul.

1. *Service, perfection in work:* social services and welfare, technology, agriculture, labour, health care and medicine

2. *Harmony, order:* art and aesthetics, law, ecology, sociological sciences, general systems theory, ethics, town planning, management, design science, physical culture
3. *Power, effectuation:* politics and administration, armaments, economics, communications, industry, language
4. *Knowledge, development of consciousness:* philosophy, pure science, yoga, education, psychology, theology and religion, mythology and history

The mode of exploration will be a seminar, composed of a relatively small group of individuals invited from these four spheres of human life. It will meet in sessions, that may be observed by general participants, on each of the four movements consecutively. General sessions of initiation and integration will open and close the conference, and at special intervals during the seminar, general participation will be invited. The conference is offered as an instrument of education for the evoking, sharing, clarifying, widening and deepening of possibilities individually and collectively. To allow these possibilities their own play, the conference will be relaxed by unscheduled time.

Practical information for general participants follows. Seminar participants will be contacted individually.

A railway concession is expected to be available for those in India, and the expenses for the stay of all participants will be met by World Union. Write *The Next Future, World Union International, Pondicherry 605002 India* of your intention to come, enclosing the conference registration fee of twenty-five rupees or its equivalent. This correspondence must be received no later than 1 October 1976 since each participant will be sent background literature, essential for preparation, which cannot be sent later; also, it will help assure accommodation in an Ashram guest house.

ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITY

World Union Centres

Bangalore In their 2 November meeting, members of the Bangalore centre considered "The Concept of Liberation in Relation to World Union", which was presented by Sri B. Kuppaswamy, a retired professor of psychology. In his analysis, personal liberation means to become free of the emotions. Universal liberation takes one from the norm of family, town, nation to a human membership: you cannot be a world citizen unless you are a world liberated person. The discussion which followed examined the place of ego, self-realisation in the context of liberation, and the values of life this would generate.

Baroda Activity was concentrated on women: first, with an oratorical contest in which thirty-one girls and women participated, speaking on "Women's Contribution to World Unity"; then in a meeting animated by several speakers who described the awakening and progress of women fostered by great Indian men—sages, artists, political leaders, and intellec-

tuals—in social reform, political participation, educational liberation and in the recognition of their spiritual qualities.

Butwal During a two hour meeting two very different talks were given. The first was organised by Sri M. C. Bhardi around the widely accepted idea that a change in the world's extremely uneven possession of wealth is essential for the realisation of unity, which partly means considerable assistance to poor countries by rich ones. Then the speaker said that not only cooperation and mutual help are necessary but also sacrifice—a rarely mentioned, interesting idea. He concluded by stating that if this is not done, its disregard will harvest "a phenomenon like a scorching rage of the burning sun" which leaves no way out.

The second speaker, Sri S. N. Bhende, related world union and spirituality as closely as the two sides or pages of a single sheet of paper—inseparables. How does this join the interior worlds and the exterior world where we experience the assault of disunity continuously? Sri Bhende said the heart of a human being is a seat for the Divine. And since the Divine is one, only one and the same, the interior unity of humanity is seated, live, waiting for man's goodwill and sincerity to invite it out into the externality of his being and so into the exterior world. It is only that the physical and emotional and mental preoccupations of humans need to be supplanted by the true occupation, the occupier, the sovereign on which they can only attend: the spiritual reality and power deep within the heart.

Calcutta, Alambazar, Baranagar, Barasat, Sodepur The newly established Calcutta centre was the venue for a joint meeting with the conveners of the proposed World Union Cultural and Economic Council. More about the shape this new council is taking is expected soon.

Chandernagore A youth wing has just opened during a meeting composed of appropriate ceremony, youth oratory on India's part in the process toward world unity, and Rabindra Sangeet devotional music. In their October meeting, Chandernagore members received a talk on the evolution of man as seen by Sri Aurobindo.

Eastern Region A press conference at the Calcutta Press Club was held by a new group—Education for National Reconstruction Coordinating Committee—born in an education convention that was co-organised by teacher-members of World Union's Eastern Region centres. Elaborate discussions are reported to have taken place during the press conference, primarily on the attempt to apply integral education as developed at the Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education to the public school system of West Bengal. The press handout noted that the president of the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education responded to the convention's initiative by suggesting the selection of a few schools for a two or three year experimental implementation; encouraging results will make a system-wide application possible. (The members of the coordinating committee are: R. C. Chatterjee, chairman, retired headmaster of Chakraberia High School; S. N. Nag, convener, headmaster of Bhupendra Smriti Bidyalaya; Prankrishna Sinha Roy, headmaster of Kanu-

banka High School; Sanat Kumar Dee, Kortruing Adarsha Vidyalaya, Kortruing; Samar Basu, Eastern Region coordinator for World Union; Amalesh Ch. Majumder, headmaster of Desbandhu Bani Mandir, Nalikul; and Dakshina Ranjan Bose Jugantar, journalist.)

Although many details and aspects distinguish integral education from the present system, an essential of this new approach recognises that the future involves the marriage of East and West—spirit and matter—and means education will seek a perfect manifestation of the spirit's sovereignty in a fully developed and cultivated material life integrally expressed through the physical in beauty, the vital in power, the mental in knowledge, and the psychic or soul in love.

North Calutta In their nineteenth monthly meeting, on 27 October, the newly formed women's wing reported it has begun to contact headmistresses of girls' schools as part of the work in sharing the spirit of integral education with the school system—in preparation for its eventual implementation there.

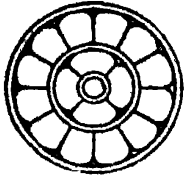
In addition to the student symposium entitled "The Future Evolution of Man", Sri T. K. Sinha talked about a difficulty experienced by those who want to assist the process of personal, national, and world unity: that is, what sphere of work to take up first. His response was that world, national, and personal unity are not limited to the process of consecutive one-at-a-time achievement, and in accordance with their sphere within sphere simultaneity, each person can offer his service to all three at once.

Uttarpara Sri Aurobindo's book, *The Human Cycle*, was the basis of a forum managed by the women's wing which was given to speculations on the future society. That was the twenty-sixth monthly meeting on 4 October. The next meeting was held on 1 November to observe the 108th birthday of Sister Nivedita. Sri Samar Basu declared that Shakti Sadhana (a spiritual development that cultures the use of divine power) was not only necessary during Sister Nivedita's leadership in the Indian freedom movement at the turn of the century, but is also necessary now in a more subtle yet more powerful way.

New Life Members

- | | |
|---|--|
| 246. Sri Dahyabhai M. Patel | Vimla Kunj
Nariman Road, Bombay 400057 |
| 247. Dr. N. F. Kaikobad | Tata Institute of Social Science
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Ronald Jorgensen
for A. B. Patel
General Secretary
20 November 1975



14. 8. 68

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